

**YOUNG ADULT UNDERSTANDING OF CITIZEN
RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE LESOTHO
CONTEXT: IMPLICATIONS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION**

By

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate Programme in School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

I, **MANTSEJOA NTHABISENG THAKASO**, declare that

The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

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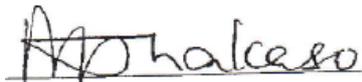
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Professor Julia Preece



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Signature

DEDICATION

To my father, *Nde* Thabo (Thabo A. Qhobosheane), who usually said, “*Ngoanaka* I want to see you wearing that ‘beret’ with a red gown”, although he could not wait to see it. I did it for you Ntate oaka! To my brother and little sister, *Abti* Thabiso and Relebohile.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABC	-	All Basotho Convention
AU	-	African Union
AUC	-	African Union Commission
AYC	-	African Youth Charter
CCJP	-	Catholic Commission for Justice for Peace
CEDAW	-	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
CYP	-	Commonwealth Youth Programme
CLC	-	Christian Life Community
DHET	-	Department of Higher Education and Training
GOG	-	Government of Ghana
GOK	-	Government of Kenya
GOL	-	Government of Lesotho
GOU	-	Government of Uganda
HRRC	-	Human Rights Resource Centre
KNYP	-	Kenya National Youth Policy
ICP	-	Innovations of Civic Participation
ICNYP	-	International Council on National Youth Policies
IEC	-	Independent Electoral Commission
IYY	-	International Year of Youth
LCE	-	Lesotho College of Education
LCYM	-	Lesotho Christian Youth Movement
LESCO	-	Lesotho Students Convention
LUCT	-	Limkokwing University of Creative Technology
MGYSR	-	Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
MSG	-	Mixed Social Group
NYPL	-	National Youth Policy Lesotho
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NUL	-	National University of Lesotho
OAU	-	Organisation of African Unity

OECD	-	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
RCC	-	Roman Catholic Church
RSA		Republic of South Africa
SDG	-	Sustainable Development Goals
TRC	-	Transformation Resource Centre
UDHR	-	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	-	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNPY	-	United Nations Programme for Youth
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	-	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WPAY	-	World Programme Action for Youth

ABSTRACT

In anticipation of proposed plans to revise the country's twenty year old National Youth Policy, this study explored how young adults in Lesotho understand their citizenship rights and responsibilities and the implications of this for civic education of youth. In addition, how the youth manifest their citizenship identities in the various groups where they have membership was also investigated.

The study adopted the interpretivist paradigm with a view to comprehending the young adults' self-identified realities and their understanding of the concepts of citizenship and identity. To allow for a deeper investigation of the articulation of their rights and responsibilities as Basotho youth, the study followed a qualitative, case study approach. The cases studied were three youth groups in the Roma vicinity. These groups were LESCO – a political party youth group based on the NUL campus; the LCYM – a young people's movement in the Roman Catholic Church; and the MSG – a mixed social group which was selected using the snowball sampling technique. Data were collected through focus group discussions, interviews and photo-voice.

Citizenship and identity theories were used as a lens through which to understand how youth manifested their identities towards realising their roles in society. The youth manifested their identities in various ways under the different citizenship categories of communitarianism, civic republicanism and cosmopolitanism.

Findings of the study revealed that youth in Lesotho generally have a positive self-image, although they resent the perception that South Africa views Lesotho as a 'poor village'. The youth learn about communitarian values in their families, but learn about citizenship rights and responsibilities in their youth organisations and schools. They understand these rights and responsibilities to varying degrees, particularly in relation to rights which are not well understood in the Lesotho cultural context. In all groups they undertake a communitarian sense of responsibility and mainly follow a traditional *ubuntu* sense of collectiveness and commitment to their communities as a whole rather than adopting civic republican and cosmopolitan aspects of citizenship, although the politically oriented group LESCO indicated greater awareness and adoption of civic republican notions of citizenship.

The study noted the absence of a formal or informal curriculum regarding citizen rights and responsibilities. It also acknowledged that the deficiency of adequate civic education programmes has implications for how young people position themselves in national development activities. The main recommendations were the need for a youth policy which advocates a non-formal civic education curriculum, pays greater attention to civic republican and cosmopolitan citizenship values, but includes the African notion of *ubuntu* and addresses the intergenerational tensions about the concept of rights and responsibilities.

CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF ACRONYMS	v
ABSTRACT.....	vii
CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.....	xiii
CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND	14
1 Introduction.....	14
1.2 Problem statement	15
1.3 Research questions	17
1.4 Rationale.....	17
1.5 Motivation for the study	18
1.6 Definition of youth	18
1.7 Youth population.....	20
1.8 International perspectives about youth.....	21
1.9 African perspective on youth	24
1.10 Youth policies.....	27
1.11 Lesotho	34
1.12 Comparison of the four youth policies	39
1.13 NYPL and youth organisations in Lesotho.....	40
1.14 Education in Lesotho	41
1.15 Chapter summary.....	44
1.16 Definition of terms.....	44
CHAPTER 2: CITIZENSHIP	46
2 Introduction.....	46
2.1 Citizenship	47
2.2 Citizenship as a legal status	51
2.3 Citizenship as belonging	52
2.4 Theories of citizenship.....	54
2.4.1 Citizenship as communitarianism	55

2.4.2	Citizenship as civic republicanism.....	59
2.4.3	Citizenship as cosmopolitanism.....	61
2.5	Citizenship rights and responsibilities	63
2.5.1	Definitions.....	63
2.5.2	Youth attitudes towards citizenship rights and responsibilities.....	68
2.5.3	Citizenship as a learning process	75
2.5.4	Learning citizenship rights and responsibilities.....	76
2.6	Civic Education.....	82
2.6.1	Definition and purpose.....	82
2.6.2	Civic education in Lesotho	87
2.7	Chapter summary	88
CHAPTER 3: IDENTITY.....		89
3	Introduction.....	89
3.1	Identity	89
3.1.1	Definition	89
3.1.2	Identity theories	90
3.2	Personal identity.....	94
3.3	National identity.....	95
3.4	Religious identity	98
3.5	Identity and environment	99
3.6	Identity and society	100
3.7	Multiple identities	101
3.8	Collective identity	102
3.9	Manifestation of identities by youth	104
3.10	Attitudes towards citizen identity	104
3.11	Attitudes towards gender issues.....	105
3.12	Social capital.....	106
3.13	Chapter summary	110
CHAPTER 4 : METHODOLOGY		111
4	Introduction.....	111
4.1	Research design	111
4.2	Research paradigm.....	112
4.3	Research approach.....	114
4.4	Case study	114

4.5	Population and sampling	119
4.6	Data collection methods	123
4.7	Challenges encountered.....	130
4.8	Data collection tools for focus group discussions and interviews	130
4.9	Data analysis	132
4.10	My positionality in the study	133
4.11	Ethical considerations.....	134
4.12	Limitations of the study	138
4.13	Chapter summary	138
CHAPTER 5: YOUTH IDENTITIES		139
5	Introduction.....	139
5.1	Understanding identity: young adult perspectives	140
5.1.1	Definitions and different notions of identity.....	140
5.1.2	Personal identity.....	143
5.1.3	National identity.....	149
5.1.4	Religious identity	167
5.1.5	Gender identity.....	171
5.1.6	Values learnt and their effects on identity	175
5.1.7	The role of significant others	182
5.1.8	Community and wider environment	186
5.1.9	Multiple identities	188
5.2	Membership in youth organisations.....	191
5.2.1	Identities in the three youth groups.....	193
5.3	Social Capital (SC)	200
5.3.1	Bonding social capital.....	200
5.3.2	Bridging social capital	203
5.3.3	Linking social capital.....	205
5.4	National Youth Policy of Lesotho (NYPL)	208
5.5	Implications for civic education.....	211
5.6	Chapter summary	212
CHAPTER 6: CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.....		213
6	Introduction.....	213
6.1	Citizenship.....	214
6.1.2	Understanding citizenship as belonging	214

6.1.3 Understanding citizenship as a legal status.....	216
6.2 Citizenship responsibilities	219
6.2.1 Understanding citizenship as a responsibility.....	220
6.2.2 Understanding citizenship as communitarianism	221
6.2.3 Understanding citizenship as civic republicanism.....	233
6.2.4 Understanding citizenship as cosmopolitanism.....	238
6.3 Citizenship rights	241
6.3.1 Understanding of rights.....	242
6.3.2 Teaching and learning about citizenship rights and responsibilities	249
6.4 Rights and democracy.....	259
6.5 Youth for recognition as responsible citizens.....	263
6.5 Chapter summary	265
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING SUMMARIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	267
7 Introduction.....	267
7.1 Chapter one	267
7.2 Chapters two and three.....	269
7.3 Chapter four	270
7.4 Chapters five and six.....	271
7.5 Recommendations.....	281
REFERENCES	283
APPENDICES	304

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Features of citizenship theories	54
Table 2: Different citizenship elements of rights.....	66
Table 3: What is the case?	116
Table 4: Statistics of participants in the study	120
Table 5: Participants at the LESCO FGD meeting held at BTM lecture room, NUL	122
Table 6: Participants of LESCO at the photovoice session held in BTM lecture room, NUL	122
Table 7: Participants at the LCYM FGD meeting held at the Roma Primary School	122
Table 8: Participants at the LCYM photovoice meeting held at the Roma Primary School	122
Table 9: Participants of MSG FGD held at Bana Pele Youth and Recreational Centre (BPYRC).....	123
Table 10: Participants of MSG photovoice held at Roma Primary School	123
Figure 1: Political map of Lesotho.....	34
Figure 2: LESCO members in Mafeteng working with farmers.....	222
Figure 3: LCYM members at a family funeral of one of their members	223
Figure 4: Clothes to be donated by MSG members in Roma	224
Figure 5: Recipients playing with MSG members before donation of clothes	225
Figure 6: Excited children fitting and showing off the clothes they received	226
Figure 7: Some of the MSG members taking part in dam reconstruction in Roma	228
Figure 8: LESCO members on road construction in Tsikoane Leribe.....	234
Figure 9: ABC youth at a political rally	236
Figure 10: LCYM group presenting their trophy in church	240

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

1 Introduction

Young people, often referred to as young adults or youth, are energetic and can contribute immensely to the welfare of their communities if they are conversant with their rights and responsibilities. The World Youth Report (United Nations [UN] 2005:iii) states that “young people hold the key to society’s future. Their ambitions, goals and aspirations for peace, security, development and human rights are often in accord with those of society as a whole”. It is also argued that young people are capable of becoming engines of development if their countries can provide them with relevant opportunities. Respective youth groups do play a role in motivating them for development in communities, nationally and globally (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] 2012). The youth can do this effectively if they are given the best education and opportunities to be part of decisions that affect them. According to the World Youth Report (UN 2005), youth are the best people to articulate what their needs are because they have a deeper understanding than policy-makers do of what their challenges and experiences are and what they think can work for them. Education is key to all development activities and UNESCO (2015) reiterates this point by stipulating that it is a key to the global integrated framework of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

According to the UN (2005) young people shape and are shaped by the societies around them. They are influenced by their membership in a family unit, a neighbourhood, a school district, a cultural group and a multitude of other community building blocks. They become what those around them and their environments influence them to be. However, Spannring (2008) suggests that youth generally have a negative image in society, as they are often seen as the source of troubles or the carriers of problems or deficits and are also seen as lazy, apathetic and egocentric. In the light of these varying views, the researcher has been motivated to investigate the perceptions of youth themselves about their citizenship rights and responsibilities, especially in relation to participation in the development of their communities.

The overall research question for this study therefore is: to what extent do youth understand their rights and responsibilities in the context of Lesotho? A supporting question asks: what opportunities do they have to learn about these concepts and how do they consequently construct their citizen identities? The study focused on exploring young people's views in different Lesotho youth organisations about their citizen rights and responsibilities with the aim of making recommendations for civic education policy that will complement the country's current national youth policy.

The study explores the understanding that young adults in Lesotho have with regard to their citizen rights and responsibilities and where they learn about them. This first chapter provides some background information on the world population of youth, how they are defined in relation to adulthood, both international and African perspectives about youth, and policies pertaining to youth. It also compares youth policies from the three different African countries of Kenya, Uganda and South Africa with that of Lesotho. The chapter then explores Lesotho's social, cultural and political context for youth education. It discusses the different sources of learning, namely formal, non-formal and informal, that young adults of Lesotho are exposed to in relation to understanding their rights and responsibilities and how that influences their identities as Basotho citizens. The study investigates the level of their understanding of their citizenship rights and responsibilities with a view to making recommendations on what could be incorporated into civic education programmes. Finally, the chapter concludes with the problem statement and research questions that guide the study, followed by definitions of key terms used in this thesis.

1.2 Problem statement

The rights of children and youth is a global concern as is highlighted by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989), which recognises and promotes the link between young people's rights and responsibilities. The United Nations (UN) recognised that youth work as a non-formal education process has a key role to play through discussions and actions in their communities in developing the understanding of this connection between rights and responsibilities.

Internationally this was declared as the hope of the Ames Mayor's Youth Committee in Iowa as stated in its Youth Rights and Responsibilities Handbook (YRRH) of 2004.

Knowing our rights and responsibilities is not enough. We should be organising ourselves to participate in decision-making areas which affect our lives. Through confidence in our society and in ourselves, we will enable ourselves to have more control over our own lives. (YRRH 2004:ii)

The Lesotho youth policy makes provision for the integration of youth into the socio-political development of the country, with reference to youth rights and responsibilities as citizens. To this end, life skills education is included in the formal education curriculum, and in youth organisations as voluntary associations that are encouraged by government to supplement this formal education (GOL, 1995).

Current youth programmes in Lesotho focus on employment rather than other civic education issues even though civic education is arguably the key to moulding young people into responsible citizens. Besides learning informally from their homes and communities on how to be responsible people, in Lesotho young people do not have clear cut programmes to assist them. In recent years there has been some inclusion of life skills programmes into the formal school curriculum, but this appears not to have had any impact as it does not form part of the examinable subjects and is therefore not taken seriously by learners and teachers (Thakaso 2010). However, young people in Lesotho are expected to receive non-formal education on their rights and responsibilities when they join either youth organisations or political parties. Yet the National Youth Policy of Lesotho (NYPL) suggests that young people are not given training in leadership skills that will enable them to be good leaders of tomorrow (GOL 1995). The policy acknowledges that these young people have to adjust to certain societal and family changes, but have to do so without adequate assistance to respond to these changes. The NYPL is intended to guide and design a way forward in assisting youth. It is clear from this policy that young people in Lesotho face many challenges. Besides unemployment, modern day youth in Lesotho are caught between the tensions of traditional values and expectations and the value systems for human rights that are internationally recognised and to which Lesotho is a signatory.

Furthermore, although youth organisations have been established since the inception of the NYPL, there is limited literature in Lesotho on how these youth organisations are contributing to the vision and goals of the NYPL. This study therefore seeks to obtain an in-depth understanding of youth identities in relation to their own expectations of youth behaviour and rights and of how they interpret these rights and responsibilities in modern day contexts, particularly through their youth group membership. It draws on theoretical concepts of citizenship and identity as a means of analysing the findings.

1.3 Research questions

Drawing on a theoretical framework of citizenship and identity, the research questions are as follows:

1. How do young adults see themselves in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities in the contemporary Lesotho context?
2. Where and how do they learn these rights and responsibilities?
3. How do young adults manifest their identities, rights and responsibilities through their youth group membership?
4. What implications do the findings have for the design of civic education programmes and government youth policy in Lesotho?

The objectives of the study therefore are as follows:

1. To investigate how young adults in Lesotho see themselves in relation to their rights and responsibilities as citizens;
2. To explore where and how they learn about these rights and responsibilities;
3. To find out how young adults manifest their identities, rights and responsibilities through their youth group membership; and
4. To assess how the findings can influence the design of civic education programmes and government youth policy in Lesotho.

1.4 Rationale

A youth policy was developed in 1995 by the Lesotho Government with the intention that it should be a guiding document to define a course of action for youth to bring change in their

societies. This policy is now twenty years old and is in the process of being reviewed. The study is thus a timely potential contribution to inform that policy.

1.5 Motivation for the study

Motivation to carry out this research emanates from the passion that I have about youth issues. I, as the researcher, was also motivated to investigate further from my previous M.Ed. research into the perceptions of university students about responsible citizenship, particularly in relation to HIV/AIDS. As a parent of young people, currently in their late twenties and early thirties, and as a volunteer youth coordinator in my church, I have learnt that relationships between youth and elders appear to be changing compared with traditional expectations. This observation is substantiated by Griffin (2007), who stated that young people are referred to, mostly, as problems, and young males are frequently presented as actively deviant, while females are passively at risk. As evidenced in my earlier M.Ed. study, starting at family level, in Lesotho it is noted that young people seem to connect less with the development of their extended family compared with traditional patterns of behaviour. The notion of communal responsibilities seems to be changing (Thakaso 2010). Traditional communitarian lifestyles are increasingly being influenced by globalisation. Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) emphasised this point in the context of Botswana some 12 years earlier. They argue that the youth of today are caught up in modernisation processes since they are the product of recent globalising influences. They appear to be re-prioritising their citizen roles and responsibilities compared to earlier generations. However, the reasons behind these changing behaviour patterns and the extent to which they are more generally applied in Lesotho has not been explored in depth – particularly in relation to youth identity as Basotho citizens. It was considered important to get a deeper understanding of apparent changing patterns of behaviour and to explore how citizen rights and responsibilities are understood and practiced from the youth perspectives.

1.6 Definition of youth

Youth are the most important cohort of every population. The status of ‘youth’ is defined by UNESCO (2013) as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood into adulthood’s independence and the awareness of our own interdependence as members of a community. Chigunta (2002) has shared the same view through a sociological perspective of youth in

Africa. He indicates that being defined as youth reflects an interface between childhood and adulthood; although in rural Africa the status of adulthood is also determined by the legal right to marry.

The United Nation's age range for youth is from 15–24 years (UNESCO 2004). However, this is not a universal interpretation. For example, Malaysia defines young people as aged from 15–40 years, while Ghana's youth policy defines youth as “persons who are within the age bracket of 15 and 35 [years]” (GOG 2010:5). Chigunta (2002) has agreed that there are various definitions of the concept. He cites Mkandawire (1996), who stated that in Africa there is a continuing debate and confusion surrounding definitions of youth, but suggests that in most countries age 21 still remains the age that individuals are expected to legally assume many activities and responsibilities of adulthood. For consistency and to facilitate comparison across national borders, UNESCO encourages the use of defining youth as people aged between 15–24 years and young people as those aged between 10–19 (UNESCO 2004:9). However, the concept of young people is often used interchangeably with youth by other writers, so this age differential is not necessarily a guide that is followed by others. In this thesis the terms ‘youth’ and ‘young people’ will therefore be used interchangeably to refer to the older age cohort. The Student Partnership Worldwide and Department for International Development Civil Society Organisation (SPW/DFID-CSO), in a guide prepared for development agencies and policy makers, are guided by the UN's definition of 15–24 years and consider it helpful to use the concept of youth as encompassing those who are likely to have finished schooling, who are sexually active and are facing livelihoods or unemployment issues, some of which will form part of this study (SPW/DFID-CSO 2010).

‘Citizens-in-waiting’ is a term that is frequently used by many countries to refer to young people (Verhellen 2000). There is a similar phrase in Sesotho, ‘*Bacha sechaba sa ka moso*’, literally translating as ‘young people, the nation of tomorrow’. According to the African Union (AU 2011), the meaning of youth and the way society regards them varies across time, space and contexts. Particularly for African countries, the definition poses a challenge when considering the socio-economic and political realities in which youth are defined. In the African context, during this transition from childhood into adulthood, children are already engaged and given chores in certain activities in the family setting in preparation for responsible adulthood. In Lesotho, however, one continues to be regarded as a child by biological parents even when married.

The Innovations in Civic Participation (ICP) and Pravah Report (2009) recommends that the age point for conceptualising youth should start earlier at 13 and extend to 30 years, because those are considered important years in learning to handle life. These are the years of a period of intense growth, not only physically but emotionally and intellectually. Therefore, one would consider it imperative to engage with youth throughout this period as their transition to adulthood. The report further suggests that governments should take cognisance of young people's needs such that "the youth minister should be younger than 45 since youth interests should be represented by younger adults, wherever possible, particularly because today the younger generation operates in a rapidly changing environment" (ICP & Pravah 2009:26).

Youth in Lesotho are eligible from 18 years to participate in the democracy of their country by voting, thus bearing the responsibility of adults. Most African countries have adopted as a benchmark either the UN or Commonwealth definition of youth (15–24 and 15–29 years respectively). International organisations focus on this age range in trying to 'standardise' youth programmes (Chigunta 2002).

Since Lesotho's legal age of maturity is 18, it can be argued, therefore, that young people between the ages of 18 and 30 are regarded as young adults, the age group which is the focus of this study. It is within this age range that the youth in Lesotho are eligible to vote, marry and fight for their country, thus bearing the responsibility of adults. Most of the participants were youth in high school, who, in Lesotho, are often aged between 18–30, while those at tertiary and university level are generally older.

1.7 Youth population

According to the United Nations (UN 2015b) the world population surpassed 7.36 billion in July of that year and people under 30 years of age accounted for more than half of this number (50.5%). The most recent international figures about this age group indicate that in 2015 it was reported to be 1.2 billion globally and is growing at an alarming rate, projected to be 1.3 billion in 2030 (UN 2015b). UNESCO (2013) further stipulates that about 90% of people under 30 come from developing countries in the Middle East and Africa. This is quite a substantial number that adds to the world population. Youth aged 15–24 constitute almost a sixth of the global population, and often form the most dynamic section of society as well as its most vulnerable and most powerless, because these young people are rarely able to

contribute to policy-making, even though it has been argued that it is important for their voices to be heard (UNESCO EFA 2012). According to the UN's population information (UN 2015b), this significant cohort of the global population can be a positive force for development if they are provided with the knowledge and opportunities that would enable them to thrive. Africa's youth population is reported to be growing rapidly, with 226 million of those aged 15–24 in 2015 accounting for 19% of the global youth. Lesotho's overall population as at January 2016 is reported to be 2 147 597, with youth forming part of the 1 312 311 of those aged 15–64 years (UN 2016).

1.8 International perspectives about youth

Young people in all countries are both a major human resource for development and key agents for social change, economic development and technological innovation (UN 2010). They are acknowledged by the nations of the world through statements and declarations. For example, the Commonwealth (2013), UN (2010), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2014), UNESCO (2004), United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (2011), and the World Bank (2012), have made various statements in relation to youth matters at the international level. The Commonwealth's international commitment to youth is reflected in the following statement:

The Commonwealth of Nations has a responsibility to develop youth as one of its most valuable assets in the best interest of Commonwealth and to ensure our future prosperity – Commonwealth Youth Forum. (CYF 2012)

Since its foundation in 1973 the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP), identified as the oldest international youth programme, indicated that the Commonwealth attaches “high importance to youth affairs, to the professionalization of youth work, and to the inclusion of young people in national and community life”, as articulated by its Secretary General (Commonwealth 2013:1). The Secretary General (Commonwealth 2013) further emphasised that young people are the main stakeholders in preparing for the future, reflected in the following statement:

Our task is to plan and to realize how we can work with them, and for them, in order to build and shape the future that they want and

need. This is what is meant by youth empowerment —creating means and the ability whereby young people can participate effectively and make the difference they want. (Commonwealth 2013:2)

The United Nations (2010), through its World Programme Action for Youth (WPAY), acknowledges that the UN has always recognised that youth’s imagination, ideals and energy are of vital importance in pursuing the development of their societies. A commitment was therefore made to this effect that as an organisation the UN believes that its principles are aimed at ensuring the wellbeing of young men and women and that their active participation in society is fundamental to the implementation of the World Programme of Action for Youth. One of the principles states that:

Every state should guarantee to all young people the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments related to human rights. (UN 2010:7)

As a follow-up to the above statement the United Nations General Assembly, in 2010, also proclaimed that young people should be encouraged to devote their energy, enthusiasm and creativity to socio-economic and cultural development (UN 2010). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 2014) refers to youth as all men and women in all their diversity of contexts. This organisation indicates that it supports policy programming aimed at ensuring that youth are informed, engaged and empowered to enable them to contribute to sustainable human development and resilience of their communities. The UNDP designed a Youth Strategy for 2014 to 2017 with the intention of engaging youth as a positive force for transformational change (UNDP 2014). The World Bank (2006) calls upon youth to become active stakeholders, as it considers their citizenship as crucial development outcomes. The institution also acknowledges that the youth population is the fastest growing and this presents itself as a serious challenge to the African continent (2012).

One of UNESCO’s principal aims is a commitment to youth, identified as the “empowerment of young people in order to foster their full and equal participation in all spheres of society” (2004:3). August 2010 to July 2011 was declared as the International Year of Youth (IYY), with a statement by the UN Secretary General indicating that: “Youth deserve our full commitment, full access to education, adequate healthcare, employment opportunities,

financial services and full participation in public life” (UNESCO 2011). UNESCO also claimed that the youth year was intended to provide a framework to bring youth to the forefront of global debates. It considers the youth as key actors and partners in achieving its mission to contribute to building peace, poverty eradication, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue (UNESCO 2011). As an organisation, UNESCO additionally recognises that the fundamental purpose of education in the 21st century should be to sustain and enhance the dignity, capacity and welfare of human beings in relation to others and their environment (UNESCO 2015a). It is a philosophical aspiration designated as humanism. This humanistic approach to education has implications for designing learning processes that will enable the promotion of acquisition of relevant knowledge and human competencies.

The United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund elaborates that all parts of society should contribute to youth development. Its State of the World’s Children report of 2011 made this statement:

Preparing adolescents [youth] for adulthood and particularly for their citizenship responsibilities is the key task for families, communities and governments during this stage of their development. (UNICEF 2011:66)

According to this report, young people must be aware of their rights and have opportunities for civic engagement in order to be active and empowered citizens (Ibid.).

A related initiative on youth education by the UN is reflected in the Education for All (EFA) goals which were agreed upon in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000 by the 164 UN member states. These goals were set to be achieved by 2015. One of them was the EFA Goal 3 on youth and adult learning, which focused on “ensuring that learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes” (UNESCO 2012:80). This statement is supported by Ireland and Allison (2009), quoting a statement by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) Executive Director, who stipulated that, as leaders, they must focus on young people and invest in them if they want to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

These MDGs addressed issues concerning universal primary education, and the World Youth Report (UN 2005) stipulated that they were, in many respects, “youth development goals”. Since 2016, these MDGs have been replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

which were a result of a conference in 2012 held in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. These goals were “intended to be universal in the sense of embodying a universally shared common global vision of progress towards a safe, just and sustainable space for all human beings to thrive on the planet” (UN 2015:2). The SDG 4 expands on the EFA Goal 3, as it intends to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (Ibid.:6). One of the three targets for this goal is that nations should,

...by 2030, ensure that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development. (Ibid.:14)

This is relevant for youth because through learning they will be able to make a contribution to development, peace and global citizenship. All these international statements and initiatives are a clear indication that throughout the new millennium there is a renewed interest in the needs and potential contribution of young adults to sustainable development and citizenship.

Innovations of Civic Participation (ICP) and Pravah (2009:3) indicate that “mainstreaming young people as active citizens involves a conscious effort across civil society, private and public spaces”. Innovations of Civic Participation (ICP) and Pravah highlight that active citizenship behaviour is a potential catalyst to integrate young people into the social, economic and political mainstream. With appropriate support and opportunities, young people can prove their worth as productive and caring citizens. These statements from the international bodies indicate that young people are not only a concern in Lesotho, but globally. These organisations focus on the need for youth to learn life skills, rights and responsibilities. These global concerns are discussed with particular reference to the African continent.

1.9 African perspective on youth

According to the United Nations Fact Sheet (UN 2010), Africa is reported to be the youngest continent of the world, where the proportion of youth among the region’s population is higher than on any other continent. Chigunta (2002) has stated that estimations in 2000 indicated

that the largest segment of the world's young people could decline due to the adverse impact of HIV/AIDS. However, according to the African Union Commission (AUC 2007), Africa's young people between the ages of 18–35 still constitute roughly 40% of the continent's population. The African Development Bank (AfDB) therefore supports the continent's obligation to ensure that the future generation (youth) gets appropriate opportunities for socio-economic development and it intends to focus on youth employment (AfDB 2012).

The African Union adopted the African Youth Charter (AYC), also known as the Banjul Charter, at its 7th Ordinary Session Assembly in Banjul, Gambia, in 2000. This charter was intended to be the first legal framework of action for african youth (Forum 21) (www.africa-union.org). Article 26 of this charter clearly stipulates the responsibilities of youth and it mentions, among other things, that youth shall have a duty to

... become the custodians of their own development ... partake fully in citizenship duties including voting, decision-making and governance ... and ... defend democracy, the rule of law and all human rights and fundamental freedoms (African Union Commission. (AUC) 2006:40)

In Article 26, the charter highlights the rights and responsibilities and duties of youth by stating that “Every young person shall have responsibilities towards his family and society, the state and the international community” (AUC 2006:40). Within the African context there is an implicit assumption that this means youth having a duty to respect and help their parents and all elders as a sign of good behaviour. This assumption is supported by Kanu (2010), who states that, besides being a sign of good behaviour, young people are encouraged to respect elders so that when they are themselves elders, they will also be respected. Article 28 of this charter further directs that the AUC shall ensure that states' parties respect the commitments made and fulfil the duties outlined in the present charter (AUC 2006). This was to be achieved by the member states through “collaborating with governmental, non-governmental institutions and developmental partners to identify best practices on youth policy formulation and implementation and encouraging the adaptation of principles and experiences among states' parties” (Ibid.:48).

As a further commitment to youth matters, the AU declared, at the Executive Council meeting held in Ethiopia in January 2009, that the period 2009–2019 be the Decade of Youth

development on the continent. The Decade of Youth is understood to be an opportunity that will help advance the agenda of youth in all member states across the African Union “to ensure effective and more ambitious investment in youth development programmes and increased support to the development and implementation of national youth policies and programmes” (AU 2011:2). This study is therefore a timely contribution to understanding the needs and the experiences of youth regarding their rights and responsibilities.

According to the UN Programme for Youth (UNPY) Fact Sheet (UN 2010:1), “African youth have the potential to be a great impetus for Africa’s development provided that appropriate investments in health and human capital are made”. The AUC, at the African Youth Forum held in Addis Ababa in April 2011, emphasised the importance of this programme by indicating that it considers African youth as a special resource that needs special attention because of the inherent energy that they possess and not only because of demographic issues. The forum aimed to strengthen Africa’s participation and engagement in the International Year of Youth during August 2010 to July 2011 by ensuring that their concerns and priorities were adequately addressed. At the end of this forum one of the notable recommendations made was to reaffirm the commitment of the implementation of the African Youth Charter, the International Year of Youth and the Decade of Youth Development and its accompanying Plan of Action by Africa’s youth (UN 2010).

In order for youth to actively participate in decision-making processes, governments needed to understand the benefits of youth involvement in consultation processes and advocacy based groups (UN 2010). This was to be made feasible through Article 12 (1) of the African Youth Charter (2006), which stipulates that “every State Parties [sic] shall develop a comprehensive and coherent national youth policy” (AUC 2006:7). It was therefore imperative that the AU Executive Council indicate that its focus in the first year of the decade should be on working with countries to strengthen their national policies (USAID 2013). In fulfilment of Article 12 (1) of the AYC, the AU at national and regional level ensured the creation of policies. Among them was the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), which launched a youth desk that provided youth with a platform for dialogue and enabled them to contribute to policy debates (UN 2010). These statements were given to indicate commitment and support that the African states dedicate to their youth. It is also a concern of the nation states that youth are afforded adequate education as a tool for development.

1.10 Youth policies

According to the Joint United Nations and International Labour Organisation Seminar on National Youth Service Programmes (International Council on National Youth Policies (ICNYP) 2005), which was held as long ago as 1968 in Denmark, an adoption on how to define a national youth policy was made. It was taken to mean an overall plan relating to all young people and a wide variety of programmes, including in and out-of-school education, training, employment, youth welfare, recreation, cultural activities and participation in socio-economic development (ICNYP 2005). In a similar manner, as early as 1969, the UN General Assembly adopted important mandates on national youth policy. The UN Secretariat authorised the promotion and implementation of such mandates (ICNYP 2005).

The ICNYP indicates that “a national youth policy is a declaration and commitment of the priorities, directions and practical support that a country intends to give to the development of its young men and women” (ICNYP 2005:1). Such a document is intended to define the place and role of young people in society and the responsibility of society to youth and it has to embrace three universal concepts: participation, equity and cohesion (ICNYP 2005). As the above statement illustrates, commitment by each individual state is one of the pivotal elements of a national policy, as the needs of young people can be more effectively addressed if they are included in national development policies (ICNYP 2005).

In order to achieve national plans regarding youth, it is deemed fit to design policies that can guide these processes. A policy which is defined as a broad guideline to decision-making (Dyson 1999) can also be referred to as a definite “course or principle of action adopted or proposed by an organisation or an individual” (Concise Oxford Dictionary 2004:854). The UNPY (2010) stipulates that youth across Africa are now able to participate through various fora such as youth organisations, national youth councils and youth parliaments which have been set up nationally and regionally. This has been the result of increased efforts in engaging youth in policy formulation over the past few years at all levels.

UNESCO (2004) reaffirms that youth policies should be integrated into the country’s overall national development plans. It further states that:

Youth policies need to be related to and co-ordinated with sectoral policies and relate to the overarching objectives for national development: [sic] only as such will the needs of youth be considered an integral part in national planning and policy-making. (Ibid.:20)

Zeldin, Camino and Calvert (2007) contend that engagement of youth in meaningful decision-making processes, whether in families, schools or youth organisations, results in consistent developmental benefits for them.

The policies of the African countries Kenya, South Africa and Uganda are summarised below. This summary entails a brief review of youth population vis-à-vis the country population, vision and goals of the youth policy of each country. A comparative review of these youth policies in Africa helps to position Lesotho's situation regarding its own youth policy. It also provides an indication of how the international commitments have been interpreted at regional and national levels.

Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP)

Kenya was colonised by Britain, but achieved independence in December 1963 and it was later declared a republic. It is a sovereign state in the African Great Lakes region of East Africa. The region overall has an estimated population of 44 million, 35% of whom are youth. This cohort is referred to as an important part of Kenya's population, according to the Kenya Country Report (ADEA 2014). The Government of Kenya (GOK 2007) confirms this by stating that "youth are the foundation of a society" (GOK 2007: iv). Kenya considers the youth's energy, inventiveness, character and orientation to be pivotal in defining the pace of development and security of a nation. It therefore considers of importance the formulation and implementation of a viable youth policy which will contribute to meaningful national development.

Kenya views young people as those aged between 15–30 years, 60% of which is said to form the country's labour force (Government of Kenya GOK: 2007). The overall goal of the Kenya National Youth Policy is as follows:

To promote youth participation in democratic processes as well as in community and civic affairs, ensuring that youth programmes involve them and are youth-centred. (GOK 2007:5)

Kenya has a National Youth Council (NYC) which has as one of its functions a mandate to “promote relations between youth organisations and other bodies inside and outside Kenya with similar objectives or interests” (GOK 2007:15). Its mandate is to coordinate youth organisations, design and continuously review the NYP and develop an integrated national development plan. As a country, Kenya began to take a keen interest in youth issues after the Kericho Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development and the National Council of Churches of Kenya’s (NCCCK) publication of the “After School – What?” Report in 1966 (GOK 2007:2).

The vision of Kenya’s National Youth Policy is “a society where youth have an equal opportunity as other citizens to realise their fullest potential, productively participating in economic, social, political, cultural and religious life without fear or favour” (GOK 2007:5). Furthermore, the Kenyan policy concludes that the youth must be seen as the present day leaders and not be referred to as leaders of tomorrow. This is in contradiction with a common saying in Sesotho that ‘*Bacha ke sechaba sa ka moso*’ (young people are a nation of tomorrow). The country of Kenya, therefore, regards it as imperative that planning cannot continue without involving the youth as the main stakeholders, especially those who are in difficult circumstances in all sectors of the economy. The policy further emphasises that young people have a right to participate in issues that affect their ability to exploit their full potential. Their responsibilities must not be relegated to the older generation (Ibid.: 16). This policy therefore encourages young people to fully engage themselves in their own development through exploration of their potential.

Republic of South Africa National Youth Policy (NYP)

South Africa’s population is projected to be 55,408,513 by the beginning of 2017 (UN 2016). It is largely made up of young people, who are below the age of 35 years and constitute about 66% per cent of the total population. The Republic of South Africa (RSA) consulted with various stakeholders in the youth sector prior to formulating its National Youth Policy 2009–2014 (RSA 2009). The policy’s goal is to,

Intentionally enhance the capacities of young people through addressing their needs, promoting positive outcomes providing integrated coordinated package of services, opportunities, choices, relationship and support necessary for holistic development of all young people particularly those outside the social, political and economic mainstream. (RSA 2009:7)

The Republic of South Africa refers to young people as those falling within the age group of 14–35 years, based on the mandate of the National Youth Commission Act of 1996 and the National Youth Policy of 2000 to initiate this policy (RSA 2009:11). Its aim is of utmost relevance to this study, as it is implied in this statement that when young people understand their roles and their responsibilities they become responsible citizens. A vision of this policy, among others, is to,

Build a non-sexist, non-racist democratic South Africa in which young people and their organisations not only enjoy and contribute to their full potential in social, economic and political spheres of life, but also recognise and develop their responsibilities to build a better life for all. (RSA 2009:7)

RSA (2009) has designed its national youth policy in a manner that concurs with UNESCO's recommendation that youth policies need to be designed in such a way that they relate and are coordinated with sectoral policies, so that they, too, address the objectives for national development (UNESCO 2004). A former President of the African National Congress (ANC) has been quoted as saying,

A nation that does not take care of its youth has no future and does not deserve one. (President O.R. Tambo) (RSA 2009:3)

Similarly, former President Thabo Mbeki, in his State of the Nation Address, recommended that the country should ensure that youth development issues are integrated into the mainstream of government plans (RSA 2009). These two statements show that youth issues are a primary concern in post-apartheid South Africa.

Despite its developmental progress, South Africa faces a challenge of a high number of Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEETs) youth. It is imperative to note that participation of young people in the development of any country is motivated by their inclusion in the education and employment sectors, but if such youth are not considered in

those key areas that has negative effects on their participation. According to Fact sheet on (NEETs) published by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) in South Africa there are young people between the ages of 15 and 24 who are NEETs (DHET 2017). As reported by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) “the state of NEETs implies a stagnation or decline in human capital, which is particularly worrying if it affects low-educated youth with little or no work experience”. Lesotho has similar cases of NEETs though its figures are not readily available. The MOET strategic plan of Lesotho only stipulates the high numbers of youth out of school with only 45.8% in formal education in 1999 and this reflects more than 50% of youth out of school (GOL 2005). The problem of NEETs is not only in the sub Saharan Africa but has been a concern across Africa in the last decade. While celebrating the International Year of Youth (IYY) the UN noted education and unemployment as some of the challenges facing African youth. (UN 2010a)

The RSA government hopes to achieve the active involvement of young people in national development by also allocating distinctive and complementary roles to all government ministries, the non-governmental sector and youth groups in development. This was made possible by the establishment of a National Youth Commission (NYC) which was tasked with the formulation and implementation of this policy. The NYC provided a framework with common goals for development and promotion of a spirit of cooperation and coordination (RSA 2009). The NYP recognises the many historical influences of society which have shaped the situation and experience of the young men and women in that country. This policy acknowledges that all people have rights, stating that these are purported to be, “cornerstones of our democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom” (RSA 2009:19). At the same time that the policy promotes the rights of young people, it encourages them to accept the accompanying responsibilities by stating that “knowledge of one’s own rights and responsibilities is as important as developing a respect for the right of others ...” (Ibid.:19). The policy also acknowledges that all citizens of South Africa, irrespective of age, enjoy human rights as contained in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These are the cornerstones of democracy and affirm the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. Although young people enjoy all these rights, this policy identifies and introduces the rights that are more relevant to the development of the youth and emphasises the need to uphold these rights and to empower young people to fully understand them.

It is important to note that there are also responsibilities that accompany or are tied to those rights. The youth are expected to use information on rights and responsibilities to make informed decisions about issues that will affect the rest of their lives and to support them on their journey to becoming mature and responsible adults (Ibid.: 17).

Republic of Uganda National Youth Policy

From 1894 to 1962, Uganda was a British protectorate that had been formulated out of separately organised kingdoms and chieftaincies that inhabited the lake regions of Central Africa, as stipulated by the Uganda High Commission (UHC 2014). Uganda gained her independence on October 9, 1962. According to the Uganda High Commission in Pretoria (2016), the population of Uganda was estimated to be 39,660,151 in 2016, of which 19,065,824 are people between 15 and 64 years old, 21% of which is estimated to be youth (Ibid.: 1).

Youth in Uganda are defined as all young persons aged 12–30 years and this age group is considered as needing dedicated societal support to assist with the transition to adulthood (Government of Uganda [GOU] 2004). Uganda has also developed a consultative, participatory and inclusive policy with the involvement of key stakeholders, which has been spearheaded by the Department of Youth and Children Affairs of the Ministry of Labour and Social Development with support from the National Youth Policy Task Force (GOU 2004). The youth policy's main goal is,

To provide an appropriate framework for enabling youth to develop social, economic, cultural and political skills so as to enhance their participation in the overall development process and improve their quality of life. (GOU 2004:20)

This policy clearly stipulates that with rights come responsibilities. Youth in Uganda have a responsibility, according to this policy, to be patriotic and loyal to their country and to promote the rule of law and democracy, all of which are relevant to values of citizenship (Ibid. 2004). The policy was formulated from the national development objectives and principles of state policy, which are enshrined in the country's 1995 Constitution, the National Youth Council Statute (GOU 2004) and the country's Vision 2025. Uganda has youth councils at district and sub-country levels and one of the functions of the councils is to “mobilise, sensitise and organise the youth of Uganda in a unified body to political, economic and socio-cultural activities” (GOU 2004:33).

This formulation committed Uganda to fulfil its national obligations for the development of the youth, in accordance with resolutions made at international summits, for example, the International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo, Egypt, in 1994. The policy notes that in the past, “youth have only been inadequately involved and their resources less harnessed in the socio-economic development in the promotion of peace, democracy, good governance and upholding values of the society” (GOU 2004:9). It is due to this fact that the policy advocates for mobility of resources to promote youth participation and integration in the mainstream of national development (Ibid.).

The policies of these three countries, Kenya, South Africa and Uganda, clearly tabulate the rights of the youth and also emphasise that those rights go hand in hand with responsibilities. For example, “the right to meaningful education” (GOK 2007:5-6), the “right to participation in making decisions that affect their lives” (GOU 2004:15), with responsibilities “to strengthen a culture of patriotic citizenship among young people and help them to become responsible adults who care for their families and others” (RSA 2009:7). Both the GOU and GOK make reference to patriotism, loyalty and promotion of the well-being of their countries. South Africa, in particular, gives youth a right to partake fully in citizenship duties, including voting, decision-making processes and governance, and responsibility to “promote and advance their rights as they relate to themselves, other young people and fellow South Africans in general” (RSA 2009:19). These three policies share some similarities with the Lesotho NYP, which are discussed below. The existence of such policies indicates a pan African interest in nurturing youth in a way that integrates young people’s concerns into national development goals and decision-making.

Many countries in Africa have put in place national youth policies or action plans in realisation of the importance of youth participation in development and governance processes and the need to harness the potential of youth. “However, many youth policies have significant shortcomings and experience challenges in their full implementation” (UN 2010a:7). It is further noted that governments should be able to address the challenges by:

- considering different variations of youth as well as the vulnerable and those with disabilities;

- ensuring that policies complement the country’s legislation and involve youth in decision making processes;
- outlining the steps to be followed at all levels and provide interministerial support to ensure cross-sectoral approach to youth development issues; and
- ensuring that there is adequate and efficient financing of all youth programmes. (Ibid.)

Since Lesotho is the country of focus for this study, its policy is discussed in more detail, prefaced by relevant background information about the country.

1.11 Lesotho

Lesotho is a small mountainous country of 30,350 km², which is landlocked by the Republic of South Africa. Its population is estimated at 2.06 million people, of which 75% live in the rural areas and are poor (World Population Review 2016). It is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary democracy which has held elections since 1998. It has ten districts, namely Berea, Butha-Buthe, Leribe, Mafeteng, Maseru, Mohale’s Hoek, Mokhotlong, Qacha’s Nek, Quthing and Thaba-Tseka.



Figure 1: Political map of Lesotho

Source: www.visitlesotho.travel

It is classified as a low human developed country and ranks 161 out of 188 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index (UNDP 2015). Children and youth make up 63% of the population and more than half of the population is under the age of 18. This age is recognised

by Lesotho as acceptable for young people to vote, because it is assumed that at this age they can make rational decisions.

The issue of rights, as articulated in the Human Rights Charter and Convention on the Rights of the Child, is a new phenomenon in Lesotho and appears to challenge the African tradition. In this tradition, societies place more emphasis on responsibilities. For example, Hardiman (2003) gives an account of Konkonuru, a village in the Akwapim Hills of Ghana, where children help their parents in farming. She reports that a child could produce the equivalent of his or her food needs by the age of 11 years, saying,

Boys help their fathers and other male relatives to clear bush for new farms. They learn about soils that are suitable for different crops, and they acquire knowledge of who farms where and the extent of lineage lands. (Hardiman 2003:106)

These practices are similar to those of Basotho, where young people learn to take on family responsibilities at an early age. For example, Morojele (2009) indicates that a male child inherits family property as well as responsibilities upon the death of the father. In some instances boys do not see the need to attend school, as it is not regarded as important, but instead they prepare to carry out family responsibilities. This happens only for males, as females are regarded as minors and their social construction differs because they are groomed to be subservient to the males.

Compared with Kenya, South Africa and Uganda, Lesotho's policy documents are old and pre-date much of the international new millennium statements. Lesotho has a number of policy documents relating to youth. Though such documents do not specifically stipulate youth rights and responsibilities, they refer to empowerment through job creation for young people. One such document is the Lesotho Constitution, adopted in 1993 (amended GOL 1966, 1997, 1998 and 2001), which protects the fundamental human rights and freedoms of its citizens and ensures that every person is entitled to a "right to life". But it does not clearly pronounce itself on the responsibilities or duties of citizens. Section 32 of this constitution also suggests that policies should be designed to provide that "children and young persons are protected from economic and social exploitation" (GOL 1993:13).

The Lesotho 'Vision 2020' policy document does not clearly address youth, except by referring to full accessibility at all levels to "quality education fully responsive to the country's needs whereby people are limited only by intellectual ability not by income or wealth" (GOL 2004:6). The National Youth Policy, however, is more explicit.

National Youth Policy of Lesotho (NYPL)

The vision of this policy is as follows:

The youth should be perceived and serve as an instrument of social development. To this end, it should be aspired to having youth as good citizens, moulded by dynamic cultural and religious values, so that they can take their rightful place in society and fully participate in economic and socio-political development of peaceful Lesotho through individual and coherent group self-motivation. (GOL 1995:11)

The specific goal is,

To promote the dignity and self-esteem of all Lesotho youth, ensure their physical intellectual and moral well-being; and take all measures to accelerate their full participation in the socio-economic, cultural and political life as healthy, active and productive citizens of the nation. (GOL 1995:11)

These statements emphasize the nation's concern for good citizenship that is embedded in Lesotho's culture, which emphasizes harmony and social cohesion. When Lesotho gained independence in 1966, there were no clearly defined government policies on youth until 1995. In 1969 the Department of Youth Affairs was established with the intention of engaging young people in national development and its activities focused mainly on vocational skills training to enable young people to be self-sufficient. The country's reluctance to make a clearly defined policy for such a long period reflects the slow progress in matters relating to youth in Lesotho. The absence of the policy prior to this date is thought to have led some young people to become delinquents, alcoholics and drug abusers who engage in criminal activities. According to the policy document, this could be a result of the drastically changing environment where values and beliefs are shifting adversely (GOL 1995).

The Ministry of Youth Gender, Sports and Recreation (MYGSR) produced a national youth policy in 1995 (GOL 1995). This policy is the outcome of the National Youth Conference which was held in 1995 at the Maseru Cabanas, Maseru, Lesotho. The rationale for the youth policy is that it is a necessary tool to provide coherence to national development efforts. The policy also states that its formulation would aid an understanding of the prevailing needs and problems of youth in the wider socio-economic and political context of the country. It also recognises that the youth experience problems that cause a conflict of expectations within Lesotho society, as there is a generation gap between young people and adults. It states that “as a result young people are caught up in a struggle for power and authority as they strive to be independent in a society which treats them as dependents” (Ibid.:7). The issue of youth being treated as dependents is not highlighted in the other three countries’ policies and it reflects a particular concern in Lesotho in its relationship with the principles of a modern democracy.

The policy states further that the overall effect of this situation seems to be loss of control by elders, resulting in youth experiencing too much freedom. It is argued that this leads to less responsibility from young people in some or all spheres of their lives, especially in their responsibility towards their participation in development activities (GOL 1995). Yet culturally, the status of a child in relation to the parents does not change; as a child remains a child no matter the age. These issues of culture and rights associated with responsibilities were explored with the youth in this study.

The NYPL states further that “youth enter into married lives at an early stage unprepared and lacking a sense of responsibility because of looking down upon, among others, traditional schools” (GOL 1995:9), which were intended to provide basic informal education to the initiates. In such schools, boys and girls were provided with knowledge and skills on how to be good leaders (for men), and (for women) how to play their role in families and communities. Although these schools still exist for boys they are not attended by all Basotho youth. The Lesotho youth policy also has as one of its objectives a commitment to education, and is expressed as,

Ensuring that the type of education and training provided in the country is compatible with and responsive to the needs of the youth and, hence, of the nation as a whole. (GOL 1995:12)

Lesotho also draws its mandate as a member of the African Union, defining youth as persons between the ages of 15 and 35. But the National Youth Policy of Lesotho (1995) divided the age groups into three categories, as follows: 12–15 as developing youth, 15–25 as well developed youth and 25–35 as young adults (GOL 1995:3). The study focuses on “developed youth” beyond age 18 and “young adults” up to age 30, thus reflecting two of the policy’s key transition phases.

The policy clearly stipulates that youth are neither represented nor considered in decisions that affect them, yet they are legitimately expected to be good leaders of tomorrow. However, the policy indicates that they are not given any training in leadership skills (GOL 1995). It also states that there is no inclusion of civic democracy education in the early curriculum which could prepare them for making rightful and meaningful decisions in the future and, as a result, they are not clear on how to exercise their democratic rights. The focus of youth development in this document, nevertheless, appears to be the issue of unemployment rather than civic education.

The NYPL is intended to be a guiding document to define a course of action for young adults to bring about changes in society. Young adults are expected not only to adjust to these changes, but to simultaneously meet their societal family expectations (GOL 1995). The NYPL supports UNESCO’S concept of the role of education for youth and has highlighted it as one of its strategies that will help attain the nation’s goal and vision by “ensuring that the type of education and training provided in the country is compatible with and responsive to the needs of the youth and hence, of the nation as a whole” (GOL 1995:12). The policy also identifies other strategies such as protection of their fundamental human rights and enhancing their integration into the socio-political development of the country (GOL 1995).

The NYPL does not emphasise issues of rights and responsibilities in the same way as other national policies on the continent. However, there are statements that implicitly refer to rights and responsibilities. The policy focus is on the issue of shifting values and traditions leading to cultural discontinuity (GOL: 1995). For instance, the document refers to a shift from the culture of disciplining a child through physical punishment, to recognising that this form of discipline is now regarded as child abuse. This has created a perception among parents that they can no longer ‘discipline’ their children because of fear of being prosecuted (Ibid.). Nowadays, though, physical punishment is considered abuse of the rights of the child and

such action by parents can result in prosecution. However, the policy does not suggest any other form of discipline that parents can use in replacement of the physical punishment which was once used.

Harman (1984) indicates that policy is sometimes used in a narrow sense to refer to formal statements of action to be followed. According to UNESCO (2004:10), “one of the prerequisites for the policy formulation is the understanding of the needs, perceptions, attitudes, aspirations and concerns of young people in your country”. Lesotho’s National Youth Policy, therefore, should practically aim to achieve these mentioned elements that affect young people rather than simply present its policy as a blueprint. It has been the government’s long term plan to carry out research into youth problems and draw up a well defined national policy intended to guide activities of young people (GOL 1995:5). This is further confirmation to the value of this study in contributing to that plan.

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (UN 1948). This study investigates how knowledgeable youth in Lesotho are about these rights and how they are understood in relation to responsibilities. Although the NYPL is very old, it is only now that revisions are being considered. In view of these current initiatives, the timing of this study and its findings could be used to inform a more up to date policy document and a strategic plan.

1.12 Comparison of the four youth policies

Policies from Kenya, South Africa, Uganda and Lesotho were summarised above and some similarities and differences were noted. From a reading of all these policies it can be deduced that governments have a common ambition for youth in these countries. While the Lesotho policy document stresses the need to build on traditional cultural values, all these countries have the common vision of empowering youth socially, politically and economically to be productive and active citizens. This concurs with the agenda of international organisations. Within the context of those policies the issue of rights and responsibilities and participation in public decision-making are highlighted. For example, in the Lesotho, Ugandan and Kenyan policies, it is clearly elaborated that youth have a right to participate in making decisions that affect their lives. The Lesotho youth policy articulated this concern as “encouraging free and safe participation of all youth irrespective of gender in the conduct of public affairs and

protection of law and order to motivate them and make them feel independent” (GOL 1995:14).

The next section discusses how the NYPL refers to youth organisations in order to support youth in Lesotho.

1.13 NYPL and youth organisations in Lesotho

The NYPL stipulates that “youth organisations play an important role in the development of the young people to meet the demands made by society” (GOL 1995:10). The expectations of society are that young people become independent, responsible, and successful in relationships with their families and others and are able to develop their own philosophies in life. There are various organisations that support these aims, as explained informally by the Youth Development Officer (22/4/2013), such as the Lesotho Youth Empowerment Forum (LYEF), Student Christian Movement (SCM), Young Christian Student (YCS), and Lesotho Red Cross (LRC). The core focus of these organisations is to ensure that young people in Lesotho are encouraged and sensitised to realize their capabilities, and are given skills to become self-sufficient. The NYPL, however, goes beyond this focus and includes wider concerns with health, cultural challenges, democracy and civil duties. Association of young people in organisations of their choice is supported by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in Article 15 which states,

Every child has the right to meet with other children and young people and to join groups and organisations, as long as this does not stop other people from enjoying their rights. (Children’s Rights Alliance 2013:1)

In support of this right, the NYPL advocates that,

Youth organisations [must] play an important role in the development of young people to help them meet the demands made by society for their independence, responsibility, achieving satisfactory relationships with their families and other people, preparation for marriage and raising a family and developing a basic philosophy of life. (GOL 1995:10)

In order to meet these demands the policy encourages participation by youth in positive and constructive association with each other, and coherent networking of youth organisations, while the government pledges to offer support to such organisations to strengthen their capacity and assist in ensuring their sustainability (GOL 1995). The NYPL concluded that for the policy to function, a National Youth Council should be established. The Council was established, but according to personal communication with Lesotho's Youth Development Officer (YDO) (2014), it has not been very effective.

Membership in youth organisations

Youth become members of different clubs or organisations that are intended to help them address issues of concern to them. There is, however, little information about how other youth who are not in those clubs use their time, irrespective of their employment status. It seems difficult to even incorporate their views so that their concerns are also addressed by the national youth policy. In this study, although one participant cohort was not selected on the basis of their membership of a specific organisation, it emerged that they all identified themselves as members of at least one organisation. Therefore, the study explores the influence of those organisations on how the youth participants understand their citizen rights and responsibilities with a view to making recommendations for civic education policy that will complement the country's current national youth policy.

Like everyone else, young people as citizens of their respective countries, are aware that they have rights so they expect to be listened to, understood and respected. But it is unclear whether they are aware that those rights are also associated with responsibilities, duties or obligations. Their understanding of rights and responsibilities reflects what they have learnt or are learning as they grow; therefore, a deeper awareness of their understanding has a bearing on how civic education might be developed.

1.14 Education in Lesotho

Ngozwana (2014) states that parental education in Lesotho entails transmitting the fundamental values of respect, trust and loyalty to the younger generation. Children later on mix with their peers, members of society and other cultural institutions before going to formal schools. Outside the family, Lesotho's formal education system starts between the ages of two and six, and these are catered for by the Integrated Early Childhood Care and

Development (IECCD) organisation as a pre-schooling programme. This was a feature of the 1991/92–1995/96 Education Sector Development Plan (GOL 2005). Provision is also made for basic education, which is designed to cover ten years of continuous learning in accordance with the SADC Protocol on Education and Training. These ten years involve seven years of primary and three years of secondary education (GOL 2005). Schooling is not compulsory in Lesotho; however, the year 2000 saw a dramatic rise in intake, which grew by nearly 25% (Preece, Lekhetho, Rantekoa and Ramakau 2009) starting with Grade 1, because of the introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE).

The government acknowledged the challenges and demands which young people face, therefore a formal curriculum was designed which intended to equip them from an early age with a necessary set of life skills (GOL 2007). This curriculum on Life Skills Education (LSE) is from the lower primary up to secondary level (standards 4–7 and Form A to C). The rationale for this was to introduce life skills education in schools as an intervention programme aiming to enable the school-going youth to deal effectively with societal demands and challenges (Ibid.). The programme aims to promote responsible, healthy lifestyles, instil good citizenship skills in learners and enhance their awareness about their rights and responsibilities as human beings (GOL 2007).

To achieve its aims to equip learners with skills to face life challenges, the Life Skills Education programme (GOL 2007:vi) general curriculum includes, among other things,

- enhancing good relations with one another and with communities;
- instilling good citizenship skills in learners; and
- enhancing learners' awareness of their rights and responsibilities as human beings.

The programme also entails some core life skills which are intended to equip youth with skills in decision making and problem solving, creative thinking, empathy, assertiveness and self-esteem (GOL 2007). However, Thakaso (2010) indicates that in an interview with an official at the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) it was revealed that most schools do not follow the curriculum, as it is not part of the subjects to be examined.

Included in the recognition of education for its citizens, Lesotho has about eight technical and vocational institutions in the country, which are designed to equip learners to become productive workers with marketable skills that will make them competitive locally and

regionally (GOL 2005). A number of other tertiary education institutions exist such as the Lesotho College of Education (LCE), Limkokwing University of Creative Technology (LUCT), and the National University of Lesotho (NUL), which is identified as the highest academic institution in the country.

The Lesotho government also makes provision for Non-Formal Education (NFE). The government “maintains that NFE is a catalyst of development which can be used in the dissemination of information, promotion of new [sic] acquired skills, introduction and facilitation of change and the articulation of innovative drive with any organised society” (GOL 2005:88). NFE in Lesotho addresses the demands of disadvantaged groups such as herd boys, out of school youth, adults who missed formal education and retrenched miners (Ibid. 2005).

The arrival of missionaries in Lesotho discouraged the initiation schools, as they were regarded as heathen and superstitious (Thabane 2002 cited in Matobo et al. 2009). Hardiman (2003) reports similar experiences as a result of missionary interventions in Kenya. Morojele (2009:8) indicates that “in present day Lesotho, most communities continue to practise initiation for boys and promote the upholding of patriarchy and male privilege, while only a few continue girls’ initiation practices and the socialization of girls in the service of patriarchy”.

In addition to the formal schooling system and official NFE provision, Lesotho has always provided its own non-formal, traditional learning systems for youth which are in the form of traditional and initiation schools. Matsela and Motlomelo (2002) state that the initiation schools are intended to prepare boys for adult responsibility as husbands and fathers in a nation. This education is provided in order to equip young people with skills to become responsible citizens. According to Matobo, Makatsa and Obioha (2009), citing Turner (1967), boys were taught how to be mature and responsible in their communities through traditional initiation. Even though there is no formal curriculum in the initiation schools, Tuoane (President of Lesotho Universal Medicine and Herbalist Council (LUMHC) in an unpublished document) is quoted by Matsela and Motlomelo (2002), making the point that “the traditional initiation schools had [have] a lot to offer in terms of preparation for leadership and responsibility in a society” (Ibid.:9). Tuoane is quoted as identifying the following elements as part of the curriculum in the initiation schools:

- Patriotism, which instils the love of one's country and fellow countrymen
- National unity and love for your neighbour, which forms characteristics of a good citizen
- Self reliance in economic development
- General defence of a nation by the male sector
- Family studies, home management and general discipline in the society at large
- Skills for people to contribute meaningfully in their own society

This curriculum content bears the traditional characteristics of building a young man into a responsible citizen in his community. Matsela and Motlomelo (2002:8), quoting Adams and Bastian (1983:30), support this point that the initiation schools promote national survival by incorporating the young into the nation. It is through such institutions that some of the young people of Lesotho are socialised into being loyal to their country. Matsela and Motlomelo further acknowledge that through initiation schools values of national identity and pride are promoted among initiates. It is through these institutions that young people are introduced into the social life that is expected to prepare them for Basotho society. They state that "leadership, discipline and family life education are taught to the young boys at the initiation schools" (Ibid.:6).

1.15 Chapter summary

This chapter provided background information and articulated the problem(s) that motivated the study. It gave a definition of youth and its population globally and regionally. African and international perspectives about youth were also discussed to give a picture of how youth are regarded. The chapter then outlined youth policies from Kenya, Uganda and South Africa and compared them with the Lesotho youth policy. The membership of young people in different youth organisations as a resource to enable them to learn and engage in different activities that develop them as citizens was discussed. Since the study intends to investigate youth understanding about citizenship rights and responsibilities the chapter also outlined the Lesotho education system and its existing contribution to learning about these concepts. It concludes by giving brief definitions of the main concepts of the study.

1.16 Definition of terms

Terms that are commonly used throughout the study are briefly defined here and are dealt with in depth in Chapter 2.

Citizenship is simply defined as a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community. It also gives a legal and social status with rights and duties to a citizen (Isin and Wood 1999).

Identity is defined as the existence of a person, and their character or the personality.

Right is defined as that which is morally correct and acceptable (Concise Oxford Dictionary 2004). Rights, in this study, relate to the individual human rights of Basotho young adults, as interpreted by the youth themselves and as defined by the UN Convention for human rights.

Responsibility is defined as an opportunity or ability to act independently and to take decisions without authorization (Concise Oxford Dictionary 2011). Responsibilities are also referred to in this study as obligations or duties that citizens have to perform and to which they have an element of commitment.

Civic education is a process or programmes intended to educate citizens on the rights, duties and responsibilities intended to empower and motivate them to take part in their nation's government (Ngozwana 2014).

CHAPTER 2: CITIZENSHIP

2 Introduction

Chapter 1 explained the focus of the study as young adult understanding of their rights and responsibilities in Lesotho. The study is written in the context of Lesotho's youth policy (GOL 1995), which highlights concerns with the erosion of culture and lack of attention among the youth towards their community responsibilities. However, the policy is very old and no study has been undertaken in Lesotho to assess how Basotho youth, as young adults, feel about their rights and responsibilities today. This study seeks to uncover what youth themselves think about these concepts in the contemporary Lesotho context, about the type of civic education which is provided and where they learn about their rights and responsibilities. In particular, the study explores how they see themselves in relation to their rights and responsibilities.

This study addresses the following research questions:

1. How do young adults see themselves in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities in the contemporary Lesotho context?
2. Where and how do they learn these rights and responsibilities?
3. How do young adults manifest their identities, rights and responsibilities through their youth group membership?
4. What implications do the findings have for the design of civic education programmes and government youth policy in Lesotho?

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a review of the literature and the theoretical concepts that are relevant to the above research questions. The focus of the theoretical framework is citizenship and identity, with reference to social capital. This chapter also focuses on definitions and theories of citizenship, with a review of literature on education, learning about citizenship and rights and responsibilities that are attached to it. Finally, since research question four specifically seeks to analyse implications of the findings for civic education, this chapter concludes with a review of literature that discusses civic education as a formal or non-formal curriculum.

Chapter 3 focuses on definitions and theories of identity and also the literature related to social capital theory, as this concept emerged during data analysis. These definitions and concepts are discussed in relation to how they are understood and manifested by youth globally, with relevance to Lesotho.

2.1 Citizenship

The concept of citizenship has a long history. According to the Crick Report by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (1988) written in the UK, citizenship from the political tradition in the Greek city-state and Roman republic meant, "... involvement in public affairs by those who had rights of citizens: to take part in public debate and, directly or indirectly, in shaping the laws and decisions of a state" (Ibid.:9). Individuals within a particular state are afforded rights to engage in debates to make laws that govern them. Bachmann and Staerkle (2000:14) state that the origin of citizenship is derived from the Latin word *civics* or *civitas* and denotes "a member of an ancient city-state". The Greeks used Aristotle's definition of citizen as *polites* or citizen, which is defined by him as, "... a person who, by living in the city, participated in a process of cultivation, someone who rules and is ruled in turn" (Ibid.:14).

Bachmann and Staerkle (2000) state that, since it is not a clear-cut and stable concept, citizenship has been constantly modified in political practice and accommodated to changing historical situations. The complexity attached to this concept results in various definitions. They further postulate that,

Modern citizenship was born out of the nation-state in which certain rights and obligations were granted to individuals under its authority. This was as a result of the creation of an international system of states and which was formalised and institutionalised along the lines of state formation. (Ibid.:16)

De la Paz (2012:1) refers to Marshall's (1950) definition of citizenship by indicating that it can be understood as "full membership of a community". De la Paz mentions that it is constituted of the three elements of civil, political and social rights. Citizenship was, therefore, a privilege inherited by individuals, including the rights to vote, to hold elections

and be appointed to governmental office, to serve on different government bodies and participate in political debates as equal members of community.

Field (2002) acknowledges too, that citizenship is a complex idea which has its roots in antiquity, but that it gradually acquired its contemporary significance during the American and French revolutions (1775-1783 and 1789-1799 respectively). Its significance is that it entails the conditions under which people participate in their wider community. Isin and Turner (2007:7) argue that citizenship is an institution that would guarantee the workers a “modicum of civilised life” by protecting them from the unpredictable vagaries of accident, sickness and unemployment. Isin and Turner (2007:5) acknowledge that citizenship is regarded as vital partly because when people invest in their states they can assume that they have a legitimate claim on the state when they fall ill, or become unemployed, or become too old to support themselves. Past contributions to the community become the basis of “legitimate claims on the commonwealth”.

Marshall (1950), as cited in Biesta and Lawy (2006), therefore defined citizenship as a status afforded to those people who are full members of a community. One becomes a member of a community by birth or naturalisation, but the most important thing that stands out is conduct in that community. For example, a person has to be a loyal and active member of the developmental issues of the community, and not just a member because of birth. Therefore, young people who feel that they are part of their communities are more likely to take part in their community’s development. Benn (2000), cited by Preece and Mosweunyane (2003:6), reflects this idea, defining citizenship from a British perspective as, “... involvement in social networks in the groups, organisations and voluntary associations that connect citizens with the life of their communities”.

In pursuit of the above argument, according to Yuval-Davis (2006) Marshall’s definition of citizenship was not just of membership in the (political) community, but also included associated rights and responsibilities. Citizenship is also said to include rights that an individual acquires from being a citizen of a certain country, but those rights go with responsibilities of such a citizen. Those rights therefore tend to rest upon the existence of duties which are defined as “duties to perform an act” and “by-products of rights” respectively (O’Brien 2003:48). A citizen of each country is expected by law to act responsibly, for example, by showing commitment to participate in the elections. This

perspective can be drawn from Delanty's (2000:9) statement that "citizenship has been partly a state led project (legal status) and partly a project emanating from civil society". That is, presently citizenship embraces active participation of an individual in one's community, unlike in the ancient times when people saw it only as an indicator or a privilege (Ibid.: 9). According to O'Brien, "Citizens are, [therefore] by their very nature, accorded rights which allow them to participate in the political, social, cultural and economic practices of the community" (O'Brien 2003:275). These rights accorded to citizens cannot exist without corresponding responsibilities. These are the two concepts of concern in this study.

Innovations in Civic Participation (ICP) and Pravah (2009:4) see citizenship as, "... that, which makes us participative, proactive and responsible towards society". They see citizenship as a moral duty that citizens have to be actively involved in addressing societal responsibilities. This definition shows that citizenship is understood as more than simply a legal status. It carries with it a sense that it is a responsibility as well as a right. They further indicate that active citizen involvement refers to the ability of young people to be engaged in social action in every walk of life. It is worth noting that from its origins, citizenship involved participation by an individual in a state. It can be deduced from these above statements that when an individual is conscious of the rights afforded by the state, such a person becomes motivated to be a proactive and responsible citizen. Ngozwana (2014:61), when writing about Lesotho, suggests that "citizenship in today's context applies to someone who legally belongs ... and who acts responsibly by helping the community ...". It can be seen from these two definitions that it does not have an outright meaning, but there is a common feature across most definitions reflecting the participation of a responsible citizen.

Preece and Mosweunyane (2006:5) confirm, however, that citizenship is a contested term, which can be either a status or an activity and which can mean different forms of activity according to the discourse of a particular time and space. Preece (2008:381) indicates that citizenship "is now widely discussed in terms of citizenship status, citizenship identity, civic responsibilities and agency (active citizenship)". Keogh (2003) shares this same perspective by stating that citizenship, as a process, has many courses of action and sets of procedures, but it is also a status or membership. Citizenship is further outlined by Delanty (2003:600) to be a matter of participation and learning in the political community. This begins early in life and, he argues that, "it concerns the learning of a capacity for action and for responsibility but, essentially, it is about learning of the self and of the relationship of self and others".

From the above comments one can interpret that citizenship embraces people's involvement in their various groups and societies so that they connect with each other as citizens. It also carries with it a sense that it is a responsibility as well as a right. Delanty (2003) argues further that citizenship is understood to be an on-going identity building process that is conducted in communicative links that arise from daily life experiences.

The above definitions are introduced to shed light on how the concept can be associated with youth in the study. Since it plans to investigate their rights and responsibilities and how they see their identities as citizens and youth group members in relation to those rights and responsibilities, it relates to Delanty's idea of citizenship as an identity building process.

In the Lesotho context, it can be said that young people are afforded those rights because they were born in the country and the expectation of the state is that each citizen will act responsibly by showing commitment and participation in his or her country. O'Brien concurs by further stating that these rights, which allow them to take part in all spheres of life, tally with responsibilities.

These views about citizenship indicate that it is an old concept that has evolved. Bachmann and Staerkle (2000:20) support the idea that citizenship varies according to different nation states. They argue that, "although citizenship may now be universal its meanings are not, as they vary across national contexts depending on the laws of such states". An illustration of this is a Lesotho citizen being treated according to the laws of South Africa while in that country. The current requirements requested of Basotho residing in that country is an example of such a case. Basotho and other non-South Africans are required by South African authorities to have a residence, work or study permit for them to legally stay in that country.

The different perspectives on citizenship can be divided into states of being, such as a legal status, and as belonging. These perspectives can be categorised under different philosophical positions which reflect the way in which citizenship behaviour can operate and their relevance to the study is discussed below.

2.2 Citizenship as a legal status

From the legal perspective citizenship is seen only as a status based on birth rights, while from the societal perspective it is a membership that is associated with rights and responsibilities to society. Citizenship is regarded by Isin and Wood (1999) as a legal status and practice that progressively is inclusive of rights. Hall and Coffey (2007) conclude that it can be referred to as legal membership of a nation or political community which affords an individual a relationship with his or her community.

De la Paz (2012:4) states that “as a legal status citizenship is universal within a state”. It means that someone may become a legal citizen if they fulfil the requirements established by the constitution as a set of civil, political and social rights and duties that determine their access to social and economic resources. De la Paz further indicates that this universality of citizenship considers the laws and rules to be the same for all citizens despite their wealth, status and power among other citizens—because “we are all human” (Ibid.). It is a status that gives an individual freedom to do certain things within such a state or country. This status entitles a person to have documents that certify that they were born or naturalised into a particular country. According to Ngozwana (2014), legalised citizenship can be as a result of nationalisation or naturalisation, where citizens acquire legal documents such as a birth certificate, an identity card or a passport showing their nationality or citizenship. This position can also be substantiated by the UN Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13(1), which stipulates that, “Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state” (UN 1989). Possession of these documents gives access to some of the benefits that are provided to citizens by the state. For example, in Lesotho, these documents allow a person to migrate from one place to another in the country when there is sufficient legal documentation from the chief of their original location, or students receive sponsorship from the National Manpower Development Secretariat (NMDS) based on their Lesotho nationality and documentation proof.

There are conflicting issues associated with the legality and rights of movement connected to an identity card or passport. Isin and Turner (2007:14) concur with the notion that “citizenship is both a legal status that confers an identity on persons and a social status that determines how economic and cultural capital are redistributed and recognised within society”, but they argue that even though its existence is confirmed by the acquisition of an

identity card or passport, it can be recognised beyond the borders of issuance. They claim that this expansion happens not because there is an identical polity that exists on another scale, but because struggles for redistribution of different forms of capital and social recognition expand beyond and across borders. This idea reflects that foreign nationals are accepted into a foreign country due to their perceived worth and the contribution they can bring to its labour force or national economy. Possession of legal documents can allow a person to become a citizen of the world, a global citizen in terms of travel—unless there are some diplomatic or criminality related restrictions.

2.3 Citizenship as belonging

In addition to the legal connotations associated with citizenship, it is also understood as belonging to a geographically specific spot of land or the citizen's relationship with a specific place. Nasar (2000) cited by Mahafza (2014) indicates that this relationship is characterised by permanence, continuity and flexibility, and good relationships with others. Citizenship has long been associated with some form of stability within well-defined geographical or cultural boundaries. Vandenabeele, Reyskens and Wildermeersch (2011) concur that belonging to a more or less cohesive community, mostly a nation-state, imposes different kinds of rights and duties on its members. In smaller groups that young people form amongst themselves, similar characteristics of collectiveness or cohesion are portrayed, as articulated by Vandenabeele et al. (2011). Arnot and Swart (2012) also maintain that the element of belongingness is shaped by social location, which has identifications and emotional attachments and ethical and political values. Schaber and Anwander (2013) emphasise that members of a community regard their belonging as part of their identity. They do so to an extent that, “when asked who they are, most people will mention their nation or at least the place they are from” (p.2). Besides identifying as ‘*Ke Mosotho*’ (I am a Mosotho), Lesotho has names that people use to say which district or region they come from, for example, *Lioli* for people from Berea, *Makaota* for people from Mafeteng, and *Manonyane* for people from Roma.

A study undertaken by Swartz, Harding and De Lannoy (2012:37) examined the notions of citizenship and belonging of young people in South Africa. They asked what are the meanings and markers of both in a country like South Africa and what are the “alternative modes of belonging adopted by young people”. Youth who participated in this study are reported to have exhibited two different modes of belonging within their context of poverty:

dreaming and *ikasi* style. It was understood that dreaming represented their desired participation in the 'New South Africa', while *ikasi* style reflected ways in which they navigated their access to the markers of belonging in the absence of real opportunity (Ibid.:37). Similarly, it could be argued that the association made by of youth with certain political leaders in Lesotho could be due to their poverty situation and not necessarily with who they want to be.

As indicated by Jarvis (2008), the extent to which a person has a sense of belonging to society determines how they participate. In this regard Bagnall (2010) argues that belonging is a function of participation. A recent study on understanding of democracy and citizenship that was undertaken in Lesotho revealed that "there is a fine line between what participants [in Lesotho] discussed in terms of citizenship as belonging and citizenship as identity" (Ngozwana 2014:177), and this would determine their participation in communal activities. It can be deduced from this statement that Basotho's understanding of "citizenship as belonging" and "citizenship as identity" could possibly reflect similar meanings, because if you feel you belong, you identify with that community. Examples from quotes in the study by Ngozwana suggest that citizenship is not often discussed among Basotho.

Citizenship is also a strategic concept that incorporates citizens' identity, participation, rights and responsibilities and their interests. Within a particular residency there are common shared values and activities that people abide by to show that they belong. Bagnall (2010:450) elaborates that citizenship,

... commits the citizen to certain formal duties (such as the duty to respect the rights of fellow citizens) and accords him or her certain formal rights (such as right to residency) or demands of the individual that he or she live according to certain values (such as commitment to justice).

Ngozwana (2014), Bagnall (2010) and Swart (2013) all refer to citizenship belonging as encompassing rights which citizens can expect as protection from the state and as responsibilities which citizens should undertake in return. Within these boundaries youth, in the context of this study, have rights and responsibilities and values as citizens (Ngozwana 2014). Their participation is therefore influenced by their perception about their 'belongingness'. In this respect, 'belonging' to a community includes taking responsibility

for how one behaves in that community. For instance, Ngozwana (2014), in the context of Lesotho, associates the notion of belonging with rights and responsibilities and adopting the values of communities where one resides. Swart (2013) agrees with other authors that citizens are expected to perform these duties (responsibilities and obligations) expected by the state. These obligations are respecting other citizens and being good citizens by conforming to laws of justice. In this manner it can be deduced that one takes responsibility to be guided by the laws of the culture of origin.

Delanty (2000), among others, discusses three theoretical traditions of citizenship: the communitarian, the civic republican and the cosmopolitan. Each of these has some relevance to this study and is discussed briefly in the next section.

2.4 Theories of citizenship

As has been discussed, there are different ways in which citizenship can be defined and those definitions influence how citizenship is theorised. The different theoretical perspectives reflect different emphases and provide a way of understanding what form of citizenship is learnt. Although there are many theoretical perspectives, as cited by Yuval Davis (2006), there are three theories which seem pertinent to this study. These are often categorised as communitarianism, cosmopolitanism and civic republicanism. These three theories were chosen because they reflect a broad consensus on different ways in which citizenship is acted out in contemporary society. The following table (Table 1) gives a summary of the distinctive features of the citizenship theories used in this study and the relevant authors.

Table 1: Features of citizenship theories

Citizenship theory	Distinctive features	Relevant literature sources
Communitarianism	Collective and cohesive community; caring, unity and sharing of values – <i>Ubuntu</i> ; wellness; national pride and loyalty; volunteerism	Etzioni (2015), Waghid (2014), Matsela (1990), Sigger (2010), Mahafza (2014) IFRC (2011), Galston (2004)
Civic republicanism	Organised civil society interacting with government; exercising of rights; active engagement of citizens; deliberative democracy allowing dialogue in political decisions; creation of better government and healthy	Delanty (2000), Harber & Mncube (2012), Parlow (2008), Bachman & Staerkle (2000), Preece & Mosweunyane (2006), Nwafor (2012)

	communities	
Cosmopolitanism	Global citizenship; recognizing common humanity and sense of solidarity; engagement and connection with social and physical environment; human rights and democracy at local and global levels	Oxfam (2006), Gauntlett (2011), Osler & Starkey (2003)

For instance, communitarianism is associated with volunteering and caring within a local community, and civic republicanism is associated with working collectively in an organisation of shared interests to address a particular issue. Cosmopolitanism is concerned with working with others on an international or global scale to address issues of international concern. The following sections discuss these terms in more detail.

2.4.1 Citizenship as communitarianism

Communitarianism must be understood as a strategy which seeks to govern through community, according to Rose (1999). This makes for a democratic process whereby community members are decision makers. Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) explain communitarianism in terms of sacrificing the idea of extensive individual freedom to benefit the broader community. In this sense it relates to the concept of democracy, which is often interpreted by many simply as ‘governing people by the people’. Etzioni (2007), also argues that key aspects relevant to communitarianism are the community, common values and the commitment of individuals to endorse and defend these values. The above understanding reflects notions of togetherness and cohesion among communities, which are common characteristics among most Africans. Avoseh (2001:481) also confirms this practice thus: “African society pivots on the basic elements of obligations to the community and interpersonal relationships.”

Broadly, communitarian citizenship reflects a notion of community as something that stands for unity and as a cultural resource that ties people together (Delanty 2000). Its primary concern is the maintenance of a cohesive society organised around a common set of values which community members are expected to endorse (Bachmann and Staerkle 2000). A citizen is expected to have a role and responsibility in making rules of the community, a role in the common life and values of a community and the ability to engage with others in common tasks of importance to the community (ICP & Pravah 2009). Ngozwana (2014)

indicates that, according to communitarian thinking, citizens need a society with a degree of common goals and sense of collective common good. This argument implies that individuals become attached to a particular community and share a culture that brings them together so that they become loyal to one another.

Etzioni (2015) refers to responsive communitarianism, which builds on the sense of collectiveness in communities. He indicates that responsive communitarianism advocates for preservation of social bonds, as they are essential for the flourishing of individuals and their societies. This can be achieved through respect and the upholding of society's moral order, because society should also respect and uphold an individual's autonomy to live a full life (Ibid. 1996). Etzioni also argues that social bonds need to be preserved, as they are essential for the wellbeing and development of individuals and their societies.

The social bonds that Etzioni refers to are preserved through trust, unity and sharing. Waghid (2014) states that communal sharing and trust are core features of the African concept of *ubuntu*. Through *ubuntu* individual identity is shaped by the community where one is raised, while at the same time that community's identity is framed by what one, as an individual envisages for oneself. United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO 2015:36) cites the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who once said "my humanity is bound in yours, for we can only be human together". This confirms the 'we-ness' concept amongst Africans. This implies that the social bonds in every community play a pivotal role because they strengthen the cohesiveness of a community.

In relation to their connection to communitarian citizenship, Norman (2001) suggests there should be a partnership between youth and adults which, she believes, can enable adults to work cooperatively with young people to address issues that affect them. This, in itself gives the youth a sense of belonging and makes them accountable for their actions. A similar kind of partnership is suggested by the Government of Lesotho in its youth policy, as it states that "together, both youth and adults can build a new Lesotho with a pride that flows from and strengthens our identity as a nation" (GOL 1995:2). Such a partnership relationship, it is implied, will motivate youth to participate in community issues.

The Basotho nation has always held its own values as a way of life, which are described by Matsela (1990:3) as: "*Makhabane a phelisano: boitlhompho le tlhomphano le neheletsano le*

tsotello le thusano ea batho ba bang kaha moo lerato la 'nete le renang batho baa thusana' (Values of collectiveness: self-respect and respect for one another lead to caring and helping each other, because where there is true love people help each other). This follows the African philosophy of education that is communitarian in nature. According to Waghid (2014), collectiveness ensures the engagement of people with one another as part of a communal space where they can effectively communicate amongst themselves. There are also common Sesotho phrases such as "*hlaahlela le lla ka le leng*" (literally meaning people help each other when in need), "*ntja peli ha e hloloe ke phokojoe*" (implying two hands are stronger or unity is strength), which all reflect the sense that we are bound in our collective efforts towards each other. Caring for one another in a community is further attested to by Waghid (2014) as a core communitarian characteristic. He states that communal sharing is determined by individual responsibility towards the group and the group's responsibility towards the individual. Sigger et al. (2010:2) give an example of practices of communal sharing, citing an interview where Nelson Mandela's philosophy of *ubuntu* was expressed thus:

In the old days when we were young, a traveller would stop at a village and once he stopped he did not have to ask for food or water, once he stopped the people gave him food at the table.

As Mahafza (2014) stipulates, communitarian citizenship expresses the national pride and national loyalty among citizens who should have knowledge of the nation's values and skills, thereby promoting good relationships between themselves and their communities. This loyalty among citizens emanates from the family and community, as these are "strong promulgators of norms of collective interest and sanctioning behaviour" (Preece and Mosweunyane 2004:39).

Another characteristic of communitarianism is volunteerism, which also propels a spirit of caring for one another. In African communities the vulnerable do not have to plead for help from other members, but due to the African culture of *ubuntu* they are automatically taken care of. Waghid (2014) posits that a high premium is placed on mutual caring, especially treating the vulnerable with care.

The International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) and Red Crescent Societies' publication values the work of volunteers as a citizenship activity. According to this organisation (IFRC 2011:8), "volunteering promotes trust and reciprocity, encourages good citizenship and

provides people with an environment where they can learn the responsibility of community and civic involvement”. In other words, the act of volunteering itself is an expression of *ubuntu*, but also builds social bonds, which is later discussed under the notion of social capital. Voluntary service is at the heart of community building and, according to Galston (2004), every citizen has a moral responsibility to contribute towards the sustenance of national developmental needs. Volunteering therefore encourages people to be responsible citizens and provides them with an environment where they can be engaged and make a difference. It enhances social solidarity and quality of life in a society and can serve as a means of social inclusion and integration. At the same time, it builds pride among volunteers for what they do for a community. The IFRC (2011:8) states that: “volunteers confirm that they are pleased to be able to do something to help and proud to have something to offer to society”. Galston (2004) suggests that youth often characterise their volunteering as an alternative to official politics, which they see as self-absorbed and unrelated to their deeper ideals. These young people, “understand why it matters to feed a hungry person at a soup kitchen [but] they do not understand why it matters where government sets eligibility levels for food stamps” (Galston 2004:263). They are therefore passionate that what really matters should touch their lives.

Other scholars argue that there are potential disadvantages to communitarian citizenship. Communitarianism is criticised for promoting dependency and slowing down the process of self-independence and the development of people who depend on others in a community (for example, Pickett 2001). Furthermore, Etzioni (2015) indicates that communitarianism can create a group of power elites who dominate the community and force it to abide by its values. Communitarianism therefore encourages maintenance of the *status quo*, and, as Ngozwana (2014) highlights, this can also reflect social norms that may discriminate against women, youth and minorities. Traditional structures in Lesotho expect women to follow male decision-making, with little opportunity to challenge those decisions, so social cohesion can also be oppressive.

It must be noted that the expression of rights and responsibilities in regimes of oppression can result in confrontation. In 1974 when the apartheid government of South Africa introduced compulsory use of the Afrikaans language alongside English, black students mobilised themselves against that decision (South African History online 2016). In other words, the communitarian maintenance of the *status quo* can be detrimental if the cause is perceived to

be unjust. This example of youth taking action highlighted the use of their rights. The apartheid government's insistence on the language teaching medium of Afrikaans was a denial of young people's own right to speak indigenous languages and impacted on their ability to learn. Therefore, they made it their responsibility to bring about change (Ibid.).

An alternative vision for communitarianism is expressed through civic republican citizenship, as it is linked to direct participatory democracy (Ngozwana 2014). Ngozwana states that through the dynamic possibilities of civic republicanism, full development and voluntary action of citizens is achieved through active citizenship.

2.4.2 Citizenship as civic republicanism

Delanty's version of civic republicanism, according to Preece and Mosweunyane (2006:11), "places more emphasis on civil society as a form of organised public activity that interacts with the state and community". They also cite Putnam (2000), who argues for a strong civil society to shoulder the burdens of social responsibility, rather than the state. He claims that the stronger the civil society, the stronger the state will be (Putnam 2000). Harber and Mncube (2012) illustrate that under civic republicanism citizens actively engage in dialogue and debates to allow constructive and fair decision-making. It also puts emphasis on the associational character of citizenship, as it is not merely about rights and duties, but about participation. It suffices to note that although there is public commitment by social action through civic republicanism, society does not necessarily challenge the state confrontationally, but rather communicates in a dialogue with the state (Delanty 2000).

Parlow (2008) acknowledges that there is a current lack of civic republican engagement and associates this with inconsistent behaviour of democratic governments which are meant to be accountable to all their citizens. He regards civic republicanism as a means to envision local government as a deliberative democracy which allows for the engagement of community stakeholders in a process of identifying their needs. Communities need to coordinate their concerns through formal organisations, which then engage with government on issues of their concern. Civic republicanism therefore emphasises the role of civil society as an organised group of people that interact with state and society or community to address citizen concerns (Ngozwana 2014; Preece & Mosweunyane 2004; Delanty 2000). It is also seen as a form of deliberative democracy that allows community stakeholders to engage in a dialogue with one

another to identify the needs of the community and to find appropriate solutions for the good of all (Parlow 2008).

Civic republicanism is exemplified by citizens exercising their rights through civil society groups that interact directly with government or organisations to address issues that affect the masses (Delanty 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane 2004). Under this theory, citizens take part in political decisions, but with the focus on rule by the people and the demands that they put on their country's leaders above their own personal interests (Nwafor 2012). Youth in South Africa played a pivotal and massive role through civil societies in the anti-apartheid struggle; such that the multi-party democracy of South Africa today recognises the youth sector as a key stakeholder in society (ICP & Pravah 2009). A country's constitution protects the rights of the people and demands that leaders are held accountable for the decisions they make for the masses.

In Lesotho civic organisations include the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) and Catholic Commission for Justice for Peace (CCJP), which have proved to be very influential in protecting the rights of Basotho citizens. For example, the TRC led the debate and discussion across the political spectrum of Lesotho in 2010 on the country's Land Act,. With the help of the TRC there was an open process of dialogue, which included engaging with a diverse cross-section of the local community (Parlow 2008). Parlow postulates that civic republicanism does not only offer the possibility of better government, but it also creates better citizens and healthier communities (Ibid.).

The TRC organisation held several public gatherings on the Land Bill, where people expressed discontent over various clauses in the Bill (TRC 2010). The work of the organisation bore fruit for the wider community, as "the court ruled in favour of the people, decisions which prompted the march to parliament to protest against passage of the Bill without broader consultations" (Shale 2010:19). This is an illustration of civic republicanism, which maintains that citizenship must be open and involve the rights and practices of political participation by the people to achieve common good (Bachmann & Staerkle 2000, Parlow 2008). From this perspective, citizens form civic organisations with the intention of communicating with government on issues of concern. Civic republicanism respects that individuals can exercise their rights and responsibilities as a collective, as opposed to a more liberalist position which puts emphasis on an individual's autonomy and liberal rights with

the assumption that the state protects those rights of its citizens (Bachmann & Staerkle 2000). Liberalism, in this definition, is less likely to reflect the African value base of collective responsibility and participation of citizens. Civic republicanism allows citizens, as individuals and in groups, to question government and the *status quo* to secure rights for all. In this respect it creates space for collective action for change. However, in today's context of globalisation the more global form of cosmopolitan citizenship has evolved.

2.4.3 Citizenship as cosmopolitanism

Seifikar (2008:307) cites Appiah, who is noted for stating that “our human world is becoming smaller because people have more access to each other than ever before in history through migration, international trade, tourism, exposure to mass media and particularly the internet”. This is because, as Smith and Thomas (2015) indicate, globalisation has interconnected the farthest corners of the globe so that even the remotest indigenous minorities feel its impact. Cosmopolitan citizenship refers to the ‘global citizen’ or ‘citizen of the world’ (as also indicated by Ngozwana 2014). Oxfam Great Britain (GB) (2006:3) sees the global citizen as someone who,

- is aware of the wider world and a sense of their own role as world citizens
- respects and values diversity
- participates in the community at a range of levels from the local to the global
- takes responsibility for their actions

Our youth today are a manifestation of these characteristics, as they have access to world events through the internet, among other sources.

Gauntlett (2011:8) states that, “there is obviously the shift towards internet-based interactivity, which has had a genuine impact on the way that people spend time and on the ways in which they can connect with each other”, in close proximity and at a distance. Cosmopolitan citizenship implies recognition of our common humanity and a sense of solidarity with others, but most importantly, global solidarity with those in our own (close) communities (Seifikar 2006). Seifikar refers to Appiah (2006) in arguing that we need institutions that can help us live together in the new global tribe to reflect shared ideas. Appiah is said to have adopted the concept of ‘cosmopolitanism’ to describe this form of citizenship. Amongst the youth, this can be achieved through the various global or regional

organisations and groups they are associated with. According to Appiah, a cosmopolitan is a citizen of the world, who belongs to the human community, believes in oneness of humanity and in universal concerns (Seifkar 2008). This cosmopolitan sense of belonging allows people the unique opportunity to affect the lives of others everywhere and to learn from each other, increasing the exchange of ideas amongst nations of the world. Through exchange of ideas, according to Gauntlett (2011:2), “we increase our engagement and connection with our social and physical environments”.

Osler and Starkey (2003) share this view, as they argue that cosmopolitan citizenship implies recognition of our common humanity and a sense of solidarity with others, but most importantly, solidarity with those in our own communities. They also believe that through education for cosmopolitan citizenship, young people are equipped with knowledge, skills and attitudes that will enable them to make a difference because, as young citizens, they will be oriented to play an active role in shaping the world from local to global level. It is purported that the processes of globalisation make this a critical task. Osler and Starkey (2003) explored understanding of community and levels of civic engagement among youth living in multicultural communities in Leicester in the UK, the multiple identities and loyalties of these young people and identified sites of learning for citizenship in homes and communities. Osler and Starkey’s study revealed that young people in the study are engaging as citizens and learning skills for cosmopolitan citizenship.

Another study was undertaken in Northern Ireland among a society that was divided by a history of political conflict. It aimed to explore school pupils’ understanding of global citizenship and how this understanding related to their identities and attitudes at local and global levels (Niens & Reilly 2012). The findings revealed that pupils enjoyed learning about global issues and wished they could learn more. This perspective has been supported by another study in Northern Ireland (Reynolds, Knipe & Milner 2004). According to Chandler (2008) cosmopolitan theorists suggest that democracy and human rights for citizens should be extended to the international sphere rather than focus attention on regional societies.

As Stokes (2004) stipulates, global citizenship requires active involvement of individuals about issues that impact the global society. This can be achievable through the inclusion of empathy and a sense of common humanity (Oxfam GB 2006). A relevant example is one given by Rosenberg (2007) about youth in Lesotho who learn from their South African

neighbours and who, in turn, have also been influenced by African-American lifestyles. Rosenberg argues that youth are able to assimilate those connections into their Basotho culture.

Isin and Turner (2007:14) critique the concept in terms of its connotations for global citizenship and they state that citizenship cannot be termed global, “since it remains a state institution and it is based on contributions that presuppose a reciprocal relationship between rights and obligations and implies a relationship between rights and territory”. This argument suggests that a citizen is only entitled to rights while in their own nation-state territory. Isin and Turner further contend that a citizen exists originally within the political confines of a state and, until a genuinely global state exists that has sovereign powers to impose its will, it is misleading to talk about the ‘global citizen’.

It is argued however that education for cosmopolitan citizenship, as suggested by Osler and Vincent (2002) in Osler and Starkey (2003:246), will help people become more confident in their own identities. As a result (it can be said) they will work towards achieving peace and human rights and democracy in their local community and at global level. So cosmopolitan citizenship education does not (have to) mean asking individuals to reject their national citizenship, but (should) enable them to make connections between their immediate context and the national and global contexts (Osler & Starkey 2003).

Whatever theoretical position is adopted, it has already been argued that citizenship rights and responsibilities are interdependent. This next section explores these terms in more detail as a core concern of this study.

2.5 Citizenship rights and responsibilities

2.5.1 Definitions

Spiro (2013:899) states that: “citizenship is man’s basic right for it is nothing less than the right to have rights”. However rights and responsibilities are not uncontested ideas, so it is appropriate to provide a brief discussion of these terms, since they are central to the notion of citizenship. Protection of every individual right is recognised internationally through the support of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) which was adopted by the

General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. This is reflected in Article 1 of that Declaration, which reads: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.” The UN further recognises the rights of children and youth through its Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989). Lesotho, as a signatory to the UN states, is also guided by these two blue prints of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention relating to children who develop into young adults. All countries are expected to protect the rights of their citizens by this treaty. Rights are defined by Kelly (1995) as a legal term that allows people to perform certain acts supported by the legal system within a specific society. Isin and Turner (2007:12) define human rights as “rights enjoyed by individuals by virtue of being human and as a consequence of their shared vulnerability”. These two definitions single out freedom afforded to individuals within a society and as human beings and the need for this to be respected. There is emphasis on the fact that every person has a right to life, which starts from birth and no one can deny a person this entitlement.

Citizenship rights and responsibilities are likely to be understood differently by youth, based on their national backgrounds and exposure to various resources. Although we are all expected to be conversant with these rights, and despite the efforts of the international world, Pacho (2012:81) indicates that “many African citizens are not sufficiently aware of their fundamental rights and obligations: they have not had the education”. He argues that with a clear understanding of one’s rights and obligations this can lead to the protection and promotion of what is due to people. That knowledge is referred to as citizenship conscience by De la Paz (2012), as she stipulates that conscience is formed by three elements which are summarised here:

- Knowledge of citizenship rights and duties
- Identification of the state as responsible for granting those rights and duties by laws and policies that guarantee their fulfilment
- Recognition of legitimate means to make demands

Rights are described in different ways. Kelly (1995) states that there are various rights afforded to human beings, which are classified as natural rights, irrespective of their title, meaning that people have rights whether they are a king, a subject, a citizen or any common person. Pacho (2012) refers to social rights, which are those that give access to all essential services and the ability to function as citizens in society. Isin and Turner’s (2007:12)

definition of social rights is that they are “entitlements enjoyed by citizens and are upheld by courts within the framework of a sovereign state”. This means that social rights extend purely beyond the right to interact with people and also mean people are entitled to certain basic amenities.

Members of a community must have participation (which can also be called political) rights. These are referred to as those rights of individuals and groups that allow them to participate actively in decision-making on environmental impacts, education and job creation (Pacho 2012). These rights include the right to have a say and to be heard when decisions are being made that affect them. Hackett (2004:77), for instance, worked with a group of young people who set out to publish a guide to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The group played a role in interpreting the Convention to other young persons in a way that it made sense to them, and they were content because “they were heard” while making this contribution.

The Constitution of Lesotho adopted under Section 32 advocates for the “protection of children and young persons” (GOL: 1993:4) and further pledges that those children and young persons are given protection and assistance without any discrimination for whatever reasons. It has therefore positioned the country to adopt policies designed in accordance with this section. The GOL (1995:14), through the NYPL for instance, has as one of its objectives the protection of the fundamental human rights of the youth. This policy,

[encourages]... free and safe participation of all youth irrespective of gender, in the conduct of public affairs and protection of law in order to motivate them and make them feel independent.

The policy gives assurance to the youth that they are protected by law with the expectation that their legal protection should motivate them to become self reliant. However, Ngozwana (2014:171), in her study in Lesotho, pointed out that “rights are not universally defined as absolute, but must be considered in relation to culturally accepted ways of relating and acting”. It is important, therefore, to investigate whether young adults in Lesotho are aware of these rights and how they relate them to their responsibilities in their national context. Despite the inclusion of protection of rights in the Constitution of Lesotho, the Lesotho 2014 Human Rights Report (LHRR) stipulates that there are several human rights violations being

experienced. It indicates that societal abuse of women and children’s rights were most significant in the country (LHRR 2014).

Pacho (2012) defines political rights as those that enable an individual to have access to information that will help them decide to vote and participate in all political processes and to have access to policies. The UNDP (2014) suggests that youth need to be aware of channels where they can exercise their civil and political rights to enable them to effectively contribute to decision-making. The table below by De la Paz (2012:1) summarises how these rights were defined by T.H. Marshall (1950) in relation to institutions that are closely related with them.

Table 2: Different citizenship elements of rights

Citizenship Elements	Definition	Institutions more closely related
Civil rights	Rights necessary for individual freedom – liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice.	Courts of justice.
Political rights	Right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body.	Parliament and councils of local government.
Social rights	The right to a modicum of economic welfare and security.	Educational system and social services.

Source: De la Paz (2012:1)

However, it is important to note that each person’s rights should not prevent another individual’s rights. For instance, the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) in the U.K. (2009), citing an English political philosopher, Thomas Paine, said: “A declaration of rights is, by reciprocity, a declaration of duties also. Whatever is my right as a man, is also the right of another and it becomes my duty to guarantee, as well as to possess.” (Ibid.:15).

It is stipulated by the MOJ in the UK (2009:17) that:

An over-emphasis on rights to the exclusion of notions of responsibility, can lead to a ‘me’ society rather than a ‘we’ society in which our own individual rights and liberties risk overtaking our collective security and well being and respect for others.

An argument has been raised by Gawanas (undated, pages unnumbered), in his paper on the African Union and “Concepts and implementation mechanisms relating to human rights”, that often reference is only made to the promotion and protection of civil and political rights. But Gawanas feels the African Union (AU) should also acknowledge the enjoyment of social, economic and cultural rights, since social and political rights are two sides of the same coin, where the civil and political rights are intertwined with social economic and cultural rights. Therefore, it is suggested that the AU has to adopt an inclusive and holistic approach to human rights, as that will advance social, economic and cultural rights.

The following section discusses the concept of responsibility so that the interrelationship between rights and responsibilities can be seen.

Responsibility is defined as, “an opportunity or ability to act independently and take decisions without authorization” (Concise Oxford Dictionary 2004:958). A responsibility is sometimes referred to as an obligation or a duty which embraces reliability and dependability.

The Human Rights Resource Centre (HRRC) (1999) stipulates that responsibility is an empowering word. It further argues that “taking responsibility empowers people to have a say in their own lives” (Ibid: 27). The HRRC suggests responsibility should be developed at an early age because it helps young people to have a mastery and competence to manage their lives and also makes them feel worthy of participation. They feel they belong and are willing to make responsible choices in their community life. Youth can exercise their responsibilities as citizens to create awareness and conscientize those they interact with. According to the above statement this empowers them to bring change to their communities. This is in accordance with the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights under Article 27, which states that, “every individual shall have duties towards his family and society, the state and other legally recognised communities and the international community” (Organisation of African Unity (OAU) 1981:8).

However, Van Benschoten (2000), as cited by Preece and Mosweunyane (2004:80), suggests that the interpretation of responsibility can be context specific so that, for instance, “young people are acting in ‘enlightened self interest’ rather than doing what is right for the sake of it”. This implies that there is a trend among young people to move away from the more duty-bound focus of communitarianist responsibilities to a more critical, civic republican approach

to doing what is deemed important in particular contexts. Such actions in community contexts are often undertaken in a volunteer capacity.

2.5.2 Youth attitudes towards citizenship rights and responsibilities

Different articles and publications on an international scale revealed the level of understanding of youth in general in relation to their rights and responsibilities. Youth perceive themselves in different ways depending on their environment and their understanding of how others respond to them. Their participation or non-participation is a result of how they perceive themselves and expect to be treated.

Smith, Lister, Middleton and Cox (2005) conducted a study investigating young people's experiences and understanding of the meaning of citizenship in the UK. It focused on their changing perceptions of themselves as citizens in the city of Leicester, and they concluded that some youth in the study understood citizenship in terms of their rights and responsibilities. As an illustration, one participant (White female 'insider') said,

[Citizenship meant] ... being part of society and having rights and requirements of living within the law . . . right to free speech, the right if you pay your national insurance then in return you can have your dole ... (Ibid.:431)

For some participants, the meaning of citizenship was focused on having the right and genuine opportunity to have a say and to be heard.

The UNDP (2014) reaffirms that youth, as change agents, have demonstrated their ability and potential to effectively help in addressing and solving global social ills. There is evidence from other studies that youth do indeed understand and apply both their rights and responsibilities. A Malaysian study by Ahmed, Rahim, Pawanteh, Ahmad, Zainal and Ahmat (2012) explored how young people interpret their functions (responsibilities) and positions (identities). The study concluded that the youth's willingness to assimilate and be part of society is a sign that they are responding well to government efforts to encourage them to play a role in the development of their country. That willingness could well be acknowledged as a sign of showing responsibility in developmental affairs. As mentioned earlier, these observations suggest that if youth feel they are being recognised by their government and

society, then they willingly participate and so undertake responsibilities. Ahmad et al. (2012:139) further indicate that “young people’s participation is a responsibility that has to be taken seriously by young people themselves and by politicians and civil society who should create conditions for young people[‘s] participation”.

Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) conducted a study in Botswana which explored young adults’ understanding of their rights and responsibilities in the context of public concerns about the erosion of traditional values, duties and responsibilities among the youth because of globalisation influences. They highlighted that traditional, more communitarian, values can contribute to these tensions:

Indeed they [youth] felt that traditional attitudes prevented youth from playing an active role in society. There are indications that their attitudes towards rights and responsibilities are being reconfigured in today’s globalised world and some attitudes contradict their traditional African inheritance. (Ibid.:5)

They suggest that the influence of globalisation has produced a shift from traditional communitarian citizenship values to ones of “enlightened self interest”. Preece and Mosweunyane (2006) state that youth felt misunderstood in this respect by their elders and provided examples of specific citizenship acts in the context of enlightened self interest. In other words, when youth felt able to identify with a cause, such as the prevention of HIV and AIDS, they took measures to address this cause. Further evidence of this tension in Lesotho contexts is identified by Ngozwana (2014:145) in her recent study of understanding of citizenship and democracy among older adults. Here, there were statements such as, “... children of today are ‘children of democracy’ because they have rights”. In her study, she further acknowledges that there are many tensions between youth and their elders in relation to concepts of rights and responsibilities. She suggests that this is because they are considered to have changed their behaviour in relation to the traditional values of obedience to elders and acceptance of corporal punishment. Such behaviour is assumed to have coincided with the introduction of democracy, where children are now understood to have rights which they have learnt about in school. The study further stated that “information about children’s rights and responsibilities was not properly disseminated” (Ibid.:144). It is important, therefore, to establish a youth perspective on this issue.

There are several studies that reflect the need to obtain a deeper understanding of citizenship values by the youth. For example, Hackett (2004:78) argues that young people need to be understood by elders to allow them to take up their citizenship responsibilities. He stated that, “the process of enabling young people to tap their own power and abilities is essential to facilitating their participation”. He was referring to a Youth Rights group in the U.S., who took it upon themselves to address one article of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child – the right to participation – as their theme for action. They organised a conference in 1995 to discuss young people’s experiences of the juvenile justice system and youth service. Hackett explains how these young people produced a booklet for their peers entitled ‘A Guide to Rights’ (Rights for US Group 1994). Hackett (2004:77) believes that the booklet “... is powerful because the young people interpreted the Convention in their own words with reference to their own lives”. These examples illustrate that young people are committed towards understanding their responsibilities, especially if they are included in decision-making. It is evident that there are other common challenges faced by young people and one of them is the need ‘to be heard’.

The ICP and Pravah report (2009) drew on findings from public, private and civic society groups in India to showcase examples of how young people can act when given support and the opportunity to prove their worth. The attitudes of parents seemed to demotivate young people from taking a lead role in issues that were of concern to them and this causes a critical, intergenerational challenge for young people. The ICP and Pravah (2009) report suggests that adults often have stereotyped perceptions that young people are immature. The report further indicates that,

the lack of a clear definition of youth - the age range and maturity span - and the absence of the notion of youth as capable individuals, means that parental attitudes work against young people taking leadership or pursuing ideas in which they are interested”. (Ibid.: 23)

The report cited, as an illustration of this issue, a quote from one of the study’s participants, who claimed she could not be heard or believed by her parents for a long time in whatever she was doing. With the help of others she has become a catalyst and she inspires others to take citizenship action to change the approach to leadership and power (Ibid.).

There is evidence that youth are also frustrated on a political level in relation to their understanding of rights and responsibilities. For example, from an international perspective, the youth say: “We vote and then we suffer” (Spanning 2008:43). This statement portrays the results of a survey by a European Union funded comparative study “EUYOUPART: Political participation of young people in Europe – Development of indicators for comparative research in the European Union”. It was undertaken between 2002 and 2005 to explore views of youth on their participation in society. Participants were drawn from Austria, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Slovakia and the U.K. The study interpreted data from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with youth ranging from 15–25 years. Spanning (2008:44) points out that a number of authors have stressed the fact that “... young people are fed up with politics ...”, as they find it irrelevant and boring. From the youth perspective it can be deduced that they do not see the value of utilising their right to vote for a government because there is no perception that government addresses their concerns. There are indications that the same sentiment is shared by youth in Lesotho. In a radio programme in Lesotho, ‘Rise and Shine’ on Harvest FM 98.9 (MHz), on 1st March, 2015, after the February Snap Elections of Lesotho, Caller 1 (1/3/2015) stated that, “there were large numbers of youth who attended the final political party rallies just before elections, but a very low turnout was generally observed at polling stations”. It is a legal responsibility of every citizen from 18 years up to register, but they reserve the right to vote or not to vote. Therefore, the observation was that they had not registered. Another caller commented that, “Basotho are said to love political parties for socializing and do not take voting seriously” (Caller 2 on 1/3/2015).

The views of the youth from the European Union countries do not appear to differ from countries in southern Africa. For example, youth in Botswana see themselves as being left out in decision-making, or not recognised. In Preece and Mosweunyane’s study, one young person stated, “there is lack of support from parents and professionals ... lack of recognition of youth. Solutions are rejected from youth simply because they are young” (Preece & Mosweunyane 2006:13).

Furthermore, it is noted in the ICP and Pravah (2009) study that, “some are irresponsible because of ignorance ... they are not taught what their responsibilities are ... parents don’t inculcate the right values” (Ibid.:23). This suggests that the home environment also negatively impacts on the ways in which young people develop a sense of self. They are often

not taken seriously (in the home environment) and do not get guidance (from professionals) on issues that young people consider important in their lives, as they are considered insufficiently mature to hold their own opinions. This does not allow them to take responsibility for participating in decisions that affect them and this adversely affects their attitudes towards their rights and responsibilities. The ICP and Pravah report further point out that barriers to active youth participation are purported to start at home, as there are examples of a “clash of opinion between parents and children which may be a function of parents’ own bitter experience of poverty and discrimination” (ICP & Pravah 2009:23).

Despite concerns about the youth, Zeldin et al. (2007:77), in the context of the USA, argue that youth have always shown responsibility from as far back as the days of early settlements up to the second half of the 19th century. They did this through participation in work on the farms and mills. It is argued, therefore, that the contribution of youth to society needs to be given greater recognition in contemporary society. There are indications that this is beginning to happen. Zeldin et al. (2007:77) state further that “youth engagement in community governance is currently being advanced as a policy priority for promoting youth development and building healthy communities”. The central message of the Founder and Executive Director of the Interfaith Youth Core in the U.S., Dr. Patel, as articulated in the ICP and Pravah report, was that “young people will be architects of the new world order” (ICP & Pravah 2009:18), and that “if any young people are to make the new order they need to understand the problems of their world ... in particular they should focus their energy and creativity on creating solutions that others will adopt” (Ibid.:18).

In pursuit of this agenda, there are indications that youth do understand and show responsibility if they are given a chance to do so and a witness to this is a study undertaken by Pellegrino, Zenkov and Calamito (2013). In their study the intention was to investigate how youth (middle school students) describe and illustrate citizenship when given access to multimodal texts and media. The young people were expected to create slam poems with incorporated images to address the question: “What does it mean to be a citizen?”. The findings of the study demonstrated the potential for young adolescents (youth) to articulate notably sophisticated ideas about citizenship when they are called on or enabled to do so. It also concluded that the project provided insights into diverse youth perspectives on citizenship, suggesting the value of using multimodal text forms and instructional activities for promoting their engagement with complex, candid notions of an “American” national

identity (Pellegrino et al. 2013:222). The data provided teachers, teacher educators and scholars “with important novel insights into youths’ understanding of and appreciation for concepts of citizenship” (Ibid.:233) and they believe it answered their concern to innovatively engage students in civic education. This engagement also had an influence on young people’s attitudes about their responsibilities.

There are also indications that citizenship is understood as a fluid concept by young people. For instance, a study was undertaken by Smith, Lister, Middleton and Cox (2005:425), who examined young people’s perceived status as citizens in the UK. This study examined the young people’s status as citizens, because the UK social policy had assumed that they lacked citizenship and needed intervention programmes. The study revealed that to some youth, “the essence, even if not the language, of ‘citizenship’ was meaningful for young people Citizenship in part describes the individual’s relationship with the wider society” (Smith et al. 2005:430). Smith et al. further elaborate that what is meant by saying that citizenship was meaningful for some participants, is that young people cared about or had feelings about their role and position in society. Many of the young people in the study perceived citizenship as a universal status, in the sense that they thought of everybody as being citizens while, on the one hand, for some, ‘citizen’ meant ‘person’. The participants’ sense of citizenship identity changed through the discussion, as they saw citizenship not simply as a process of a fixed identity achieved through maturity, but also as a “contingent, fluid identity for the young people who, at different points, reported feeling ‘more’ of a citizen and ‘less’ of a citizen” (Ibid.: 431).

Ireland and Allison (2009) argue that youth want to be acknowledged and recognised for who they are and be allowed to be engaged in decision-making, especially in governance mechanisms. This requires making policy information available to young people in a language they understand and making it easily accessible. According to Diller et al. (2001) civic engagement includes community service, collective action, political involvement and social change. In many African contexts, particularly rural ones, young people are often seen participating at community events (Hardiman 2003). An example is at funerals where youth actively participate by collecting wood, digging the grave and doing other activities. These activities indicate elements of community service and collective action. This study sought to see to what extent young people are also engaged in political involvement and social change.

Pacho (2012), as stated earlier, is concerned that in African contexts rights now tend to be prioritised over obligations. Pacho suggests that critical and creative human rights education is necessary to rectify this situation. This is pertinent to my study in its aim of uncovering youth understanding of the relationship between rights and responsibilities.

In Southern Africa, a particular concern for young adults is the impact of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. It is worth reflecting briefly on studies that explore how young people interpret responsibility in relation to this issue.

Attitudes towards HIV/AIDS

In African contexts HIV and AIDS are a topical issue for many young people, as was illustrated in the Botswana study by Preece and Mosweunyane (2006). In Lesotho, HIV prevalence rates are among the highest in the world (Mahloane-Tau 2016; Mosuoie 2016). A contributing factor towards the high rates is because youth in Lesotho do not have any fear towards HIV/AIDS but against pregnancy (Thakaso 2010). The extent to which youth in other countries have undertaken acts of citizenship responsibility towards this topic is therefore worth noting. Borgart, Skinner, Weinhardt, Glasman, Sitzler, Toefy, & Kalichman (2011) conducted a study among black South Africans and the study revealed indicate that there is a misconception about effectiveness of condoms in preventing HIV and that results in low use of such devices with their partners. In some cases it is believed that HIV is manufactured by white people to reduce the black population Borgat et al. (2011) while Wodi (2005) shares experiences of adolescents in Nigeria who attach HIV/AIDS to mosquito bites or witchcraft and that such people should not be allowed to be among other people lest they infect them. Due to economic challenges there is a high intergenerational sex which is presumed to be an influence to high prevalence of HIV/AIDS among youth in the sub-Saharan Africa.(AVERT 2014 But the organisation still maintains that irrespective of those challenges young people have a growing personal autonomy and responsibility for their individual health. (Ibid).

Further afield for instance, in Palank's (2001) study, which was undertaken in 1995 in Minnesota, one young person took up responsibility to raise awareness about HIV when her grandfather received a blood transfusion contaminated with the HIV virus during heart surgery. Palank (2001) highlighted that the experience was a turning point in the respondent's life because she became one of the youngest HIV educators in the nation, as she felt it was her responsibility to educate others. She took up various positions which benefitted the

community and these actions illustrate her sense of responsibility to it. It is an example of what young people do when they are motivated. Her motivation came from the words of Margaret Meade: “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed people can change the world: indeed, it is the only thing that ever has” (Ibid.:5).

In another context, these ideas are supported by Griffith’s statement after his participation at the 2000 United States Conference on AIDS in Atlanta Hyatt. He reports that at this conference, “we represented the youth that account for 50% of all new HIV infections and we were being silenced, time after time by adults. We could not stand this!” (Griffith 2001:3). Griffith emphasises that many of the conference participants were unwilling to permit youth to even participate in discussions held during the workshops. This is a strong statement that illustrates that the youth wanted to exercise their rights to participate. Griffith reported that the young adults maintained contact with the National Minority AIDS Council (NMAC) and other partner organisations in charge of planning the conference, where they made suggestions for the future improvement of the United States Conference on AIDS. This example is a further illustration of how young people adopt a constructive attitude towards their responsibilities, particularly in relation to HIV and AIDS.

2.5.3 Citizenship as a learning process

The fact that citizenship requires a behavioural response suggests that it is a concept that must also be learnt. Delanty (2003:599), for instance, argues that citizenship is a learning process and indicates that, “the connection between learning and citizenship has become a highly topical issue in the last few years with many official initiatives for citizenship classes and learning civic values”. Because of its importance and widespread acceptance, Delanty (2003) suggests also that citizenship must be learnt alongside acknowledgement that rights must be accompanied by corresponding obligations or duties.

Citizenship is not only about rights or membership of a polity, as Delanty (2003:602) puts it, but it is also a matter of participation in the political community and begins early in life. He further stipulates that although it involves the learning of a capacity for action and for responsibility, essentially, it is about learning about the self and others. This will enable an individual to identify with oneself and others as a capable and active member in the society. Delanty views that as being able to see “beyond the personal to the wider cultural level of

society” (Delanty 2003:602). From this it can therefore be assumed, that as youth go through the development process and learn about their rights, it is imperative to define learning and how and where it happens.

2.5.4 Learning citizenship rights and responsibilities

This section deals with learning of rights and responsibilities by the youth, and where and how they learn about these concepts. Emphasis is on two forms of learning, namely non-formal and informal, as it is supposed that is where most learning takes place in relation to citizen rights and responsibilities, but first, learning is defined.

Learning

Jarvis (2008:4) defines learning as “an existential process that might well begin just before we are born and probably ends when we lose consciousness for the last time”. In other words, learning is a lifelong process, whether we are conscious of it or not. He states that during this process individuals construct and transform experience into knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs, values, emotions and other senses” (Jarvis 2001). More significantly learning involves cognitive processes that allow for combinations of information in various ways to give the learner the capacity to act (Delanty 2003). This emphasises that learning is also a transformative process. Jarvis (2008) argues further that learning stems from social experience, but that experience is determined to some extent by the nature of both the body and the mind in relation to each other and to the external world. The youth’s experiences in their societies are learnt and are determined by their individual state of body and mind and how they relate to the environment. It is therefore relevant to agree with Jarvis’s statement that, “it is as a result of learning that the person is changed, becomes more experienced and grows and develops” (Jarvis 2001:5). Delanty (2003) highlights that learning is not only an individual act, but it is a process of social construction which is realised through social institutions as collective learning. As learning of citizenship values occurs through a socialization process in the family or society, Stepanova (2014) emphasises that through this process, societies pass on their norms, cultural values and accepted behaviour models. This socialization process is intended to make individuals functional in their society and ensure that they assimilate its norms.

Delanty (2003) also refers to the learning dimension of citizenship as a constructivist process. Constructivists believe in individual interpretations of reality. In other words, the knower and the known are interactive and inseparable. Delanty refers to this process because it shifts the focus of citizenship away from mere membership of a polity to that of sharing common experiences and drawing on cognitive processes, and to different forms of cultural translation and discourses of empowerment. It is important, therefore, to note how these young people in the Lesotho study see themselves as part of the communities in which they grow up to explore how they contribute towards the development of those communities.

Youth are constantly learning and re-learning and re-formulating their ideas as they become exposed to different contexts and environments. Delanty (2003:600) states that, according to the Luhmann's systems theory, learning is a reaction to uncertainty and takes the form of self-construction. While young people learn, they want to satisfy their curiosity about what they do not know and, as they do this, a constructive process takes place as they change from their state of prior knowledge to acquisition and assimilation of new knowledge. Basotho youth (like other youth) therefore accumulate a range of experiences from which they make meaning about themselves and their place in society through appropriate programmes.

In the learning process, culture and language are important elements, as Jarvis argues (2008). He states that, "... the culture becomes our own subjective reality and as such helps determine the way that we perceive and experience the world, and consequently we learn in it and from it" (Ibid:16-17). He postulates further that learning occurs within a particular cultural context; so we learn to adjust as members of a particular family, group or community. He also indicates that we become socialised into groups whose culture we internalise and thereby acquire an initial personal identity (Ibid:13). It can be expected, therefore, that Basotho youth will manifest their learning as a culturally contextual experience.

The following sections discuss the different ways in which learning takes place (informal, non-formal and formal).

Where does learning take place?

Traditional learning in African contexts (in the past) largely occurred informally or non-formally and often covered cultural values which were considered paramount. Avoseh

(2001:482) maintains that, “its purpose was to empower the individual to be an active member in the community and to excel within the participatory context of the community”. Avoseh (2001) contends that learning in this context permeates the whole of life, so much so that anyone who fails to learn, as articulated by the Yorubas for instance, is regarded as *oku eniyan* (the living dead). Learning, therefore, is understood to be a way of life which takes place everywhere.

Learning citizenship in an informal setting

Delanty (2003:600) attests that learning about citizenship occurs mostly in the informal context of a person’s everyday life and that this is also heavily influenced by critical and formative events in their lives. He concludes that, “learning has been identified as a key dimension of citizenship” (Ibid:602). In other words, the process of citizenship learning is ongoing throughout one’s life. Jarvis (2008) contends that people are born into social groups and that is where they learn to become members of that family, group, or community (and country). Through this process a person becomes a citizen of an environment or society and will identify or behave according to what has been learnt. Jarvis also points out that the European Commission acknowledged that “citizenship could not be taught [formally] since it had cognitive, affective and practical dimensions” (Ibid:603). This statement concurs with Delanty’s, implying that it is a process that arises from daily experiences. This suggests that citizenship education programmes must provide practical opportunities for learning through doing.

Learning first occurs informally in the family and community settings through observation. Informal learning is usually linked with the home environment, as this is the foundation of all subsequent educational provision. Luthuli (1981:22) argues that “the function of home education is to make the young child aware of norms, values and beliefs in the particular cultural context of that home”. This type of education stands out as the basis for the majority of informal learning acquired by a child while growing up.

The family has been identified as the key institution for young people to learn about their own citizenship status and this is referred to as a source of informal learning. In Lesotho, young people first learn about their cultural morals, values and norms in the family setting and those are then strengthened or challenged in subsequent social groups. Delanty (2007)

argues that what is learnt at the collective level can be very different from what is learnt on an individual level.

In African contexts, this learning has commonly occurred within the traditional initiation schools. In Lesotho, for example, these schools traditionally aimed to provide a learning experience that prepared boys in particular for manhood. It was meant to produce courageous cultural leaders who were committed to good behaviour, truth, respect, and dedication in order to serve the Basotho nation with expertise and patriotism (Matsela & Motlomelo 2002). Matsela and Motlomelo (2002) further indicate that traditional schools were an important source of learning civic values, as they promoted national identity and pride. Through these schools, young people were introduced to social life with values that would carry them through their adulthood. Matsela and Motlomelo (2002) explain that this type of education was discouraged by churches and colonial masters who, because they were not aware of the contents of the initiation curriculum, did nothing to replace it within formal school structures for learning. Nevertheless, some traditional structures still remain and boys may join their elders at community gatherings known as *khotla*, where they continue to learn informally how community issues such as disputes are managed. In the Lesotho context, Matsela and Motlomelo (2002) refer to an unpublished document by Tuoane, who argued that (Lesotho) traditional initiation schools had a lot to offer in preparing learners for leadership and responsibility in society. Tuoane noted further that, among other important elements taught were patriotism, national unity, love and self-reliance. This content can be related to what Finchman (2012) refers to as production and regulation of a nation, a citizen and identities, since the process is meant to prepare one to be a dedicated citizen.

A deeper understanding about the ways in which young people have learnt informally about their rights and responsibilities in contemporary Lesotho would better inform the non-formal learning and education structures in youth settings, as well as contribute to the design of potential formal curricula.

Learning citizenship in a non-formal setting

Coombs and Ahmed (1974:8) define non-formal education as “any organised educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular sub groups in the population, adults as well as children”. Walters (1998) adds that non-formal education refers to a planned educational activity that is usually, but not

always, short term and non-certificated. Non-formal education occurs within families, workplaces or communities and receives limited, if any, support from the state. It is further argued that what is useful about non-formal education is that it has “educative processes endowed with flexible curricula and methodology, capable of adapting to the needs and interests of students, for which time is not a pre-established factor ... but is contingent upon students’ work pace” (Dibb 1988:2). In a non-formal situation the learning process becomes flexible, depending on the immediate needs and interests of the peer group. It is through this type of learning opportunity that people can expand their knowledge outside of the formal education system. Youth organisations are a potential source of non-formal education and learning. Young people, therefore, are able to expand their knowledge and learning experiences mostly through membership in youth organisations. Non-formal education has often been a source of learning about political and social development issues in South Africa, for instance (Endresen 2009). The potential for youth organisations in Lesotho to address these issues needs further exploration.

The ability of young people to listen to and learn from each other in their different groups is an important element as they grow together and are able to interact in a productive way. For example, in Lesotho, in organisations like Lesotho Planned Parenthood Association (LPPA), there is a unit for youth issues where young people are encouraged to ask questions which they would not ordinarily ask from their parents or other elders. Waghid (2007:163) calls this process of learning dialogical action, which is referred to as, “both the capacity to elicit another’s regard in you and your capacity to become invested in the lives of others”. An individual’s ability to listen and respond to others is enhanced, creating a deepened appreciation of how they can contribute to overall growth of self and others. These forms of interaction are the building blocks for helping people learn how to behave in society.

Learning citizenship in a formal setting

Formal education, according to Dib (1988:1), corresponds to a “systematic, organised model which is structured and administered according to a given set of laws and norms presenting a rather rigid curriculum”. Dib (1988) also claims that formal education corresponds to education processes normally adopted by our schools and universities, as institutions which are administratively, physically and curricularly organised and require from students a minimum classroom attendance. However, he is not an advocate of formal education as a learning resource:

It is not excessive to say that in the case of formal education, for the most part teachers ‘pretend’ to teach; students ‘pretend’ to learn; and institutions ‘pretend’ to be really catering to the interests of students and of the society’. (Dib 1988:2)

As stated in Chapter 1, in Lesotho, the schools do provide a non examinable Life Skills Education curriculum from primary to secondary level, which currently reflects potential content that would be relevant to citizenship education. However, this is done minimally, as schools concentrate on examinable subjects (Thakaso 2010). Waghid (2007) suggests that universities could also be a source for learning about citizenship, although this form of learning may or may not be part of the curriculum. Since some of the participants in this study were exposed to university education, it is likely that this environment will have influenced their learning about citizenship rights and responsibilities.

Learning about citizenship is primarily an intellectual exercise. According to Fincham (2012:132), it is “an emotional sensory and embodied process that is involved in the production and regulation of the nation, citizens and identities”. That is, the way that youth learn about their rights and responsibilities and view themselves as citizens has implications for how they theorise and practise it (Ibid: 129). It is also important to appreciate the views of Rogers et al. (2007:19):

If we want to promote the life of opportunities of young people, if we want to help them to prepare for their futures and make well informed choices about them, then we need to find out about this ‘new world’ in which they are growing up.

This comment was in recognition of the findings of their study in which Rogers et al. expressed concerns that if they did not fully understand today’s generation they would be insufficiently informed about how to educate them. This was an important study, as it gave an idea of how youth should be approached by a researcher from an older generation.

It is important to assess how the youth in Lesotho have learnt about themselves as citizens. This may in the long run influence the design of civic education programmes needed to enable the youth to make informed decisions about their rights and responsibilities. Learning about citizenship requires appropriate civic education programmes which are defined in the

next section civic education. Unfortunately, there are no such programmes in Lesotho, which has implications for the proposed new youth policy's recommendations.

2.6 Civic Education

2.6.1 Definition and purpose

Ngozwana (2014:50) defines civic education as “the means for educating the public on how they can actively participate in and influence public decision making”. This definition emphasises that civic education deals with rights and duties of citizens and how these are realised. Mahafza (2014:614) argues that “the concept of civic education and citizenship is of great importance in social studies and among officials in government bodies and institutions and [contributes to] educating its citizens about their rights and duties”. This is for the benefit of both the government and civilians for realizing active participation in affairs of their country.

There is a very fine distinguishing line, if any, between civic and citizenship education, so the two terms will be used interchangeably. Fitzpatrick (2006:278) contends that civic education has no specific definition, so he chooses to understand it purely as, “that which helps to make a man [sic] a useful citizen”. The non-specific definition is also illustrated by Endresen (2009), as she argues that civic education, according to the facilitators in her study, was not referred to as such. The facilitators consistently called it ‘popular education’ or ‘political education’. Even though they did not claim to offer ‘citizenship education’ in so many words, they aimed to develop citizens who could think critically and take collective action for progressive change.

Piattoeva (2005), on the other hand, explains that the aim of citizenship education is to connect citizens to their states and nations and make them aware of their roles, rights and duties in their countries. According to the Lesotho's Independent Electoral Commission Manual (2006), civic education is the means for equipping the public with skills on how they can actively participate in and influence public decision-making. Although Ngozwana (2014) signals the limited delivery of civic education in Lesotho, De la Paz (2012:7) emphasises the importance of civic education as a means of empowering citizens, because through education, “individuals acquire knowledge and skills that favour the development of citizen conscience,

and exercise, which is in turn indispensable for construction of citizenship”. Vendenabeele et al. (2011) indicate that this empowerment can be achieved through adult education techniques that educate and train people to take up new roles and responsibilities and experiment with new forms of community building. These interpretations of citizenship education focus on empowerment of citizens towards recognition of their rights and obligations to their state.

A further importance of civic education, according to Galston (2004), is to equip citizens with civic knowledge. He argues that civic knowledge promotes support for democratic values; it promotes political participation, helps citizens understand their interests as individuals and as members of groups and it helps citizens learn more about civic affairs. The significance of civic education is also noted by Xiao and Tong (2010:44), who describe it “as a way to foster awareness and civic responsibilities and to shape good citizens should permeate through the whole process of a person’s socialization”. Anderson (1991) is cited by Osler and Starkey (2003) to claim that citizenship education aims to prepare citizens and socialise them into what has been termed by Osler and Starkey (2003) the ‘imagined community’ of the nation.

It is also stated that the major objective of education for national citizenship is to ensure that young people understand their present and future roles within a constitutional and legal framework of the state in which they live (Torney-Purta et al. 2001 cited in Osler & Starkey 2003). Branson (1998) supports this objective, as he posits civic education to be an important component of education that encourages participation of citizens in the public life of a democracy, and of using their rights to discharge their responsibilities with the necessary knowledge and skills. Ngozwana (2014) states that it involves promotion of rights and responsibilities that are associated with the practice of citizenship.

Civic education is also considered as an instrument of empowerment and a method for distributing information among powerless groups and individuals. As an illustration (of the importance of civic education), De la Paz (2012), citing the seriously unequal education provision in Mexico which has produced a marked inequality of lifestyles among individuals and groups, views civic education as necessary for reducing informational inequality which would ultimately reduce political inequality.

Similarly, Sigauke (2012) reports that, according to the president's commission, in Zimbabwe young people are regarded as anti-social. The report indicates that they leave school with lack of knowledge on citizenship issues. The commission therefore recommends implementation of compulsory civic education programmes in the schools and in society so that values, ethics and civic processes are known and accepted by all youth. According to this Presidential Commission report in Zimbabwe, civic education enables children to grow into good citizens who will adhere to the accepted practices of Zimbabwean society.

It has also been argued that civic education also facilitates a better understanding of democracy. Etzioni (1996), as quoted by Dahal (2002), claims that civic education's primary concern is to create a 'civic culture' which is committed to broadening and deepening democracy in both the public and private lives of citizens. This would include a core content establishing the golden rule of politics—democracy. Civic education should, therefore, be planned and structured in a way that promotes democracy and enhances human skills and choices to question the status quo (Ngozwana 2014). Waghid (2014) sees some of the primary considerations of citizenship education as an introduction to the recognition of rights and responsibilities by citizens and upholding the rule of law. Furthermore, he argues that it helps to develop interpersonal respect through our human interdependence, understood through the term *ubuntu*. In the Lesotho context, Ngozwana (2014) explains that this aim should be an important part of more recent voter education, because Basotho were unable to freely participate in democratic elections over a period of 23 years. The above statements and definitions illustrate that the aim of civic or citizenship education is to empower citizens to become effective in their state's affairs for better democracy and to sensitize them to become active participants in their societies.

It can be noted therefore that civic education does not only help towards moulding people towards adopting accepted practices and civic processes, but also helps them to participate in the public life of a democratic society. It provides them with a clear understanding of how to use the knowledge they receive to access those rights and also to discharge their responsibilities. This would be in recognition of one of the four realms of civic education – socialization of youth – which aims to nurture them to be helpful, trustful and respectful (Dahal 2002).

It is purported by Farouk and Husin (2011:155) that civic education programmes “have the ability to mobilize citizens to be active politically at the local level”. They indicate that young people who have community education programmes are able to understand their role in the socio-political affairs of their countries. Farouk and Husin (2011:156) further state, that civic education programmes that stress the importance of being an active citizen, not only through tackling local problems, but also a deeper understanding of public policy, can have an impact on citizens’ attitudes to democracy. Mahafza (2014), citing the Egyptian Ministry of Education of 2006, states that civic education has been described in scholarly research as that which forms skills and abilities of the learners., that enables them to play a pivotal role in social and political life, while at the same time creating civilians who believe in the values of society, democracy and freedom.

Silman and Caglar (2010:674) posit that concepts of citizenship and citizenship education have been subjects of huge debate and they attach this to the rise of globalisation. Moreover, Torres (2004:24) shows that “concern with youth and youth education specifically (both in-school and out-of-school) has become a major issue worldwide”. In recognition of the importance of education for citizenship, Oxfam (2006) has developed, in consultation with educationalists, a ‘Curriculum for Global Citizenship’, which builds on existing good practice and recommends knowledge, skills, values and attitudes which they believe young people are entitled to and which can enable them to develop as Global Citizens. These global citizens are seen by Oxfam as people who are aware of the wider world and have a sense of their own role as world citizens, who respect and value diversity are willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place, and take responsibility for their actions.

There are key elements for developing the kind of citizen as envisioned by Oxfam (2006). These are identified as knowledge and understanding that includes ‘globalisation and interdependence’, skills encompassing ‘critical thinking’ and ‘ability to argue effectively’, while values and attitudes will ensure a ‘sense of identify and self-esteem’ in such a citizen. Biesta and Lawy (2006) also suggest key elements for citizen education. They quote Crick (1998:11-13), who refers to three strands that could be used to provide effective education for citizenship, as follows:

Firstly, social and moral responsibility: ‘children learning from the very beginning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour

both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other;

Secondly, community involvement: ‘learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community’.

And thirdly, political literacy: ‘pupils learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values’.

These key elements are intended to mould citizens from a young age so that they can grow up to become responsible youth. It is when they are aware of their social and moral responsibility that they will diligently become involved in the activities of their communities. Through this education process they are expected to be politically literate and become effective citizens.

Although it is mostly informal, there are institutions globally that have incorporated civic education in their curriculum, such as in Nepal, whereby the Government designed a course on civic education titled ‘Contemporary Society’, incorporating, among other aspects, “Rights and Responsibilities of Democratic Citizenship”. This is a course that teaches young people of Nepal about their “fundamental rights and duties, civic knowledge, civic skills, civic virtues, majority rule with minority rights, protection and promotion of public goods in society” (Dahal 2002:6). There are supposedly four realms of civic education, according to Dahal (2002:4), and those are,

- socialization of youth – which aims to help them be helpful, trustful and respectful;
- articulation of citizens in institutional life of state – where people become civic minded, help the poor, clean the environment and be of service to one another;
- humanisation of public life by which citizens develop an understanding of the national obligations beyond borders; and
- faith in democracy and acquisition of knowledge about civic competence – a process of gaining access to and influence over every decision affecting their life, liberty and property.

Against the fixed, rule learning model in the above programmes, Delanty (2007) encourages moving to a dynamic view of citizenship which he says entails development processes of learning. This conception of learning may be more relevant to the Lesotho context because

youth are most likely to be learning about citizenship through participation in their youth groups.

However, Sigauke (2012:215) notes that citizenship and citizenship education programmes are interpreted according to those in power. He argues that “it [citizenship] is subjected to a diversity of meanings and interpretations, some for personal advantages and therefore maybe abused”. This statement may seem to put young people under the pressure of being submissive to those in power. Yet, UNESCO (2004) notes that young people commit to active participation and full integration when they find enabling environments that fulfil their civic potential and that takes their needs into account.

It is important to note and acknowledge the significance of civic education for every nation, because it equips citizens with knowledge and skills. For this study, the focus is on the impact of civic education on the youth of Lesotho and how they are educated about their rights.

2.6.2 Civic education in Lesotho

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in Lesotho was established by the Constitution of Lesotho, Section 66, to provide civic education among its other tasks (Ngozwana 2014), but it seems that, since its launch in 1997, it has concentrated more specifically on voter education. According to the IEC (2012), civic education has been offered as electoral and voter education to eligible voters. The Training Manual (IEC 2006) points out that civic education is a medium through which the social, political and economic culture of a certain society is transmitted. This implies that those who do not participate in elections may not benefit from such education. Although the Lesotho IEC makes this statement, there is little evidence that citizens in the country do get adequate civic education. According to Ngozwana (2014), civic education programmes that are offered in Lesotho schools and through different media do not reflect an understanding of democratic rights and responsibilities. Waghid (2014) notes that even where citizenship education programmes are introduced in Southern Africa, they have not impacted significantly on civic behaviour. He postulates that democratic citizenship education has been made accessible in public schools in the Republic of South Africa for the past decade, but has still not achieved the desired results. There are indications from the general public in Lesotho, that the civic education that is provided does not sufficiently inform people about their voting rights and also government behaviour does

not seem to have respected the populace that voted for them. As articulated earlier in relation to the Lesotho Harvest Radio programme, for instance, there was an indication that people felt insufficiently informed about voter education so they did not register to vote.

2.7 Chapter summary

This chapter provided key definitions of citizenship as a legal and social status and discussed the most prominent theoretical positions for citizenship, which are understood as communitarianism, civic republicanism and cosmopolitanism. Communitarian citizenship focuses on volunteerism and social cohesion; civic republicanism embraces deliberative democracy and normally works through civil society organisations with an opportunity to challenge the status quo where necessary. Cosmopolitan citizenship is a relatively new concept which draws on ideas of the citizen as part of a globalised society. The chapter then discussed literature related to understanding of citizenship rights and responsibilities by youth, as well as their attitudes towards certain issues such as HIV/AIDS. The literature suggests that youth are interested in citizenship issues, but there are intergenerational tensions about how citizenship rights and responsibilities should be understood. The chapter also discussed the ways in which citizenship might be learnt, informally, non-formally or formally. The role of youth organisations as a potential resource for non-formal and informal learning about citizenship was highlighted. Finally, the chapter provided examples of different civic education programmes around the world. Some of the most common concepts included equipping citizens with civic knowledge to promote democratic values, enable children to grow into good citizens and maintain the civic culture. It was noted that civic education in Lesotho is inadequately provided for. Since identity is regarded as a key feature of citizenship, the next chapter focuses on literature pertaining to identity and citizenship identity.

CHAPTER 3: IDENTITY

3 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed and defined citizenship and its different forms. It proposed that the concept of citizenship applies to someone who has a legal status within a certain geographical boundary, guided by the laws of that state. This legal status is bound by certain rights and responsibilities which are interpreted by individuals according to their context and sense of who they are and how they enact their citizenship behaviour. They may thus identify with communitarian, civic republican or cosmopolitan notions of citizenship, depending on the values they have acquired and what social norms, skills, knowledge and understanding they have learnt. Citizenship identity is therefore both an individual and a social concern. This chapter addresses literature that relates to the research questions one and three, which ask how young adults see themselves and how they manifest their identities in the context of citizenship rights and responsibilities. It reviews identity definitions, then explores the concept in relation to personal, national, religious and gender identity, with particular reference to African and Lesotho contexts. The chapter also discusses social capital as a related concept to ideas of collective identity and which emerged during the data analysis.

3.1 *Identity*

3.1.1 Definition

Due to its complexity, identity is defined differently by various scholars. For example, Deaux (2001) subscribes to the idea that identity as a term is widely used and, as a consequence, it can mean many different things to different people. Burke and Stets (2009:3) refer to it as thus:

The set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person.

Identity, according to Bronk (2011:32), “describes personally meaningful aims and beliefs as they pertain to a consistent sense of whom [sic] one is and who one hopes to become”. These

two definitions confirm the uniqueness of an individual's identity, but that it is also connected to one's relationship with others. Myers and Twenge (2013) define identity as our sense of self, but it is evident that this sense of self is a complex mix of factors such as behaviour and attitudes towards others. Tennant (2012) stipulates that individuals have their own personal perspectives through which they see themselves. The sense of "I" is the self perspective, while the "me" is how the self feels others see it. However, according to African perspectives, the self is inextricably tied up with a sense of being part of a collective. For instance Nyamnjoh (2003:2) regards it as traditionally African to refer to an individual as a child of the community. Lekoko and Modise (2011:10) also confirm this African philosophy of collectiveness and cite Mbiti (1988), who asserts that, "I am because we are, and since we are therefore I am". In other words, individuals are seen as part of the whole society and therefore identify themselves in this way. This philosophy distinguishes itself from Western philosophy, which is identified by Lekoko and Modise as more individualistic.

Although Lappergard (2007:4) also describes identity as "the distinguishing character or personality of an individual", identity of course, changes over time, particularly as one grows into an adult. According to Erickson, an adolescent's task is to solidify a sense of self by testing and interrogating various roles. Bronk (2011:40) says that this happens because "identity formation occurs largely as a result of being engaged in the environment in a meaningful way". Identity formation is therefore a continuous process, especially during adolescence, as young people have to test and interrogate the diverse situations in which they find themselves.

3.1.2 Identity theories

Identity theories are derived from what is referred to as 'structuralist' perspectives. This means that identity is understood as being formed as a result of how we are influenced by structures and systems such as institutions (family institutions, education institutions) and the people within them. The theory focuses on 'what' influences the formation of our identities. Therefore, there are, among others, place and social identity strands of the theory. What happens in young people's lives has an impact on how they will identify themselves. For example, in the groups chosen for this study, those young people were likely to be influenced by their political, religious and social environments and their behaviour would follow suit. Place-identity theory, social identity theory and identity process are three subtheories

discussed by Qazimi (2014) and Lappergard (2007), who cite other scholars and elaborate on their ideas.

Place-identity theory

Lappergard 2007 states that place-identity theory is the individual's incorporation of place into the larger concept of self, while Qazimi (2014) defines place-identity theory as a substructure of social identity and which reflects an individual's observation and interpretation of the environment. There is a connection between 'place' and 'identity' and Lappergard (2007) considers place-identity as a substructure of self-identity. Children learn to differentiate themselves from people around them and Lappergard (2007:5) contends that "place-identity develops as a child learns to see her or himself as distinct from, but related to, the physical environment". This implies that, through observation and interpretation, as mentioned earlier, the result is a realisation of the self as distinct from but related to the physical environment and in this process a child acquires a certain identity that connects them to that environment.

Lappergard argues that place is seen "as part of many different identity categories because places contain symbols of class, gender, family and other social roles" (Lappergard 2007:8). Therefore, it is argued that place is part of a sub-identity, meaning a place has an influence on how one identifies one's self. Thakaso's study (2010) on NUL students revealed, for instance, that some participants confessed that they displayed identities in university contexts which were different from those they would reveal at home. Qazimi (2014) explains that there is an intense feeling of belonging to a place, particularly in domestic places, which may offer a feeling of safety. Tereschenko (2010:149) claims that "locality is central to identity. It is almost the first thing asked about when people are introduced for the first time. Knowing where others are from makes it possible to place them". For example, in Lesotho its citizens have a way of identifying themselves, or are identified, according to the different districts or regions of their origin in the country. Pitikoe (2016) confirms how people identify themselves by region by stating that as an individual identifies with a place, they get attached to such a place and identify themselves that way. It is common to identify Basotho, for instance, as '*Makaota*' from Mafeteng district, and '*Lilepe*' from the Thaba-Bosiu region. According to Twigger and Uzzel (1999), this identification by place expresses membership of a group of people who are defined by their own location.

Twigger and Uzzel (1996) extend this view, saying that there are two ways in which place relates to identity. First a person's identification with place means, for example, a person from Lesotho will identify him or herself as a Mosotho (of that place). But they also refer to this as social identification, which reflects the concept of social identity. They suggest this aspect of identity describes an individual's socialization in the physical world.

Social identity

According to Tereschenko (2010:653), Tajfel in 1982 coined the term social identity "to describe the outcome of a system by which social categorisation creates and defines an individual's personal space in society". Social identity is understood "as the individual's knowledge of belonging to certain social groups as well as the emotions and values this knowledge conveys to him or her" (Tajfel 1982 cited in Lappergard 2007:5). Social identity theory links identity to the individual's emotions and sense of belonging. For instance, in their study in the UK, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Smith et al. (2005) reported that youth felt they were either an 'insider' or 'outsider' in a particular UK community, depending on their connection to the social group. Social identity is therefore a result of association with certain social groups which ultimately determines an individual's identification of themselves in the society. Tereschenko suggests that social identities help people to maintain a positive and distinctive sense of self. This results in people being emotionally, as well as socially, attached to certain places. Identity and its association with social groups is also understood as "the 'we' aspect of our self-concept; the part of our answer to 'who am I' that comes from our group membership" (Myers & Twenge 2013:197). It is further argued that social identity depends on the quality of the groups that an individual belongs to or has a positive reference to, such as nationality, culture, religion, family and neighbourhood (Lappergard 2007:5). It is stated by Ashforth and Mael (1989) that the social identity theory (SIT) allows an individual to define him or herself partly in terms of salient group membership, allowing the sharing of successes and failures of these groups. From these definitions it can be deduced that a young person who belongs to a particular group will show the characteristics of the group. The identity that they derive from those groups "might produce [certain] group behaviours" and members are likely to construct their identities according to the internal social behaviours and expectations of those social groups (Lappergard 2007:5).

Ashforth and Mael (1989) contend that social identity theory enables people to classify themselves and others in categories such as of religion, age and gender and these categories

form into social classifications. They indicate that social classification has two functions. One function cognitively segments categories that provide an individual with descriptors for defining others, while the second one enables an individual to locate him or herself in the social environment. Ashforth and Mael refer to this classification process as social identification by which one perceives him or herself as one and as part of a collective – “perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate” (Ibid:21). It would be expected, for instance, that youth from certain youth groups will identify with the values of that particular youth group.

An indication that place identity can dominate over social identity is demonstrated by the example of the youth of Lesotho initially go to South Africa for its accessibility to jobs and modern artefacts such as clothes and music, but do not necessarily return to Lesotho to live. Indeed, in Rosenberg’s study one of the participants acknowledged that, “we as youth have lost our identity” (Rosenberg 2007:10), and this is due to them moving away from their place of origin and interacting socially in a different land. This may be the effect of Lesotho being totally surrounded by South Africa, which has potential implications for how young people of Lesotho might see themselves. The implication of Rosenberg’s study is that place has a stronger pull on youth identity than their social relationships.

Identity process

Identity process theory focuses on the three basic processes of thought, action and affect. Lappergard (2007:6) states that identity process is “a dynamic social product of the interaction of the capacities for memory, consciousness and organised construal” (how individuals perceive, comprehend and interpret the world around them). Where the youth are concerned, their different interactions engaged in within their different social settings is said to have an influence on how their identities are formed. In the Lesotho context, the fact that youth move around from their homes to a semi urban location (Roma) to undertake their studies at university and a high school exposes them to different interactions, which have an impact on their memory and consciousness in different ways. Qazimi (2014) indicates that this type of experience, as a process, influences personal and social identity and which may have both positive and negative effects. In other words even when young people attach themselves to a church, to political groups, or drama groups, for example, they also bring along with them memories of interactions over time in different settings, such that their identities become a continuous formation process and are not fixed. Burke and Stets (2009)

explain how those different identity influences relate to one another for any one individual. For example, the influence of those identity formations are manifested through behaviour, thoughts and feelings or emotions and these identities tie them into a society at large.

Returning to notions of citizenship, Ngozwana (2014) describes it as a strategic concept that informs the identity of citizens. Mahafza (2014), also in relation to citizenship, refers to citizens connecting with a particular location. The identity theories would therefore serve to inform how a citizen has come to behave or perceive him or herself. A young person's understanding of citizenship will therefore influence and be influenced by their identity and comprehension of their rights and responsibilities. After this 'growing up' process a young person ultimately follows a certain path that contributes to defining who he or she is through performing different roles. While this individual trajectory of experiences makes a person unique, this identity also emanates from the role that they have in a particular society, or group, and has certain characteristics that will make a person a socially and culturally identifiable individual. It can be seen that there are different types of identity which emerge from place, process and socialization and they play a pivotal role in shaping a person. These types can be categorised as personal, national or cultural, religious and gender identity and are summarised below.

3.2 Personal identity

The search for personal identity is thought to be very much influenced by both the biological changes of puberty and newly acquired cognitive or abstract reasoning that is associated with the normal maturity process (Pastorino & Doyle-Portillo 2009). This is because adolescence is a stage at which teenagers start imagining what they want to be and they experiment with new roles and responsibilities, figuring out 'who they are' – their personal identity. There are various interpretations of how an individual can define their identity and these are based on different factors. Pitikoe (2016) says that a person's interaction with the environment has an effect on identity which can result in a certain 'label' which is who they perceive themselves to be, for example, 'I am a Mosotho'. Stets and Burke (2009) refer to this categorising of oneself as an individual seeing oneself as distinct and different from others because is guided by personal goals. For example, one might say 'I am a successful Mosotho'. Keba (2010:16) sees personal identity as the way that individuals tend to identify themselves based on the influences of their social engagements in the real world, and these engagements can be seen

as “colouring the self in ideas and ideals”. An individual is expected to identify with one or more purposes in life and those purposes will determine the behaviour which will ultimately display as their identity. Bronks (2011:32) postulates that this “purpose describes an enduring, personally meaningful commitment to what one hopes to accomplish or work toward in life.” This purpose may not always be realised, and depends on one’s life circumstances – it is an idealised notion of identity. For example, children who are abused or abducted, or people who are in poverty, may not necessarily see their purpose so easily defined, which, in turn, impacts on how they see themselves or their value in life. The psychosocial values and attributes motivate the way an individual identifies him or herself (Pitikoe 2016). Pitikoe states that “in these situations the self-perception becomes the most dominant influence on how an individual expresses thoughts, intentions, actions and beliefs in everyday life” (Ibid:63).

3.3 National identity

Nationality is described as “the status of belonging to a particular nation whether by birth or naturalisation” (dictionary.com undated). This status is described by Canovan (1996) as a source of power that ensures that citizens work towards common goals for the smooth running of the state. Belonging to one state usually means there is a common element of culture and language among the population. Deaux (2001) explains that national identity can be associated with one’s culture, language or country of origin. Richardson (2013) also suggests that national identity plays an important role for social cohesion, as it is based on common values and civic culture. Therefore, national identity is situated within a certain nation state in which citizens are assumed to share the same values and similar culture. For example a Mosotho belongs to Lesotho and shares values and culture with other members of Lesotho society. A Mosotho in traditional contexts would say about a male or female in the community, “*Ngoana eo oa 'nyeo ke ngoana oa Mosotho*” (This child is a child of a Mosotho.) (Matsela 1990:ii). Implied in this sentence is that this child is a true Mosotho child who has been brought up well according to cultural norms and is displaying acceptable behaviour. That is how a positive identity is understood and interpreted as bringing pride to the child as well as community. To be a Mosotho person, as Guma’s study indicates, means to have recognition that is associated with the self, but also as a form of identification with one’s family and lineage group (Guma 2001). That named identification also confirms the authenticity of an individual as a national of a particular country.

According to Rosenberg (2001a:133), a threat that Lesotho would be incorporated into the Union of South Africa after 1910 resulted in the growth of national identity in Lesotho, as Basotho feared being governed by South Africa, considered to be an unjust and hostile regime. As a result, citizens of Lesotho and its politicians constructed a national identity, creating symbols that were associated with the founder of Lesotho, Moshoeshe I (1786–1870), such as the monument of Moshoeshe’s mountain fortress in Thaba Bosiu (Rosenberg 2001:49). These symbolic places attached meaning to how Basotho felt about their identity.

Another symbol is the blanket, which was manufactured in the early days by the British, imported into Lesotho and worn exclusively by Basotho. Blankets remain an external cultural representation of Basotho. Because they are worn exclusively by Basotho, they have become an identifying mark of Basotho in South Africa and elsewhere (Rosenberg 2001). Even to date, blankets and the *mokorotlo* hat are still a sign of national identity for Basotho, although young people rarely wear them. A young respondent in Rosenberg’s (2007) study acknowledged that the *mokorotlo* hat and blanket do give identity to Basotho, but for him they do not. It is evident that the youth are aware that those are national identity symbols, but they are perceived to be for older people. Rosenberg (2007) confirms that hats and blankets were items of popular culture during the colonial period, but this appeared to be no longer the case in her study of Basotho youth. They no longer see these items as possessing any popular or political significance as symbols of Basotho identity. Youth in Lesotho are reported to say that, “[we] young people do not wear *mokorotlo*, it is for older people” (Ibid:7). Indeed another respondent in the same study confessed that wearing the Basotho hat was an embarrassment to him as a result of the generation gap.

Showing that the issue of national identity is still important to youth in Lesotho these days, they are seen wearing T-shirts with different symbols such as a picture of the founder of the nation, Moshoeshe I, signifying that they are Basotho. Basutoland Ink is a company that teaches the current generation a lot about Basotho history and heritage. Established in 2006, with a motto ‘Refining Homage and FROM THABA BOSIU WITH LOVE’, according to one of the Directors (Kheekhe 2014), its most important aspect is to promote the feeling of nationalism and patriotism amongst Basotho people, young and old. The company also states that it celebrates the legacy of the Great *Morena Moshoeshe* and the heritage of Basotho as a nation and this is done through messages and images printed on its products, such as T-shirts.

Pride about one's nationality can also be displayed by dress code. But Rosenberg (2001) stipulates that although youth in his study displayed pride about their nationality as Basotho, they disclosed that there is a fading sense of national identity among Basotho youth as they anxiously wish for incorporation into South Africa. He argues that this position is influenced by frustration with things at home and exposure to artefacts from the west: "National identity among Basotho youth is disappearing in part as a result of Western popular culture, as an outlet for their political and economic aspirations" (Ibid:11). Rosenberg reiterates that Basotho youth now draw on Western items to shape their identity and ignore the traditional clothes, which they feel have lost much significance even though they originally helped inform Basotho about their identity.

National holidays are also a public manifestation of identity. For example, the 11th March is celebrated to honour King Moshoeshoe I as a means of celebrating the nation. Rosenberg's article (1999) explored how Moshoeshoe's representations from the 19th century were used to help construct a national identity for Basotho and show resistance to South Africa's incorporation of Lesotho into its country. This identity emerged when Lesotho became independent in 1966 and was linked to Moshoeshoe I, as he was regarded as the builder and founder of the nation (Rosenberg 2001). In another article, Rosenberg (2001a:71) illustrated how Lesotho's national identity has been shaped by a variety of factors – internal and external – and that these "were held together by the common thread of Moshoeshoe I".

National identity can also be viewed from the psychological standpoint, as an awareness of difference or a feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they' (Wikipedia 2016). As mentioned above, identity can also be attached to foreign things such as clothing and music. According to Rosenberg (2007), rap music and the baggy style of dressing has made its way into South Africa and Lesotho from America. These influences, in the long run, will have the effect of undermining the traditional national identities of those who copy them: "Events in South Africa have combined to significantly alter youth identity in Lesotho" (Rosenberg 2007:7). Rosenberg's study suggests there is a decline of national identity in Lesotho which is connected to an increasing identification with South Africa.

3.4 Religious identity

Greenfield and Marks (2007) state that religious identity is guided by social identity, which advocates for identification based on an individual's knowledge about certain groups. They also argue that the connection of social identity theory to religion is that it "has relevance for exploring processes through which religious participation might promote individuals' psychological well-being" (Ibid:2007). To explain religious identity, Moulin (2013:4) cites Hans Mol (1976, 1979) and Seul (1999), who introduced the term and described it as "identification of an individual with a religious tradition". Religion has a key influence on an individual's perspective of themselves and the world around them, and they argue that the reason to be religious is based on metaphysical and ethical beliefs.

According to Agjibi and Swart (2015), religion is a positive force necessary for moral, socio-political and economic transformation in African societies. A few studies indicate that religion is positively correlated with identity formation and this confirms its relevance, commitment and purposefulness as a contribution to identity formation (for example, Oppong 2013). Waghid (2014) maintains that the significance of religions on the African continent is that they aim to cultivate a sense of morality in people by which virtues such as respect, kindness and hospitality can influence both the personal and public dimensions of African philosophy. Basotho have always believed in the existence of God, the Almighty (Matsela 1990). This belief system is associated with names such as '*Molimo*' – *bohlole le matla a phahametseng a botho* 'me a nang le molemo ho batho (God – the supreme being with power above all humanity and who has usefulness to humans.). Nevertheless, Oladipo (2004), as cited by Waghid (2014), argues that Africans were portrayed as pagan people who did not have any religion and were therefore considered inferior or heathen by Europeans. Waghid contradicts this statement by stating that for Africans religion expresses their relationship with God, the Supreme Being. In other words, they do not just worship God as prescribed by other monotheistic religions who believe in only one God. As Africans, they worship divinities such as ancestors who are believed to solve people's problems.

Agbiji and Swart (2015:1) claim that "religion constitutes an inextricable part of African society", and therefore has an influence on the construction of human identity within it. This knowledge about God has an influence on the behaviour and identification of Basotho (Matsela 1990). In saying this, Matsela further confirms, like other scholars, the importance

of religion in shaping identity. Oppong (2013) cites Erikson's (1965) acknowledgement that religion plays an important role in youth's identity formation in particular, as it is closely connected with an essential part of the socio-historical matrix that provides the needed platform for identity formation.

Bronk (2011:15) maintains that "religion is a positive force that is necessary for the moral socio-political and economic transformation of African societies", saying that it fulfils a crucial role by providing a frame of reference for critically examining the existing social value systems. For example, youth who grow up in a religious society will differ from those who grow up in a non-religious society, as, according to Oppong (2013:12) "religion might be a powerful force in [a] society". This may apply for youth in the Roma Valley, for example, which is known to be a strong historical location for the Christian religion. Most of the youth in this area belong to the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) and their identities are strongly influenced by their religion.

Young adults in Lesotho will identify themselves according to where they grow up. The interactions with those around them influence how these young people finally make meaning of who they really are – of the 'self'.

3.5 Identity and environment

An environment is regarded as the surroundings or place in which an individual lives and interacts with other people. Qazimi (2014) cites Breakwell (1983), who says that place has a vital role in representing personal and social memories as part of the socio-historical matrix of intergroup relations. So a place or environment is often associated with who a person is because its features become internalised in the personal psyche. Qazimi further notes that a "place is not only about getting used to it but it is also about creating and developing a strong relationship with that place and that place bit by bit becomes part of who we are and shapes our identity" (2014:307). Therefore, movement of youth from their original homes, probably from the rural areas to the urban or semi-urban environments, would have an influence on their identity. It can be expected, for example, that youth who attend university from different districts in Lesotho, will come with identities associated with their early upbringing, but when they interact with the new environment these identities are likely to change. Lappergard (2007:1), for instance, confirms this, as he maintains that among other factors,

the physical built environment has a role in influencing identity, stating that “when attachment to a place grows, we start to identify ourselves with these places”.

Burke and Stets (2009) cite Coole (1902), who pointed out that the individual and society are two sides of the same coin. This idea makes it imperative to understand the nature of individuals and the social structure within which they act. Coleman (1990), Stryker (2002), and others share this view that an individual is inextricably connected to his or her society. This idea is a useful concept to explain how the youth display their identities in their own social structures, but it must be noted that these may be displayed in the different social structures as multiple identities. For example, in their respective villages, at the university and at their different clubs, youth may show different identities. Moreover, Burke and Stets (2009:130) point out that “identities do not always operate in isolation, but they interact with other identities in particular situations”. A young person who comes from the rural areas of Lesotho will display an identity based on where they come from, but will also form other identities as they interact with the new environment at the university or elsewhere. Put in another way, Burke and Stets (2009) explain that a ‘person’ interacts in a situation that activates several identities.

3.6 Identity and society

Stryker (2002) coined the term ‘structural symbolic interactionism’ to refer to a set of ideas about the nature of the individual and his or her relationship with the society which revolves around the three central concepts of the self, language and interaction. Identity is made visible and intelligible to others through cultural signs, symbols and practice. In an elaboration of these concepts, Burke and Stets (2009:10) cite James (1890), who explained that the overall self which is called identity, is formed by ‘multiple selves’. This suggests that people may present different selves in different contexts. The related concept of language is defined as symbolic communication by which a person becomes the producer and hearer of the language. Through that process, there is a possibility of intra-communication and plans can accrue from resulting thoughts. Therefore, it is implied in this idea that a young person can decide to be a member of a particular group and, based on thoughts about themselves, plan how to be an effective member of the group.

Burke and Stets (2009:12) ask us to look at interaction from an angle by which individuals interact based on their roles in their respective groups. They argue that “the interaction is not between whole persons but between aspects of persons having to do with their roles in the groups or organisations: their identities” (Ibid:12). This is an important point when it comes to youth, who in their various groups, must first know what others mean to them or how they respect others, as that is how people identify with each other. This point suggests that one has to know how one relates with other members in their respective groups to smoothly allow interaction. So it is important that we learn to respect and appreciate ourselves before we can understand what others mean to us so that we do likewise to them. It is natural for a person to open up when they feel accepted. Burke and Stets reinforce this point by stating that “we must learn the identity of others with whom we interact” (Ibid:13).

This aspect of identity as being connected to a person’s interaction with other people creates a challenge when they do not feel they belong (Bauman 2014). Tereschenko (2010:152) cites an example of Ukrainian youth located in two contrasting border regions of their country. He suggests that “the chosen regions would offer an opportunity to learn about the complex and contested nature of citizenship identities in Ukraine, as well as the role of place in shaping such identities”. In other words, it is argued that it is difficult for people to form an identity if they do not have a sense of who they are in relation to others and the location in which they are situated. Even if a person sees themselves as different from those around them, this conclusion is still a result of social interaction. It has been noted that in Lesotho, young people identify themselves depending on their religious and societal interactions.

Stryker and Burke are referred to as being among the identity theorists who share the assumption that society is patterned and organised and that the self emerges within that context of a complex, organised society: “If society is organised, so too must the self be organised” and this reflects the dictum that, “self reflects society” (Burke 2009:37).

3.7 Multiple identities

“Being recognized as a certain kind of person, in a given context” is how Gee (2001:99) defines identity. This illustrates, in the context of this study, how young adults are identified differently at home and in their groups and so acquire multiple identities. Even in broader contexts, as a result of globalisation and many other forces, young people experience many

changes at this transition age. So, according to Bourn (2008:52), “globalisation impacts upon young people in complex ways and forces them to constantly re-think and revise their sense of identity and place within society”. Their lives are reported to be constantly influenced by new trends – cultural, technological or social – and that may result in the multiple identities they display (Ibid. 2008). Burke and Stets (2009) concur that a person can have multiple identities and that this happens when this same person plays different roles in different settings. For example, participants in this study come from their family settings to join groups of their choice who display different characteristics or behaviours. It is in these different settings that Burke and Stets (2009:3) say that “people possess multiple identities because they occupy multiple roles, are members of multiple groups and claim multiple characteristics”. According to Settle (2004), people have those multiple roles and group membership as a way of identifying themselves and finding meaning. Settle (2004) cites Thoits (2001), Barnett and Baruch (1985), Marks (1977) and Seiber (1974), to support the idea that these multiple identities can provide numerous benefits, such as opportunities for social interaction, economic mobility and accumulation of skills and abilities. The complexity of multiple identities is also attested to by Settles (2008:487), who states that despite the benefits, there can be some identity interference, which can destabilise the sense of self if people do not have an opportunity to be comfortable with their different identities in different contexts. For example in Lesotho, a young person cannot comfortably display a certain identity in the home for fear of being reprimanded. Hence, Burke and Stets (2009) argue that depending on interaction with the environment, people take on many identities over a course of a life time and those identities can be activated at any point in relation to context.

3.8 Collective identity

Jasper and McCarry (2015) describe collective identity as a banner under which people can be mobilised for collective action, be it political, religious or social. They also refer to it as “an act of imagination, a trope that stirs people to action by arousing their feelings of solidarity with their fellows and defining moral boundaries against other categories” (Ibid:1). So collectively, people work in solidarity and become active participants. This collectiveness is reflected in the common saying that ‘unity is strength’. For Melucci, cited in Fominaya (2010), collective identity refers to a network of active relationships which also embrace the importance of emotional involvement. Furthermore, it involves the ability to distinguish the (collective) self from the ‘other’ and to be recognised by those ‘others’. Glassman and Hadad

(2004) go on to explain that collectivism emphasizes a person's connections and obligations to a social group, for example, a family or tribe and it is typically contrasted to individualism. It is evident, therefore, that an individual may feel part of the whole collective structure to show some commitment to it or to a system as a whole. It has long been argued that Africans display a strong sense of collective identity (Preece 2009, Merriam & Ntseane 2008, Lekoko & Modise 2011). Fominaya (2010) explains that collective identity has been used extensively by many scholars in trying to explain how social movements, like the ANC during apartheid, generate and sustain commitment and cohesion between actors over time. The action of the ANC can be related to what Kumah-Abiwe and Ochawa-Echel (2013) refer to as collective identity which brings a sense of cooperation amongst societies, especially African ones.

There are benefits that accrue from the collective identity for the good of the group. It sends messages to those outside the group such as the authorities, bystanders and opponents that the group consists of united and committed members (Jasper & McCarry 2015). A popular phrase in Lesotho, '*kopano ke matla*' (unity is power), implies that through joint efforts, groups are able to send a strong message to the authorities. This can be referred to as the ability to demand rights in the name of the group and it implies that youth can, through their organisations, demand their rights from the government. Although one of the benefits of a collective identity is the strengthened networks and organisations, risks do exist. Jasper and McCarry (2015) contend that while there is solidarity with others, that solidarity is restricted to an individual's own group. It can be surmised that while community members may closely work together on some issues, there are still those boundaries which they cannot cross into other groups.

Basotho and Batswana (citizens of Lesotho and Botswana respectively) can be cited as examples of collective identities in the African context, as their communities are built on strong principles of collectivism. Both countries are known to have different societal groups that work collectively, as expressed through the Lesotho word '*matsema*' (collective farming), to improve lives of their community members. Through '*matsema*' people who are disadvantaged, and without their own land and cattle, are able to help those who own animals and fields after which they receive some contributions from the harvest and herds, ensuring they receive assistance or food in the time of need.

3.9 Manifestation of identities by youth

Young adults attach certain meanings to who they are and, as said above, these meanings depend on how they perceive themselves, their role in society or group and what characteristics they associate with themselves. Research (for example Zeldin et al. 2007) indicates that youth are able to manifest their identities through membership in various youth organisations. In these, they are able to display their different identities and how they understand themselves. Their group membership experiences further influence how they understand themselves – so this is a dual process. They are also able to learn from each other and further develop their ideas and sense of self in relation to others. The NYPL (1995:10) stipulates that through youth organisations young people are able to “meet the demands made by society for their independence, responsibility, achieving satisfactory relationships with their families and other people”. Zeldin et al. (2007:83), when writing about youth in community governance in the United States, indicate that it is evident that the youth benefits when they are given the opportunity to be involved in making decisions in their organisations and programmes. They indicate that the American Youth Policy Forum concluded that a common feature of youth participation in organisations was that youth not only receive from but also provide for communities, so making them partners in development of their communities. Galston (2004) sees today’s young people as patriotic, tolerant and compassionate. He refers to youth in America, who adeptly navigate their nation’s increasing diversity and are more than willing to give of themselves to others.

3.10 Attitudes towards citizen identity

In some cases youth are not aware that it is their right to be heard and listened to. Pachon (2012:81), for instance, states that “it can prove difficult to defend and promote human rights and obligations if they are not known”. Lack of knowledge about rights and responsibilities can therefore have a bearing on youth attitudes. This view is confirmed by two older female Basotho participants in the study by Ngozswana (2014), when they indicated that they did not have rights when they were children, but they just listened to the elderly because of the respect they were expected to show to older adults. They said that children these days tell them that they have rights. Another respondent stated: “When I grew up I did not know that I have rights because I was a child who was given orders, and mine was just to obey them without questioning anything from my parents” (Ibid:145).

3.11 Attitudes towards gender issues

Arnot, Chege and Wawire (2012) undertook a study on how young people in Nairobi perceive their rights of citizenship. They explored how young men and women (mainly siblings aged 16–25) define their national identity and citizenship rights and their expectations of the Kenyan government. Youth in this study felt connected with Kenyans and became actively engaged with rights issues. Young men and women, who were secondary schooled, gave gendered responses which were reflexive and challenging towards norms and responsibilities of citizenship:

...young men focused on the public sphere, emphasising [their] voting rights, political corruption and their role in leading community change whilst secondary educated young women recognised the importance of ‘freedoms’ associated with national membership, their rights to choose within cultural traditions and the need to support their families. (Ibid.:87)

These findings show that gender plays a role in the way youth display their understanding of themselves as citizens. Hall and Coffey (2007:280) concur, stating that “gender has a bearing on, and is a part of, what it means to grow up in a way that is only too apparent to young people”. However, this study did not specifically theorise the concept of identity and the notion of multiple identities that can constitute youth understanding of themselves.

Another study by Arnot and Swartz (2012) focused on how differently educated Kenyan male and female youth living in the Kenyan slums, address issues of citizenship, their rights and the way they could alleviate poverty. It revealed that the “gendering of political life has shaped which discourses young men and women employ to make sense of their lives and their demands in social change” (Ibid: 88). Arnot and Swartz report further that young women’s focus is on ethnic cultural traditions, while their male counterparts struggle to remain politically involved: even to offer leadership. They also posit that young men are particularly confronted by incitements to join radical, nationalist, militarist movements in the name of political goals (Ibid.:5). This implies that the way males and females perceive themselves differs. Differences can perhaps be associated with the way Africans are socialised into believing that women belong to the household, while men protect families and the country.

3.12 Social capital

Although social capital was not initially intended to be part of the theoretical framework of this study, the data revealed that it played a strong role in youth organisations and in how youth identified themselves as active citizens, so brief exploration of the concept is provided here. As with other concepts, social capital is defined differently by various scholars. The original concept is often attributed to Bourdieu (1986:51) who defines it as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources linked to possession of durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group ...”. The concept was taken up by Coleman (1988:98) who indicates that social capital is defined by its function:

It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether personal or corporate actors – within the structure.

Coleman and Bourdieu both make reference to social capital in terms of social relationships that are maintained over time. Coleman (1988) adds that participants make a contribution in terms of action in some way towards maintaining the social relationship.

Although it has been used in a number of contexts, the concept became popular after Putnam’s (2000) publication of ‘Bowling Alone’ in which he argued that in the United States people’s interest in giving their time and energies for the betterment of the whole community had declined. His argument was that the social fabric of the United States was under threat because people were not sufficiently engaged as collectives in their communities or social organisations. Social capital is now seen as a desirable aspect of society. Putnam (2000) also regards social capital as playing a significant role in all aspects of personal community life, since it maintains the relationships among community members. He adds that family, friends and acquaintances are valuable assets in community life. Putnam defines social capital as referring to “connections among individuals ...” (cited in Mowbray 2004:7). Putnam (2000:4) further adds, “when society is at its peak, people spend more time socializing with families, friends and neighbours”.

Social capital refers to the idea that social networks are potential resources for individuals, communities, and the society as a whole. Although it is difficult to limit its definitions, it can be described as the personal ties with others that give mutual benefits (Portes 2000). Portes indicates that the theoretical development of this concept by Bourdieu (1980) and Coleman (1993a; 1993b) centred on individuals or families by virtue of their ties with other people. The term is often used to refer to aspects of social relationships characterised by trust and reciprocity (Vyncke, Hardyns, Peersman, Pauwels, Groenewegen & Willems 2014). Ferlander (2007) too, describes social capital as a resource that can be accessed through social networks. Cavaye (2004) emphasises that social capital is an essential feature of any society, stating,

It should be the pre-eminent and most valued form of any capital as it provides the basis on which we build a truly civil society. Without our social bases we cannot be fully human. Social capital is as vital as language for human society. (Ibid.:2)

Pitikoe (2016) also indicates that social capital focuses on relationships and social interactions built around trust and reciprocity among individuals and community. This statement supports the idea that the more frequently members of their groups meet, the closer they get to each other, and the more trust and reciprocity will develop. This is referred to as “social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trust-worthiness that arise from them” (Mowbray 2004:4). Communities with strong social capital are understood to have features of social organisation, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for the mutual benefit of the community members (Van Benschoten 2000).

Hawkins and Maurer (2010) support Putman’s conceptualisation of social capital as being a set of social relations that are based on civic engagement, trust and norms of reciprocity. However, Gauntlett, in referring to Coleman, argues that it is not the human tools and money that make up social capital, but instead it arises as a resource which is available to individuals and is not necessarily “owned” by them (Gauntlett 2011:4). Coleman (1988:98) further emphasises that, “unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors”. Therefore, in any context, social capital relies on people looking beyond themselves and engaging in supportive or helpful actions, not because they expect a reward or immediate reciprocal help, but because they believe it is a good thing to do (Coleman in Gauntlett 2011).

Social capital has also become part of development and learning discourses (Woolcock & Narayan 1999; Field 2002). The Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2007) identifies social capital as being based on intangible assets that affect people's lives on a daily basis such as goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse amongst families and society at large. This statement confirms that it is not the material resources that make up social capital, but the positive social interaction of people in a community and among individuals and families who make up a social unit.

Goddard (2005:434) defines social capital from an economic perspective as “a critical component of a community's economic prosperity and sustainable development”. The World Bank (2006) argues that it is not simply the sum of institutions underpinning society, but it is also their ability to coordinate actions and form the bonds that hold a community together. Putnam (2000) shares the same sentiment in that he postulates that social capital positively contributes to quality of life such as determining the type of businesses to be located within a community for the benefit of the members.

There are three forms of social capital which are commonly defined as bonding, bridging and linking. Ferlander (2007) posits that bonding social capital tends to be narrow and localised, as it enables establishment of relationships among people with similar characteristics. For example, in Basotho communities, people belong to particular denominations and pray together. When a group of people extend beyond their immediate social boundaries and explore relationships with other external groups with similar characteristics, this is referred to as bridging social capital (Ferlander 2007; Thomas 2002). Linking social capital assists group members to extend into external institutions and towards people who hold positions of power (Hawkins & Maurer 2010). Such relationships enable those who hold power to use their influence to access information and resources for their counterparts in the smaller groups. In Lesotho social capital is an important resource which facilitates social support in a variety of contexts (Pitikoe 2016). For example, different groups such as youth organisations, church groups and political groups are able to benefit from bonding, bridging and linking as diverse relationships of social capital.

In Africa, according to Agjibi and Swart (2015), religion is regarded as a key source of social capital because of its similarity to religious capital, which is based on relationships that individuals and religious groups have access to regarding their personal well-being. From the above definitions it can be deduced that the common features of social capital are structures, trust and norms of reciprocity and relationships through which members of human society communicate and which contribute to social well-being. John (2009) emphasises that family and neighbourhood are important structures of relations. This point is also confirmed by Hawkins and Maurer (2010) in reference to Coleman's explanation of social capital as a direct or indirect resource as a result of social networks and support amongst friends, family and community. It can be seen that youth in Basotho communities form part of these structures that Coleman referred to above.

Social capital, as a resource for networking and trust building, is an important resource for individuals and may therefore affect their perceived quality of life and their ability to act within their societies (Coleman 1988; Gauntlett 2011). According to Preece and Mosweunyane (2006:5-6), it is "commonly argued as a form of capital that complements fiscal, human, cultural capital". Production of these various forms of capital that members provide for each other enabling them to progress through society is also confirmed by Miller (2015) and Tzanakis (2014). Bassani (2007) considers social capital to be a crucial product of social relationships which plays an integral part in mobilization and formation of other forms of capital and further contends that they contribute to a young person's well-being. Engagement and support for one another, as argued by Gauntlett (2011), reflect the communitarian features of citizenship which Delanty (2000) highlights as focusing on unity and cohesion among society members. Coleman (1988) gives examples of 'study circles' as constituting a form of social capital and the youth organisations in this study could also be cited as having study circle elements in that they facilitate reciprocal learning among members.

Some scholars (Morrow 1999; Fukuyama 1999; John 2009) agree that social capital is an elusive concept, but John (2009:74) concludes as follows:

It makes sense to define social capital in relation to the different theorists ... it would be sufficient to indicate that social capital relates to sociability, the types and strength of relationships people come to have with other people, structures and organisations and

how these relationships influence aspects of their lives, their education and social development.

Social capital for youth in this study can be seen as an important aspect of membership in youth organisations. As mentioned, groups provide a form of social capital bonding amongst their members, as they feel a sense of unity while participating together. Odora-Hoppers (2013) states that with social capital there is a strong sense of collectiveness where members share commonly established norms and this emanates from the values that form the baseline for defining what is considered appropriate behaviour. These are common assets that are evident in communities in Lesotho. Pitikoe (2016:223) argues that a spirit of collectiveness exists in Lesotho and sharing is a social practice norm that is embedded in Basotho culture.

Although social capital is usually seen as a force binding groups together in a way which is normally attractive for the people concerned, it has also been argued that there is a 'dark side' to social capital. Its attractiveness can turn sour when we judge that a group in question may have unsavoury intentions towards other people, as in the Ku Klux Klan example cited by Gauntlett (2011:2-3). Nevertheless, as the above literature presents, its value as a social asset is widely assumed to be positive.

3.13 Chapter summary

This chapter introduced and tabulated the different identity theories of place, social and identity process. These theories have relevance to how the youth manifest their identities in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities. It further discussed the concept in the personal, national or cultural, religious and gender related contexts, resulting in an understanding of the importance of identity for how an individual perceives him or herself. The chapter also discussed collective identity, which is manifested in this study through the different youth groups. It was noted that membership in diverse groups involves the display of multiple identities, depending on people's interaction with other members and the environment. Social capital theory was outlined because of its relevance to identity and the role it plays within youth organisations.

CHAPTER 4 : METHODOLOGY

4 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to analyse youth understanding of their rights and responsibilities as citizens in contemporary Lesotho. Chapter 1 provided the global regional and national context regarding youth (definitions, populations, international and regional perspectives on citizenship education needs of youth). Youth policies from three different countries in Africa were viewed in comparison with the National Youth Policy (NYPL). Chapter 2 reviewed literature on youth and citizenship studies and related theories. It argued that citizenship is a process of identity building and set out various views that emerged from the international literature regarding youth responses to their rights and responsibilities. Chapter 3 presented an overview of identity theory, the different types of identities and how these are manifested in different contexts. It also included a discussion on social capital since this concept is pertinent to the data. This chapter explains the methodology that the study followed. It describes the research design, the interpretive paradigm, the research approach as a multiple case study, data collection methods, sampling and data analysis. My positionality as a researcher and the ethical considerations are also included.

4.1 Research design

The research design is a guiding principle that a study follows. It gives direction and guides the researcher on which steps to follow in order to find answers to the research questions. According to Blanche and Durrheim (2006:34), a research design is “a strategic framework for action”. They state that this framework is a way of linking research questions and the execution or implementation of the study. Blanche and Durrheim (2006) further cite Yin’s (2002:23) definition of a research design which is “... a logical plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions and there is some set of conclusion (answers) about these questions”. Sarantakos (2005:232) summarises by stating that “the research design normally prescribes, among other things, the logical sequence in which the study will be carried out, the elements of the study, the methodology of how data will be collected and analysed”. Mason (1996) elaborates on the importance of a research design as fundamental, as it takes place quite early in the research process. She states that it involves the researcher’s epistemological and ontological position or perspectives which

influence the choice of the research paradigm. The design therefore includes both the approach and the paradigm. It was imperative that a design be selected that would enable the research questions to be answered appropriately.

In this study the focus was youth, their understanding and interpretations of their citizen rights and responsibilities and how they have gained this understanding. Therefore, the approach, paradigm and methods that were chosen enabled the main research questions to be answered. These questions helped to gauge what the youth in this study knew and how they manifested their citizenship rights and responsibilities and also how they felt others have contributed towards the realization of their learnt citizenship identities.

1. How do young adults see themselves in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities in the contemporary Lesotho context?
2. Where and how do they learn these rights and responsibilities?
3. How do they manifest their identities, rights and responsibilities through their youth group membership?
4. What implications do the findings have for the design of civic education programmes and government youth policy in Lesotho?

4.2 Research paradigm

Paradigms are regarded as broad systems that help us perceive and understand the world around us (John 2009:89). Babbie (2004) describes them as models or frames of reference through which to observe and understand. Bassey (1999) is cited by John (2009:90), explaining a paradigm as “a network of coherent ideas about the world and of the functions of researchers which, adhered to by a group of researchers, conditions the patterns of their thinking and underpins their research actions”. Simply put by John (2009), a paradigm operates like a lens that poses a clear picture of how the world should be interpreted and helps a person to position him or herself in such a world, to be able to understand it and create further knowledge out of the picture created.

Blanche and Durrheim (2006) posit that there are three main dimensions of paradigms. These are positivist, which is traditionally associated with stereotypical images of science; critical or emancipatory, which is associated with exposing hidden assumptions with a view

to empowering the research participants; and the interpretive or constructivist paradigm. Interpretivists believe that knowledge is subjective because it is socially constructed and mind dependent: “Interpretivist paradigm therefore aims to explain the subjective reasons and meanings that lie behind social action” (Blanche & Durrheim 2006:7). Bassey (1999) maintains that the purpose of research, according to interpretivists, is to contribute to the knowledge base about the world by gaining an understanding of the shared meanings that people attribute to their particular contexts. Blanche and Durrheim (2007:7) explain that with interpretive paradigms, the researcher “believes that the reality to be studied consists of people’s subjective experiences of the external world”. So the research has to understand a phenomenon from different perspectives.

Paradigm choice in this study was influenced by the desire to understand the Basotho youths’ understanding of their citizenship rights and responsibilities, their expression of their identities from their perspectives and, in particular, to understand the subjective reasons and meanings that youth gave to their citizen roles and identities.

The positivist paradigm would have focused only on surface level statistical data and not have allowed close examination of individual feelings or in-depth discussions. The interpretivist paradigm was therefore chosen because it allowed the interpretation of perceptions and understanding of the concept of citizenship and identity according to the youth in the study. As an African, for instance, I am aware of certain Western influences in Africa and that what may be interpreted in a certain way according to African traditional culture, may be different according to Western cultures. For example, Western interpretations of truth and reality are not necessarily experienced in the same way by different African cultures. In other words, there are multiple truths and truth is an interpretation. Therefore, from my perspective as a researcher, the chosen paradigm allowed me to look for an interpretation rather than the positivist scientific notion of having only one answer to a problem.

In this study the research participants were youth and one stakeholder in the ministry. In particular, the subjective experiences of young people were studied. It was hoped that from the findings, I would understand and make meaning of how young adults perceive themselves in relation to their citizen rights and responsibilities. This enhanced understanding could help leaders and policy makers plan a curriculum that would build on the existing understanding

of young adults, thus reflecting adult education principles of drawing on experience and starting from where people are in their lives (Jarvis 1995).

4.3 Research approach

A qualitative approach was followed to complement the main focus of the research of gaining an interpretivist understanding of young people's sense of their citizen rights and responsibilities and from that how they have learnt to manifest it. Gary (2004) maintains that there are a number of characteristics of qualitative research. For instance, the main focus is to understand the ways in which people act and account for their actions. It is conducted through intense contact within a 'field' or real life setting and the researcher's role is to gain a 'holistic' or integrated overview of the study, including perceptions of participants. Therefore, this approach assisted an interpretation of young people's own understanding of their citizenship rights and responsibilities.

4.4 Case study

The study used a qualitative case study approach which, according to Babbie (2010), focuses on a single instance of some social phenomenon such as a village, a family or a juvenile gang. The social phenomenon in this study was young people in Lesotho selected from three youth groups, namely, a political youth group, a religious youth group and one mixed social group in the Roma Valley. The rationale for the choice of cases and their location is explained in one sub-heading below.

Case studies are defined as intensive investigations of particular individuals (Lindegger 2006), and in this study these are the youth in their respective groups. Rule and John (2011) indicate that case study is defined in multiple ways by different scholars (citing Bogden & Bikden 1992; Basse 1999; Creswell 2002; Van Wyns in berghe & Khan 2007). They summarise the definition of a case study as an in-depth investigation of a particular instance in its context in order to generate knowledge. Yin (2003:9) concurs with the above scholars and stipulates that it is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context". The youth studied were members of three different organisations and they explained their understanding and perceptions about citizenship rights in their own contexts. They also shared their understanding in terms of their identities as citizens of

Lesotho and how they have learnt those identities. They provided descriptive and reflective information about themselves and their societal roles. The issue of how they learnt and manifested their citizenship rights and responsibilities is under-researched in the Lesotho context and in Yin's words, "you would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions – believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of the study" (Yin 2003:13), hence the choice of this approach.

Baxter and Jack (2008) and Rule and John (2011) contend, in agreement with Yin (2003), that there are various types of case studies. Among those is the exploratory one used to examine situations in which the intervention that is being evaluated has no clear single set of outcomes. The multiple case study also enables the researcher to explore differences within cases (Baxter & Jack 2008). Based on the above definitions, this study therefore adopted the exploratory multiple case study. Baxter and Jack (2008:550) advise that "a multiple or collective case study will allow the researcher to analyse within each setting and across settings". The cases were first of all examined in relation to the under-researched phenomenon in Lesotho – which was young adults, their understanding and perceptions on rights and responsibilities in their different political, religious and social organisational contexts. They were further investigated for how they manifested their identities in relation to those rights and responsibilities.

Furthermore, the researcher bore in mind that youth, as young adults in different contexts or affiliations, may have common responses which could generate tentative generalisations that might be tested in future studies. In this particular study perceptions about citizenship and identity of youth sometimes differed and sometimes converged so it was interesting to compare potential reasons for these differences and similarities that might inform policy recommendations. Baxter and Jack (2008) caution that the researcher must be able to establish the case or unit of analysis, as this will help to organise the appropriate questions to ask. They quote Miles and Huberman (1994), who define a case as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context. Baxter and Jack (2008) suggest that it has to be bounded so that it is studied within a reasonable scope. Care was therefore taken to select youth in different bounded contexts. Rule and John (2011:22) indicate that "cases should not be selected simply on the basis that they are accessible and convenient". The reasons for the selections are explained under the headings 'boundaries' and 'rationale' for the cases.

Boundaries for the case and suitability for the study

Youth in Lesotho are defined as those between 15 and 35 years of age (GOL 1995) and in this study the groups were composed of young adults aged between 18 to 30 years. They are, under the laws of Lesotho, eligible to vote, have gone through high school and some were at university and tertiary institutions. Some were already engaged in some form of employment, and so were in a position to make some contribution to their communities in different ways. Youth were deemed a suitable group to study because they are referred to as the ‘future generation’ by most nations.

What is the case?

Rule and John (2011:16) emphasise the importance of articulating exactly the case that the researcher intends to study, as this will help “identify the focus and choose an appropriate case or cases to investigate”. The table below summarises what the study followed.

Table 3: What is the case?

The thesis	What is the case or unit of analysis?	What is the focus within the study?	What is it a case of?
How Basotho youth see themselves in relation to their citizen rights and responsibilities: implications for civic education	Three youth groups: political, religious, and social	Citizenship rights and responsibilities	Youth understanding of their citizen rights and responsibilities and how they have learnt these

The units of analysis or cases in this study were the youth groups in Lesotho in their three contexts of political (Lesotho Students Convention (LESCO), religious (Lesotho Christian Youth Movement (LCYM) and mixed social (Mixed Social Group - MSG) orientations.

LESCO

LESCO is an organisation of students at tertiary level from various institutions in the country. According to the ABC political party constitution, young people between the ages of 18 and 35 years are allowed to be members of a political party.. The organisation was formed to enable students to educate themselves politically and keep abreast of politics in the country

LCYM

This is a group of young people from the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) formed in 1975 by Archbishop L.G. Morapeli to bring together young Christians in the church. According to an interview with the leader of the group Abos, the formation of this group was to also protect youth in the high schools against the very tense political environment at that time.

He further indicated that there is no age limit for membership in the group as long as an individual still abides by the rules of the movement. This organisation has a mission statement that reads

- Boitsebo bo feletseng ba mocha oa mokhatholike eleng lefa la rona.
- Kholiso e tiileng ea lerato la nete la boena
- Bongoe bo tsitseng mokhatlong kamehla.

(True identification of oneself as a catholic which is our heritage, motivation for true love for each other, unity and strength in the organisation always).

Besides taking part for ensuring that the holy mass s celebrated with hymns and praises, they undertake communitarian activities to the sick, those in prison and other disadvantaged groups. They also entertain masses through choral music and participate in singing competitions.

MSG

This is a group of young people in the community which was formed for data collection purposes as an alternative when the substantive group could not continue with the study. Members in this group consisted of members from their diverse groups but which was turned into a unique group for purposes of this study. Their distinctiveness is that they were members of a variety of activity groups such as drama, singing or dancing.

A case study approach can also be considered when “the focus of the study is to answer ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions” (Yin 2003, cited in Baxter & Jack 2008:556). This particular study intended to explore, among other things, how youth manifested their identities in the context of Lesotho, as citizens with rights and responsibilities. The ‘why’ question relates to why they thought about themselves the way they did as a result of the education they had received (informal, non formal, formal) on their citizen rights and responsibilities. These

findings informed an understanding as to what kind of civic education might be appropriate for young adults in Lesotho in contemporary society.

Rationale for the choice of cases and their location

The rationale for the choice of cases in this study was based on a number of concerns. First, religion has a strong influence on Basotho lives; second, politics is a key domain for citizenship activity and there are many politically oriented social groups. A third concern is that youth meet because of a shared interest in a particular activity or skill such as music or drama. The youth groups chosen for this study represented the three key contexts for youth participation and sharing. But each participant did not necessarily belong to a single youth group, for example one would be a member of LCYM but also a member of theatre group in the village, be a member of MSG and also a member of the CLC and a member of LESCO while at the same time a member of a theatre group. Since their group memberships reflected different areas of interest, it was noteworthy to see how their social contexts influenced how they learnt about and saw themselves as citizens of Lesotho.

This study was conducted in the Roma Valley, 33km from the capital city of Lesotho, Maseru. Roma is known as '*Selibeng sa Thuto*' (a well for education) because, small as it is, it has five educational institutions (two high schools, a nursing college, a minor and major seminary and the National University of Lesotho (NUL)). This location was therefore distinctive in that it attracts young people who come from rural and urban areas of the country to attend these institutions and some even remain there after completing their studies. Therefore, it has a relatively high population of youth in proportion to the rest of the country. The three youth groups studied were drawn from this mixed population. However, although case studies are considered to be descriptive in nature and providing rich information about the participants, they do have their own limitations.

Case study limitations

According to Flyvbjerg (2007:398), a case study can generate misunderstanding such that "it maintains a bias towards verification, understood as a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions, so that the study becomes a doubtful scientific value". Diamond (1996) is of the view that it suffers a 'crippling drawback' due to lack of methodological focus. Gray (2004) suggests that to address these limitations requires multiple sources of evidence. Yin (1994), in Gray (2004), also shows that the investigator needs to be thoroughly prepared

for the process. This means having an ability to formulate and ask questions and to interpret the answers. It also means ‘switching off’ his or her own interpretative ‘filters’ and actually concentrating on what is being said or done by the research participants. The investigator must be able to respond quickly to the flow of answers and pose questions or issues. This study, therefore, used a number of methods such as focus group discussions, follow up interviews and photo voice. During the data collection stage, I was very attentive, asked relevant questions followed by reflective interpretation of data and was careful to monitor my preconceived notions, with the added advantage that I could consult with my supervisor.

Another disadvantage of case study research is that it is not generalizable. Rule and John (2011:22), for instance, state that even “a multiple case study design still cannot generate findings that represent all cases of the population”. Baxter and Jack (2008) claim that, nevertheless, with a multiple case study, the researcher is able to analyse within each setting and across settings, while Rule and John (2011:21) further indicate that “multiple case studies allow for comparison across cases”. In this study the three cases, serving a comparative purpose, in themselves generated common themes that suggested they could be replicable in different contexts.

4.5 Population and sampling

The population is the main focus of a study, which in most cases is larger than its sample. This total number is identified by Durrheim and Painter (2006) as a larger pool from which the sampling elements are drawn and the researcher generalises the findings. They show that, “theoretically speaking, the population encompasses all the elements that make up our unit of analysis” (Ibid:133). There are various reasons that can prevent the researcher from reaching out to the whole population of the study. Among them are time and costs and their accessibility. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007:100) stipulate that “this smaller group or subset is the sample” and it is therefore advisable to use a smaller group representative of the whole population.

Cohen et al. (2007) indicate that there are two main methods of sampling which are probability and non-probability sampling. They show that the difference between the two is that with probability sampling the chances of selecting members from a wider population are known, whereas with non-probability they are not known. Although this study purposively

selected the case studies – and thereby the youth members – the youth participants from each case study were randomly sampled by the respective groups. I stipulated the required number of participants and their gender balance and LCYM and LESCO submitted the names of the participants, selected randomly, but also depending on who would be interested and able to participate. The MSG was selected by snowball method, by which two participants known to me were asked to invite their friends for the discussions.

Population of this study comprised young adults between the ages 18 and 30, who are referred to as youth according to the Lesotho youth policy. Participants were as follows: in the LESCO group, seven members participated in the FGD, but during the photovoice (PV) session there were six new participants and only one member was available from the previous session. For LCYM, the original participants for FGD were 10, but only five of them could avail themselves for the PV session. Lastly, for the MSG group, there were eight participants for FGD and only six of them were available for PV. It was not very easy to have the same members for FGD and PV sessions as a result of other commitments, but the minimum of five members per session was sustained, as Rabbie (2004) recommends that 6–10 members are a manageable size. Participants also included one (1) leader from each of the youth groups. There was also one (1) Youth Development Officer (YDO) from the ministry who participated. Therefore, the actual sample for the study was 33. The actual participants in the study were made up as follows tabulated in Table 4

Table 4: Statistics of participants in the study

Name of Group	FGD	PV	Int	FU Int	Overall Part. per Group
LESCO	4M 3F 7	5M 2F 7	1 Leader	-	13
LCYM	5M 5F 10	2M 3F 5	1 Leader	-	15
MSG	4M 4F 8	3M 3F 6	1 Leader	2M 1F 3	14
MGYSR	-	-	1 YDO	-	

Key: FGD = Focus Group Discussion, PV = Photovoice, M = Male F = Female
Int = Interviews, FU Int = Follow-up Interviews

The members for the respective FGDs per group were selected as mentioned above. A selection criterion for youth leaders was purposive, as they were already existing members

who were more knowledgeable about their group, except for the MSG. In this particular group members agreed upon the choice of one youth group leader from amongst them. Cohen et al. (2007:115) highlight that “purposive sampling is used in order to access ‘knowledgeable people’, that is those who have in-depth knowledge about particular issues”. Participants for follow-up interviews were also picked purposively, as those who were either vocal or shy or those that said something that needed further clarification during the discussions.

In addition to FGDs and interviews, there were photovoice sessions. For this exercise LESCO members were now engaged with their semester examinations and were therefore not able to participate, but one member from the FGD arranged for six other members of LESCO to represent the organisation. That did not pose an ethical problem because in the original invitation all members had been briefed about the purpose of the study. For MSG photovoice sessions only two members were not available, the rest being the original FGD participants. In addition, a Youth Development Officer (YDO) from the ministry was also interviewed and provided data on how the ministry addressed youth matters.

Recruiting participant samples

Introductory meetings were held with the respective groups, where the purpose of the study was explained. For the LESCO group, the researcher was invited to their regular weekly meeting where the study was introduced and members accepted my request. Later names of people who would participate in the study were submitted and arrangements of date and venue were made with the selected group. Similarly, with LCYM I met the leader of the group who put my request to the whole group. Members were selected and names of participants were submitted, followed by the logistics of actual sessions. The exercise differed for MSG as it was a group formed after a previously selected drama group could not continue. The snowball method was used by asking two members from the original planned group to identify participants for the study and they later collectively informed me of a suitable time and venue for the discussions.

Pseudonyms and coding were randomly chosen from the hat – with M for a male and F for a female, followed by a number, for example, Pseudonym (1M). This strategy was used to protect participants’ anonymity in relation to quotes used in the study. They nevertheless

signed consent that their photographs could be used in the thesis to illustrate citizenship activities. The tables below provide the pseudonym, code, demographic details, and venues for the FGDs and photovoice sessions.

Table 5: Participants at the LESCO FGD meeting held at BTM lecture room, NUL

Name	Respondent code	Age	Yr of study	Place of origin
President	2M	27	4	Tsakholo, Mafeteng
Hanyape	1M	23	2	Semonkong, Maseru
Matsieng	6M	22	4	Letlapeng, Morija
Nazo	10F	28	1	Mazenod, Maseru
Sports	7F	19	2	Ha Matala, Maseru
Thulos	4F	30	1	Naledi Maseru
Letope	8M	-	4	Ha Kotsana, Leribe

F = 3 M = 4

Table 6: Participants of LESCO at the photovoice session held in BTM lecture room, NUL

Name	Respondent code	Age	Yr of study	Place of origin
Comrade	1M	23	4	Ha Sekake, Qacha's Nek
Priest	5M	28	3	Ha Tsoane, Maseru
Ralichelete	3M	24	2	Matholeng, Mafeteng
Monghali	4M	23	4	Sehong-hong, Thaba Tseka
President	2M	27	4	Tsakholo, Mafeteng
Tompino	6F	27	1	Mathokoane, Leribe
Puly	7F	23	2	Tsikoane, Leribe

F = 2 M = 5

Table 7: Participants at the LCYM FGD meeting held at the Roma Primary School

Name	Respondent code	Educational level	Place of origin
Bluetooth	1F	Tertiary	Roma
Tempest	10M	Tertiary	Roma
Princess	3F	Tertiary	Roma
Moja	7F	High School	Roma
Seinoli	8M	High School	Thaba Tseka
Robino	9M	-	Semonkong
Konyana	6M	-	Ha Pita
Jerry	2M	Tertiary	Roma
Nozi	5F	High School	Roma
Big Mama	4F	Tertiary	Roma

F = 5 M = 5

NB: Members in this group did not want to disclose their ages but were estimated to be between 18 and 24.

Table 8: Participants at the LCYM photovoice meeting held at the Roma Primary School

Name	Respondent code	Educational level	Place of origin
Big Mama	4F	Tertiary	Roma
Jerry	2M	Tertiary	Roma
Princess	3F	Tertiary	Roma
Nozi	5F	High School	Roma
Konyana	6M		Ha Pita, Maseru

Table 9: Participants of MSG FGD held at Bana Pele Youth and Recreational Centre (BPYRC)

Name	Respondent Code	Age	Educational level	Place of origin
Dan	9M	24	Ex-High school	Roma
Mapsya	3F	18	High school	Roma
Poulo	10M	19	Ex-High school	Roma
Pindah	1F	19	High school	Roma
Wire	7M	18	High school	Roma
Scalaguzen	8F	19	High school	Roma
Blacky	4M	20	High school	Roma
Thato	5F	19	High school	Roma

F = 4 M = 4

Table 10: Participants of MSG photovoice held at Roma Primary School

Name	Respondent Code	Age	Education level	Place of origin
Dan	9M	24	Ex-High school	Roma
Mapsya	3F	18	High school	Roma
Pindah	1F	19	High school	Roma
Wire	7M	18	High school	Roma
Scalaguzen	8F	19	High school	Roma
Blacky	4M	20	High school	Roma

F = 4 M = 4

All participants were age 18 or over but almost all were still in school and therefore not working. The three participants who had left school were engaged in part time, temporary employment.

4.6 Data collection methods

Methods applied for this study comprised focus group discussions, open ended questionnaires and photovoice. These diverse methods allowed for data triangulation for verification purposes. Babbie and Mouton (2002:275) emphasise that “triangulation is generally considered to be one of the best ways to enhance validity and reliability in qualitative research”. The total number of youth who took part was larger than originally intended because photovoice sessions for the LESCO group involved different people.

Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

According to Cohen et al. (2007) focus group discussions are contrived settings that bring together a specific group of people to discuss a particular topic, the end result being data that can be analysed. A FGD is also defined as a “technique involving and use of in-depth group interviews in which participants are selected because they are a purposive, although not necessarily representative, sampling on a specific population, this group being ‘focused’ on a

given ‘topic’” (Laderman cited in Rabbie 2004:655). The two definitions show that this has to be a specific group with certain characteristics and knowledge on the research theme. Youth were the purposively chosen participants for this study; it was therefore useful that they were grouped together so that they shared their views amongst each other. This data collection method allowed the researcher to identify groups of participants with shared interests who had something to say on the selected topic and who were within the same age-range. This method helped to generate large amounts of data in a relatively short time and the data from the different groups provided useful points of comparison.

Kelly (2006) suggests that the focus groups enable the researcher to understand the participants’ different views on concepts which may have previously been thought were similar. Since there were three focus groups, it was interesting to see the variations in their views, though in the same age range. Rabbie (2004) also suggests that focus groups provide an opportunity to get a variety of ideas and responses which can illuminate differences in perspectives between individuals. Such differences of opinion were evident in the case study focus groups, even though participants were of a similar age. A focus group is said to be typically a group of people who share similar types of experience. The challenges and experiences of young people in contemporary Lesotho are expected to be more or less similar, though there may be geographical differences. Roma attracts youth from all over Lesotho and, with Roma being a university town, youth come from different backgrounds and because of that they share their different experiences. Through the focus groups within the different organisations the youth were able to share their views about their citizenship rights and responsibilities.

Richardson and Rabbie (2001) emphasise that participants in the group should be comfortable talking to the interviewer and amongst themselves and also have similar socio-characteristics. Since the focus groups consisted of youth members of the particular organisations, they were already familiar with each other. Macnaghten and Myers (2004:65) also support the use of focus groups, indicating that “focus groups work best for topics [that] people could talk about to each other in their everyday lives, but don’t”. The issue of citizenship rights and how one understands the responsibilities that go with those rights is an everyday feature of a person’s life, but is rarely discussed in public fora in Lesotho.

The focus groups were conducted in settings which youth are familiar with. According to Kelly (2006:304), “interacting with people in a naturalistic way makes it possible to understand their world ‘from the inside out’”. This type of research helped the researcher to obtain the inside views of young people who were often perceived by others in negative ways in Lesotho and elsewhere. For example there is a Sesotho saying that ‘*bana ba re tletse matsoho*’ (translated to mean children or youth have gone out of hand or out of control so that parents cannot control them). This perception can only be assessed if the views of young people are received firsthand, hence Kelly’s statement is substantiated by the researcher’s interaction with them in their natural settings where they felt comfortable to talk freely. The choice of focus groups was also based on the researcher’s previous experience that young people are more participative when they share views amongst their peers (Thakaso 2010). Experience from a previous study had also shown that youth tend to relax in group settings and are stimulated by each other’s contribution.

Rabiee (2004) suggests that, though most researchers would recommend that participants in the groups should not know each other, as that can result in a more honest and spontaneous expression of their views, he quotes Kitzinger (1994), who advocates that pre-existing groups who are already acquaintances could relate to each other’s comments constructively and challenge one another. This latter point was expected because members in these various groups shared similar interests. Krueger (1994), cited in Rabiee (2004:656), “believes that rich data can only be generated if individuals in the group are prepared to engage fully in the discussion and, for this reason, advocates the use of a homogeneous group”. Since it was anticipated that by working with pre-existing groups there could be an advantage of an already existing trust amongst the members of each of the groups, this encouraged the expression of views and avoided grudges that could have arisen with more disparate groups. However, the MSG group did consist of participants who belonged to separate groups, although the nature of Roma’s community meant they still knew each other.

Although Gray (2004) emphasises that focus groups have an advantage in that they allow for a variety of views and there is much stimulation from discussions, Cohen et al. (2007:377) contend that “focus groups are not without drawbacks”. They show that because of the number of people involved, they may yield less information than a survey, while group dynamics may lead to non-participation by some members and dominance by others. They additionally indicate that it is a method that “requires skilful facilitation and management by

the researcher” (Ibid:377), failing which, data collected may not be useful for the study. Nevertheless, this method was used because the advantages outweighed the disadvantages of getting information from this particular age range. Triangulation was possible by interviewing some members for further elaboration on what they had said in the main discussions.

Rabiee (2004) advises that, apart from the facilitator of the discussions, the assistance of a note-taker would be important, who would be able to observe other non-verbal communication among members and be able to note all other things from participants as they made comments during discussion which the researcher may not be able to note. Due to limited resources this assistance was not available, but for better capturing, with the permission of the participants, recordings were made and supplemented by my own written notes.

According to Rabiee (2004), a number between six and ten is large enough to gain a variety of perspectives and is a manageable size to avoid disorder and fragmentation. At the beginning of the focus group discussion, members were requested to randomly select numbers from one to ten which were printed on some cards and put in a hat – that would then be used in the data chapters to identify them. On the day that numbers were selected, one group only had eight participants so numbers 3 and 5 were not selected, and so not included in the above table.

Interview

One of the data collection methods used was interview. It has been stated by Cohen et al. (2007:349) that, “the interview is a flexible tool for data collection, which enables multi-sensory channels to be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard”. Kelly (2006:297) points out that interviews yield good data that help address the objectives of research. It is further defined by Gray (2004) as a conversation between people where there is a researcher and respondent. This ‘conversation’ enables participants to discuss the interpretation of the world they live in and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view (Cohen et al. 2007). Interviews are also considered by Baxter and Jack (2008) as one of many potential data sources, each making one piece of a puzzle and each piece contributing to the researcher’s understanding of the whole phenomenon.

Boyce and Neale (2006) see in-depth interviews as a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of participants to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, programme or situation. They highlight that interviews are useful in helping the researcher get a person's thoughts and behaviour, but like any other data collection method there are advantages and disadvantages and limitations to in-depth interviews. They have an advantage of providing more detailed information than other methods, as they are done in a more relaxed atmosphere which makes people feel comfortable. The two scholars, however, indicate that interviews are prone to bias because some participants may want to 'prove' that the situation is not as it is perceived by others (Ibid:3), so it is the researcher's responsibility to probe for further information. It must also be noted that though there are disadvantages to using interviews the good thing about them is their particular suitability for studying people's understanding of the meanings in their lived world, (in this instance, understanding citizenship rights and responsibilities in Lesotho) and for them to describe their experiences and self-understanding, and clarify and elaborate their own perspective on the lived world (Kvale 1999). The issue of context in conducting interviews is also important, as Boyce and Neale (2006:3) show that "interviews are often used to provide a context to other data (such as outcome data), offering a more complete picture".

The interview method therefore enabled the participants to share their views with the researcher from their own point of view. Data from these different sources in this study complemented each other or completed the puzzle. It involved participants from two sources, namely an officer in the ministry and youth leaders from the three groups. In the case of this study, follow up interviews were used for further probing from selected members of the focus groups where necessary. Those individual interviews also helped to address problems of focus group dynamics by enabling selected youth, who were shy to speak in a group, to say more. This served as a triangulation or cross-checking mechanism and it was possible to see if individuals shared the same perspectives that were articulated in the group situations. After the FGDs, individual follow up conversations were conducted with three (3) individual members from MSG (Dan, Thato and Blacky) for further clarification where necessary because they were a less cohesive group and there were occasions where some members did not speak up as freely as they may have done in their substantive groups. Also approached for interview were three (3) youth leaders from the different groups and the ministry representative for the youth policy in Lesotho. However, these participants were too

busy to be interviewed directly so a questionnaire of open ended questions was submitted to each of them which they completed in writing.

Photovoice

Photovoice is another method that was used to collect data in this study. This concept was initially developed by Wang and Burris in China, with the intent to enable Chinese village women to capture their everyday health and work realities (Wang 1999). Wang explains that “photovoice enables people to identify, represent and enhance their community through specific photographic technique” (Ibid:185). One of the goals of this method is to enable people to record and reflect their personal and community strengths and concerns. It is also designed to empower members of marginalised groups, as it allows them to actively participate in enhancing their communities by giving them a chance to tell their stories and have their voices heard (Palibroda et al. 2009). One of the key concepts of photovoice, according to Wang (1999:186), as noted by one community photographer, is that “their messages – both explicit and hidden – [images] help to shape our concepts of what is real and what is normal”. This method allowed the youth themselves to take pictures which they felt reflected their citizenship behaviour and they subsequently discussed the pictures in a follow up group discussion. They were also asked to explain what they saw as significant in the pictures with regard to their citizenship identities, rights and responsibilities.

Even though the method is often used to examine serious issues, it incorporates fun, creativity and collaboration from the participants (Palibroda et al. 2009). This was an important element for this study, especially because youth are by nature energetic and fun-loving people who become productive if they are allowed to become creative. The relevance of this method to this study was that it revealed how youth participated in enhancing the aims of their various organisations and communities.

Photovoice allows people to create images, but Wang (1999) reiterates that the exercise is not just for taking pictures, because those pictures should later on be defined to make meaning. Another advantage of photovoice is that it helps portray things which might be hard to say in words and carry a huge meaning; therefore photographs can be very powerful. Palibroda et al. (2009:10-11) stipulate that, “as photographers, individuals must question how they have represented and defined their communities and experiences [as citizens] and also consider how they relate to their communities and how their experiences are influenced by the broader

issues in that community”. They state that this process can also aid participants’ understanding to have a say in shaping public policies. It is believed that when they have a say in those policies, they will serve them better and meet their needs, as it is not only a right of community members to shape their policies, but also their responsibility. Data that was collected from these sources therefore served two purposes. First, it provided feedback into the youth policy and informed it regarding civic education programmes that could be designed for youth. Secondly, it provided an opportunity to get a deeper understanding of how youth related to their communities.

It was also the researcher’s responsibility to ensure that all activities of photovoice were done in a fair, respectful and ethical manner. Therefore, participants were left alone to take their pictures and choose the ones they wanted to discuss. Since this exercise deals with human subjects, permission was sought from the relevant individuals to have their pictures used in the study and those who objected were free not to participate. Photographs were later downloaded to a laptop and then viewed during the discussions.

Wang (1999) suggests that an ideal number for photovoice participants is seven (7) to ten (10) people and this fitted well with the study as the focus groups were consistent with this range. The same members were not maintained in the photovoice session due to various hindrances First, the LESCO group members were not available during the set date as the sessions were carried out during university revision period for examinations, but one member from this FGD was able to recruit six (6) others, making a total of seven (7) participants. Second, the same MSG members were able to participate in the photovoice sessions except for two (2) who could not be available, making a total of six (6) participants. Lastly, with the LCYM group five (5) of the original participants were able to be involved.

As with any other research approach photovoice has its demerits. A limitation of this method is that “participants might have trouble presenting complex or abstract ideas through their photographs” (Palibroda et al. 2009:17). Another limitation indicated by Palibroda et al. (2009) is that the researcher might incur extra costs for this exercise, but in this study because of the availability of digital technology the participants were able to use their mobile phones to take the pictures. Photovoice was not the only method of data collection and its potential limitations were compensated for through additional data collected in interview and focus group contexts.

4.7 Challenges encountered

Since the start of the data collection process, making arrangements with the youth and ensuring they kept to agreed meeting date times proved challenging, but efforts were made to find times that would suit all participants. The fact that one of the groups eventually did not materialise also caused delays, as a replacement group needed to be found. However, this also provided an opportunity to explore the different dynamics of a group that was not necessarily focused on one particular interest.

For the LESCO group the challenges were that planned photovoice sessions coincided with the university break and national snap elections, causing some delays. Other arrangements were made, but during those dates the original participants were not able to attend except for one member who was able to convince other LESCO members already aware of the exercise to attend instead.

Photovoice sessions with the LCYM group also experienced some problems because most of the participants were students in different high schools outside the Roma Valley and only came home during vacations. It was therefore necessary to wait until they returned.

4.8 Data collection tools for focus group discussions and interviews

A schedule of questions was developed in which the researcher listed key questions related to the topic and expected the participants to feel free to answer. Open-ended questions were asked in the focus groups and interviews. Kanjee (2006) stipulates that open questions allow flow of communication by participants so that experiences or opinions about a specific phenomenon are shared with the researcher without any restriction. Gary (2004) supports this view, stating that open questions have an advantage of rich information which may be overlooked by the researcher. This can also lead to follow-up questions as the researcher probes for further information.

To not restrict participants and get more data, the researcher used the semi-structured interview schedule for which the researcher had a list of key themes, issues and questions to

be covered, as suggested by Gray (2004). This also allowed the researcher to probe further when more information was needed and as the interview progressed, further relevant questions were asked based on the answers given. Both youth leaders and ministry official were given a questionnaire version of their interview schedule so that they could provide written answers. All endeavours were made to maintain a relaxed style, as encouraged by Boyce and Neale (2006), which helped to make the participants feel at ease so they disclosed information willingly. This approach encouraged interviewees to speak openly, frankly and give as much detail as possible (Kajornboon 2005).

Participants were requested to use their own phones to capture the photos which were later viewed on a laptop during interpretation and discussions. The aim was to ensure that the setting for the interviews had minimal disturbances and to create an environment of openness and trust so the interviewees were able to express themselves authentically. Care was taken to work within twenty (20) minutes to an hour and a half (1 ½), as recommended by Kelly (2006), but where it was necessary to continue with further interviews, permission was sought from participants. Separate interview schedules were provided for the youth leaders and ministry representative, which encouraged an exploration of their perceptions of youth in their care (in the case of youth leaders), how they conducted their roles in society and, in the case of the ministry representative, how their position was perceived by Basotho generally.

The follow up interviews for the FGD depended, to some extent, on how the focus group discussion members responded, but were designed to seek clarification on individual identity perceptions and how those individuals had developed their understanding of themselves and their roles in the different contexts where they interacted. These interviews ensured elaboration on issues that had emerged from the main discussions, but had not been covered fully.

As motivation to the participants in the focus groups, because the discussions were done during weekends where participants had left their homes specifically for this and would miss their lunch, meals were provided. This was also a time saving strategy, as they had their meals in the same vicinity. For the ministry staff member, an interview was conducted in her office during her lunch break. In the appendices to this thesis, copies of the FGD interview schedules and those conducted with the youth leaders and ministry are provided.

The map of Lesotho in Chapter 1 displays the ten districts of the country. The participants came from the Maseru district and that is where the Roma Valley is and where participants now reside. This is where the National University of Lesotho (NUL) is situated and it is where the LESCO FGD and interviews took place, while LCYM and MSG FGD and interviews took place at the Roma Primary school in the Roma Valley and Bana Pele Youth and Recreational Centre respectively.

4.9 Data analysis

The data analysis process enables the researcher to organise data into its constituent components and to reveal its characteristic elements and structure (Dey 1993). Henning et al (2004) add that one of the other aims of data analysis is to describe both the data and objects or events to which data refer. This process means the researcher needs to go beyond mere description because there is need for interpreting, explaining and predicting (Ibid 2004).

The qualitative research approach helped the development of a thorough and comprehensive description of the phenomenon studied, which Dey (1993) refers to as a ‘thick description’. This type of description, according to Dey (1993), includes information about the context of an act, the intentions and meanings that organise action, and its subsequent evolution.

Open coding was initially used for the study as the transcripts were read through, to categorise the themes. Henning et al. (2004) argue that open coding is an inductive process which allows the researcher to select themes according to the meaning he or she makes out of the data. According to Preece (1999) the researcher needs to focus on identifying relevant themes from the data collected, as that facilitates the coding process. This inductive approach allowed identification of important and relevant themes that emerged from the data. It also allowed identification of patterns of responses and attitudes from the participants. These themes were then subjected to a second, deductive, level of analysis in order to relate them to the theories. Knowing the data through repeated reading of transcripts enables proper labelling and correct attachment of meaning, hence Henning et al. (2004) suggest the researcher should be responsible for their own transcriptions. Themes that were identified in this study include, for example, youth, identities, citizenship and understanding of rights and responsibilities.

The combination of themes and theoretical interpretations provided the researcher with a means of analysing the youth's subjective understanding of the world and how they fit into it. Responses from the ministry and youth leaders were also analysed in a similar manner as a form of triangulation and comparison.

4.10 My positionality in the study

I have an interest in the well-being of young people and have been playing a volunteer role in youth organisations for some time. My interest in this study was further motivated by the fact that I am aware of the tensions in Lesotho between public perceptions of youth behaviour and youth perceptions of themselves. This is an intergenerational concern, as was evidenced in Ngozwana's (2014) study of adults' concerns about democracy and citizenship. However, my own background and age has meant that I bring to the study my own social concerns as a Mosotho woman born and bred in a 'strict discipline' which promoted traditional values. That background demanded that, as a child, I respected everybody, especially the elderly – '*hlompa batho ba baholo*' – as it was normally argued, irrespective of whether you are biologically related or not. I was not expected to misbehave (*o seke oa itsoara hampe*) and as a girl I had to do my expected 'female' chores as allocated by the family. The education that was traditionally provided, both from family and society, instilled morals and values among the children that influenced my generation, as children and youth, to abide by what is now referred to as good citizenship values. For instance, the act of helping the elderly by drawing water for them, working in our neighbour's fields, became the norm of the day.

As a mother of three young people, I was aware that the current generation of youth interpreted their traditional roles more flexibly, with a greater interest in independence from the family.

Another motivation to carry out this research is my passion concerning young people's issues. It seemed apparent that issues of concern to young people were reflecting the influences of modernisation and globalisation and impacting on what choices youth were making about their lives. There was some evidence that this was not peculiar to Lesotho and that other countries with similar cultural histories were experiencing similar shifts in value bases. For example, Preece and Mosweunyane's (2004) study in Botswana indicated that the youth who live in the new millennium appear to be re-prioritising their citizen roles and responsibilities compared to earlier generations. These authors cited Van Benschoten (2000) in

naming this process as ‘enlightened self interest’. This did not mean that youth were selfish, but their attitudes to what was important to them had changed. It was important for me to see if these same issues and concerns were influencing how youth in Lesotho were thinking and acting. Although Rosenberg had conducted a study in 2007 related to Basotho youth and their identities, it did not specifically focus on attitudes to citizenship.

My concern, however, throughout the study, was to maintain an 'open mind' and not allow my own belief systems to cloud my judgements when asking questions and analysing the data. The piloting of my research instruments enabled me to rehearse how to react to participants’ responses. It also enabled me to realise that I was likely to get responses that would challenge my assumptions and expectations about contemporary youth behaviour. I further guarded against potential bias in analysis by referring to my supervisor, who was a foreign national, but someone who had spent several years in Lesotho and understood the context for the study.

As a Mosotho mother of young adults and one who works with youth organisations, I regularly work with and talk to young adults, so I was able to speak with them in the local language to ease the conversation. Although my position as a Mosotho woman and youth worker provided me with an ‘insider view’ in terms of language and understanding the socio-cultural context of Lesotho, I was also vigilant that my own personal biases and perceptions did not cloud my judgement when analysing data. The choice of identity theory as a lens and photovoice as one of the methods facilitated that process, because it focused on youth perceptions of themselves in contexts that they chose to portray. My concern therefore was to analyse data in a way that enabled me to explore how and why young adults think and behave the way they do and what influences their citizen identities so that I am now able to build a deeper understanding of contexts.

4.11 Ethical considerations

Ethics are defined as a set of principles for good conduct. Rule and John (2011:111) stipulate that “ethical relationships and practices are also key aspects of the quality of research”. Therefore, research that is conducted in an ethically sound manner enhances the quality of research and contributes to its trustworthiness. Mason (2002:41) reiterates the importance of ethics in research by stipulating that research must not be carried out just to collect data and

analyse it, but the researcher should also “plan [the] research and frame [the] questions in an ethical manner too”. On this note, the researcher avoided questions that sounded humiliating to the participants such as ‘Why are you not behaving like a good citizen should?’ The issue of citizenship is not a very sensitive matter, but care was taken not to pry too much into the participants’ privacy. It is also imperative that subjects are well informed about the study to allow them the freedom to participate or withdraw. Hence Cohen et al. (2007:58) posit that, “whatever the specific nature of their work researchers must take into account the effects of the research on participants and act in such a way as to preserve their dignity as human beings: [thus reflecting] responsibility to participants”. Since concepts such as identity can bring up negative experiences for some participants, care was taken to divert away from questions that may sound too personal.

Different scholars acknowledge that there are guidelines or standard principles that need to be adhered to, namely, informed consent, confidentiality and protection from negative consequences of participating in the study (Eisner & Peshkin 1990; Kimmel 1998; Kvale 1996). In addition, Rule and John (2011) highlight the issues of autonomy, non-maleficence and beneficence. Informed consent and autonomy give the subject the freedom to choose to participate or not and the researcher has to respect that decision. Informed consent of all participants in the study was sought through a letter of introduction clearly stating the purpose of the study and its benefit to the subjects. Diener and Granelall (1978) are cited by Cohen et al. (2007:52), indicating that informed consent is the “procedures in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decisions”. In this instance, it was not necessary to get parents’ consent to interview the youth, as only those from 18 years upwards were participants, but permission from the relevant youth group leadership was sought. This ensured the participants felt free to participate without fear of being subjected to any punishment by their leaders.

Confidentiality

Barbour (2008) postulates on the need to preserve confidentiality and anonymity which is enshrined principles in the qualitative research endeavour. Confidentiality in research implies non-disclosure of data that could negatively affect the subjects in the process. In this study, this was ensured by first explaining the purpose and seeking their consent to participate. Henning et al (2004) emphasise that participants need to be fully informed about the research

to be assured that their privacy and sensitivity will be protected and what will happen to the information they have disclosed after the recording. This is an important aspect of focus group discussions in which all participants were asked to respect the privacy of information that was discussed within the group setting. The researcher emphasised that there would not be any consequences for the participants as a result of their answers. Instead, they were conscientised that the theme of the study would be of benefit to young people as citizens of Lesotho.

Kvale (1996:114) suggests “the protection of subjects by changing their names and identifying features” in public reports. The participants all agreed to allow their photographs to be included in the study and were satisfied to have their real names used. But to protect associating their answers with particular faces, the photographs did not identify individual people.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry is preferred to the terms validity, reliability and rigour. The notion of trustworthiness reflects the argument that the inquiry’s findings are “worth paying attention to” (Lincoln & Guba 1985:290). It is therefore imperative to ensure trustworthiness because participants need to have their autonomy protected. There are four issues of trustworthiness, which are preferred in qualitative studies. These are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), credibility involves the researcher’s assurance that the results are believable and credible from the participants’ perspective. The researcher ensured that they were comfortable, saw the value of participating and had trust in her so that they willingly participated and gave reliable information.

Three groups were chosen to generate data from their different points of view on the topic under study. The same questions were used for each of these groups and responses from these provided the basis for credible results. Besides the main three focus groups, there were follow-up interviews with the group leaders, and any other participants who may not have been very vocal during group discussions. There were also interviews with the ministry official to ensure representation from policy makers (government of Lesotho) Her views

clarified how government plans for and views development programmes for youth. This process of triangulation contributed to ensuring that the findings are believable.

Transferability refers to the extent to which findings can be transferred or applicable to other contexts. Since three focus groups of different interest groups were involved, it was reasonable to assume that the findings could be applicable to other youth groups in Lesotho.

Dependability in qualitative research means that the results are reliable, and triangulation methods also contribute to this goal through the opportunity to obtain answers to the data from different perspectives (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The multiple case studies ensure that the answers come from different contexts, so that any patterns which emerge can be seen as consistent. Maxwell (1996) argues that both dependability and confirmability are improved if the researcher ensures that threats to inaccuracy in data collection are reduced. This ensures that results remain stable and consistent for the duration of the study. In this case, the fact that answers were recorded digitally meant that the participants' responses would be accurately reflected.

In qualitative research it is assumed that the researcher brings a unique perspective to the study, but confirmability is a measure of how well the inquiry's findings are supported by the data collected (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Confirmability also refers to the degree to which the results can be confirmed and corroborated. The researcher ensured this by checking and rechecking data as the study progressed. The process of triangulation also assisted to validate the responses.

4.12 Limitations of the study

The fact that the youth who participated in this study were already in some form of organised groupings, meant that they were already active as citizens. Nevertheless, they represented different kinds of experience and were in a position to comment more generally on youth behaviour from their own perspective.

4.13 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the methodology for this study. It covered the design and experience of the data collection process and the researcher's positionality. The interpretive paradigm was found to be suitable, as it enabled the interpretation of perceptions and understanding of the main concepts of the study – citizenship and identity as understood by youth. The qualitative approach made it possible to comprehend the responses and interpretations of the participants. Specifically, the case study approach was used which, according to Babbie (2010), focuses on a particular phenomenon. Using an interview guide, data was collected using a recorder and note-taking during interviews in FGDs, while participants used their phones to capture pictures that reflected their citizenship responsibilities. The pictures were later transferred to a laptop where they were discussed by participants. The population of this study consisted of youth in the Roma Valley from LESCO and LCYM, who were purposively chosen, and the MSG which was selected through snowball sampling. To analyse the data, themes such as identity, citizenship, rights and responsibility were identified and they were discussed with relevance to the theoretical interpretations. The researcher's positionality in this study was explained and the motivation discussed as an eagerness to understand how youth in Lesotho understand and realise their citizenship rights and responsibilities. Since the research dealt with young adults from the age of 18 years upwards, parental permission was not required and ethical considerations focused on confidentiality and trustworthiness. Assurance was given that no data disclosed by participants would negatively affect them or their organisations. Although pseudonyms were used to protect the anonymity of their quotes, participants all gave their signed permission for the use of their photos in the study. To ensure the participants were comfortable, interviews and group discussions were held in conducive environments.

CHAPTER 5: YOUTH IDENTITIES

5 Introduction

This chapter discusses aspects of the data collected from the three different youth groups in the study in relation to their identities as Basotho citizens. It elaborates on how they saw themselves and how they manifested their identities, including through membership in their different youth organisations. It therefore addresses research question 1 and part of question 3. Since the National Youth Policy of Lesotho (NYPL 1995) acknowledges the importance of youth organisations, a section is also dedicated to discussing the findings in relation to the NYPL. Chapter 6 concentrates on youth understanding and manifestation of their citizenship rights and responsibilities.

The first part of this chapter addresses the youth's expressed understanding of their individual and multiple identities which are discussed under different identity themes. These identities are explored to see how the youth understood themselves and how these identities helped them explain their contribution in their communities. The chapter then provides a brief summary of the three groups that participated in the study. These groups were the Lesotho Students Convention (LESCO), who are a group of the political party All Basotho Convention (ABC) '*Kobo-Tata ea Basotho*' Youth League on NUL campus; the Lesotho Christian Youth Movement (LCYM), who are a group of young people in the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) in Roma; and a Mixed Social Group (MSG). The last group was made up of youth who were selected through the snowball method and consisted of members who belonged to a disparate range of organisations. Membership in youth organisations is seen as an important component in the study because it provided another layer of identity which relates to young people's understanding of their citizenship and their roles in society. Therefore, one focus of this chapter is on how the young adults' different identities were manifested through membership in these organisations.

The data was collected through focus group discussions, photovoice sessions, questionnaires and individual follow-up interviews. Languages used during the discussions were English and Sesotho. Since MSG and LCYM consisted mostly of members still in high school and who

were not very fluent in English, the discussions were in their mother tongue – Sesotho – and translated into English during transcription. Data was also collected from the three respective group leaders and an officer from the Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation (MGYSR). Due to time limitations, they were given the questionnaires in advance and their written responses were later collected. The data discussed here addresses how young adults saw themselves in relation to their different notions of identity – personal, national or cultural, religious, gender specific – and to influences of family and community on their identity. Participants were coded as F for female and M for male with numbers they randomly picked ‘from a hat’ as explained in the methodology chapter.

5.1 Understanding identity: young adult perspectives

5.1.1 Definitions and different notions of identity

This section explores how the youth understood identity and how it influenced their actions and behaviours. The groups revealed various types of identity which, according to Burke and Stets (2009:3), is defined as “the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person”. This is supported by Deaux (2009), who states that identity is a term that is widely understood but used in different ways. He defines it as a sense of integration of various aspects of the self resulting in one unified whole; meaning that identity is a complex phenomenon. Youth in these groups were aware of the complexity of their personal identities and that each person has multiple identities which change according to context. Some examples here reflect their general observations in this respect.

Sports (1F) from the LESCO group confirmed this notion that identity is a combination of multiple aspects of the self. She described identity as:

A combination of my character, my interests, my image and my personality and it goes to that question of what being a citizen means to me.

Her description of identity illustrated a compilation of elements such as character, image and interests. Johnston (2012:4) refers to both collective and individual aspects, describing

identity as a “collective aspect of the set of characteristics”, the “set of behavioural or personal characteristics”, and the “distinct personality of an individual”.

Members in the MSG group had difficulty in defining identity, but with some probing questions Pindah (1F) thought identity was:

Something like your dignity ... a person's conception and expression of who she or he is.

She (1F) thought that:

Identity is being yourself.

She understood it as her image. The different aspects are also referred to by Deaux (2009) as image, character, interests, personality and dignity. Dan (9M) understood identity as:

The way of making myself known.

He provided an example of producing a driver's licence to transport officials. His understanding was that identity is encompassed in a document that proves who he is, reflecting the legal implementation of identity proof which must be produced when asking for services. Also reflected is the notion of citizenship as a legal identity, as it will indicate which country one belongs to.

Princess (3F), a member from the LCYM group, referred to notions of culture as part of identity so that for her it reflected:

Who you are, where you come from ...

Princess's interpretation of identity as self in relation to her social context, corresponds to what Coley (1902) indicates (cited by Burke & Stets 2009:3), that “the individual and society are two sides of the same coin”. This identification also corresponds to the social identity theory which emphasises that an individual's identity is connected to their social environment (Lappergard 2007, Myers and Twenge 2013, Tereschenko 2010) .

Tempest (10M) from the same group also argued that:

I am a Mosotho boy ... and we don't have to be shy about it because that is who we are.

In these two examples, identity is more associated with a society that one comes from and this indicates another complex feature of identity. The complexity of the self is confirmed in Burke and Stets (2009:10), citing Stryker (1980), who says that “the self emerges in social interaction within the context of a complex organised, differentiated society”. Poulo (10M) from MSG tended to be partly reinforcing the notion of national or cultural context as defining who you are, even if you move into a new context, so that one's cultural identity should define one's individuality. He asserted this view:

Be yourself, be who I want to be not what people want me to be even when I am in South Africa ... be who I am ... being Poulo as I am ... when you get to [meet] people you have to know where you stand.

He emphasised that one did not have to be shy about one's identity even in a foreign society. He meant that, as a Mosotho, he should not be embarrassed while in South Africa to be referred to as such, because that label reflected who he truly was. He also maintained that he had to display his true self and not easily be swayed by his peers. Longres (1990), citing Karp and Yoels, shares the same sentiments with Stryker, that the self emanates from its interpretation of being part of a certain society. He postulates that the self is “the view of oneself derived from the ability to evaluate one's behaviour from the point of view of others, ultimately from the point of the standards of the society as a whole” (Ibid:426).

Dan (9M), from MSG, had another definition of identity which he associated with situational context that might influence behaviour:

Identity is situational. Circumstances can change who you are ... I can talk about South Africa. When they talk to elders they talk like they are talking to their peers, but for us Basotho children we are taught to respect both parents. So that shows my being Mosotho.

This indicates that identity is culturally embedded and internalised as a way of being, so a Mosotho's identity is seen to be different from a South African's identity.

These comments were not universal, as there were more individualistic sentiments that sometimes contradicted the idea of identity as representing a collective or society. Another male respondent from the MSG group, Poulo (10M), interpreted identity as:

Keeping to wanting to be myself and not what people want me to be. When I am with other people, I don't have to behave as they want, behaving in a certain way no, but be who I am ... (10M).

From these brief statements it can be deduced that identity was usually seen as, 'who I am' – the self, but embedded in a cultural or societal context. President, Lintle, Pindah, Tempest and Princess from the various groups all indicated that they associated identity with the sense of self. This idea is confirmed by Gee (2001), who argues that an individual's identity is recognised as a certain person in a particular context. Princess argued that it also encompasses where you come from and Tempest emphasised that one has to be proud of one's identity. A more nuanced exploration of these different identities can be explained under different categories of self. These are discussed under the umbrella notion of personal identity.

5.1.2 Personal identity

Patterson et al. (2010) argue that personal identities form as a result of people's perceptions about themselves. This perception of oneself evolves through interaction with the environment. Depending on the different positions that a person holds in society, it is acknowledged that there are different groups who respond to the self and it is through these multiple interactions that identity accumulates into a complex whole. This implies that the different 'selves' that a person has developed in different societal contexts creates their overall identity. It is noteworthy that in the Basotho context the participants talked about their personal identity in terms of love for themselves and their ambitions.

Loving oneself

Participants willingly expressed their love for themselves as an element of their personal identity. For example, Pindah (1F) indicated that she loved herself for who she was:

I love myself, I love Pindah so much because she is able to express the way she feels and people are able to see when I have problems. I don't keep them to myself.

She portrayed herself as an open and loving person and this is a sign of a positive personal identity. Her identity was also developed through interaction with her peers, which according to Lappergard (2007), is an aspect of a dynamic social process. Dan (9M) also declared his love for himself:

I love myself because I am one person who is my [own] friend.

He further stated that although he had friends, they come and go, so he needed his own positive self-image to sustain himself:

I still have other people but friendship is temporary which means I [must also] feel comfortable with myself. I also recognise myself as a friendly person, but that doesn't mean I love all the people ... I love people who respect themselves ... I am a self-respecting person so I want someone who is [do] the same.

Most of the females in the MSG group also expressed their love for who they were. For instance, Mapsy (3F) said:

I love Mapsy because she likes the way she interprets things, the way she sees things. That is, when I am with people and I realise that this person is betraying me, I see it quickly and say this person is just laughing with me but not from the heart ... I like the way I will treat her thereafter, I will let her show me exactly who she is ... and I will move away from her. I love the way I don't fear other people.

Lappergard (2007) suggests that loving oneself can be a result of identity processing, which is understood as a product of interaction between capacities for memory and consciousness. Mapsy appeared to be acknowledging this cognitive awareness in herself. Scalaguzen (8F), of the same group, stated that she was an honest person and emphasised this:

What I like about myself is that I am one [a] person who likes to laugh, I stay smiling. I just talk and not bother whether I hurt or not because I [always] tell the truth ... I say what I feel I have to say at any moment.

She regarded herself as having a straightforward personality which she indicated was not always accepted during interaction with peers. The self-image that Scalaguzen (8F) had may be regarded as one aspect of identity. Longres (1990:426) indicates that it refers to “the sense of self as unique and how we attempt to present ourselves in everyday interaction with others”. This is an example of a positive self-image from Mapsy, as she identified herself as a self-assured and loving person, but who was, nevertheless, able to realise when she can be betrayed.

Other participants expressed love as a reflection of their identity (like Dan and Mapsy). This self-love was also declared by Blacky (4M) from the MSG, stating that he had a positive personal identity as a black person because of his very dark skin and he proudly said:

I love the colour of my skin – black – because people identify me that way and I love it. People keep calling me by the colour of my skin ... ‘*Botso*’ (Black one) or ‘Black Coffee’... they refer to me that way.

According to Longres (1990:426-7), an individual’s self-evaluation, either favourably or unfavourably, results in how their self-esteem manifests itself. So the way that these participants evaluated themselves reveals the level of their self-esteem, which in turn reflects their relationship with their environment. Following up on his comments, Blacky indicated that his Sesotho name is Tlala (Hunger) and that he had been told he was born during times of very poor harvest from the fields. Bereng (1982) indicates that in Lesotho, there are many ways of naming a child, such as naming after someone in the family or a close family friend or naming to mark a current event or the state of things during the birth of the child. Blacky’s name followed the trend of naming according to an event during the time of birth, in this case, poverty. As he grew up he said he was teased by other children, but as he gradually understood the meaning of his name he adopted a positive attitude. He said that “*ha ke koata ba ne ba mpitsa hangata*” (when I got angry they would say it more often), so he responded positively and they no longer teased him. The names people are given, both at birth and

informally, also have a meaning which contributes to their sense of who they are and how they are accepted. Guma (2001) states that being a Mosotho means to have a name that is associated with the self as a form of identification with one's family and lineage group and this to her, confirms the authenticity of an individual as a national of this country. Longres (1990) attests that the "self is one of the products created from the relation of mind and society" (Ibid: 426), implying that the sense of self is inextricably intertwined with the society in which the person lives, or which the person associates with him or herself. Although Blacky's story showed he had to get used to his name, there was generally a sense that the youth expressed love for themselves because they came from environments that gave them love.

Ambition and future aspiration

Ambition was another positive identity that some participants linked to their confidence in their talents and potential to achieve. Because of his talent in soccer, Wire (7M) of MSG saw himself going far in life in the next five years:

I will be far in life ... I am a sports person and I can see they will promote me further ... I will go places with my talent in soccer.

Mapsy (F3), in the same group, saw herself as a doctor in ten years, as she said:

I will be seriously in[to] my studies doing medicine and in ten years will be a doctor.

This was a very positive goal she had about herself and this attitude had helped her get the best results at high school. (She had successfully become one of the top ten students in the country for the 2015 Lesotho General Certificate of Secondary Education (LGCSE).

The examples given show a level of confidence amongst the youth in how they perceived themselves. This attribute helps young people avoid being easily swayed or influenced despite their personal circumstances. The positive examples given in this section – loving one's self and having positive ambitions – reflect a sense that these young people were comfortable with who they are in their Lesotho context. Being comfortable with oneself suggests that a person feels accepted by those around him or her. Even if they choose to

change how they behave in different circumstances, they essentially have a solid foundation of feeling loved and secure in their environment. This reaction also confirms the place-identity theory which, according to Lappergard (2007), contributes to understanding how an individual learns to see him or herself, based on their place of origin.

The different groups also responded differently to the perceived challenges within the country itself and this had an impact on how they felt they should carry out their responsibilities. What is significant here is that youth in the LESCO group had real ambitions to make a difference. Matsieng (6M), as a political studies student, said:

I see myself in parliament in five years time.

President (2M) anticipated being a job creator for his community and expressed his desire:

I see myself as the employer.

He argued his point with these words:

If you are wondering, you have no direction, but if you are walking you have a direction, no matter how many times you fall and you will be able to stand up and reach your destination, but if you are wondering you will never reach your destination.

He already had entrepreneurial skills, which he thought just needed to be enhanced. His colleague Matsieng also shared the same sentiments as he indicated that:

I am engaged in business already.

Comrade (1M) seemed to be an aspiring academic indicating:

I wish to come back to NUL but later on as a Lecturer to improve on training of translators as I saw a shortage of such in the country.

Sports (7F) and Thulos (4F) were hoping to be in top positions where they could play a role in women's empowerment:

I want to be at [the] top most, in an organisation that empowers women as I have realised that women are still afraid to take high profile positions. I think that such an organisation can help women ... and be a professional counsellor in the country. (7F)

While Thulos was ambitious and passionate, stating:

To be a pastor, in the next five years I want to be a pastor, a psychologist and counsellor. I am here [NUL] because I want to be a pastor, that's the main thing that brought me here, to study theology.

Dan (9M), who was in the performing arts, saw himself as becoming rich:

I will still be in Lesotho, eating money here and getting quite a lot from my acting [profession] as I am already getting it. I left the Lesotho athletics team because I saw that when you represent the country ... it pushes you back. From January this year you will see that, yes, this boy is really making money.

Some members were not very optimistic about their future. For example, Princess (3F) was irritated and stated that in five years the situation in the country would be worse and she indicated that she wanted a new identity:

I see Lesotho without a Prime Minister, and no government as [the] situation is getting worse and there may even be more chaos after elections. As an individual I do not see myself working here but rather in RSA. As Basotho we are selfish and don't want to share the knowledge. RSA has workshops to share. I see myself associating with people from RSA.

There were positive and negative feelings about what they liked and did not like. First, it is evident from examples given in the first part of this section that most youth in Lesotho were optimistic and hoped to achieve more in the future. They even had plans to help their countrymen and woman, although they were not happy about the unstable political situation resulting from unreliable government leaders.

5.1.3 National identity

According to Deaux (2001), national identity may sometimes be linked with ethnicity, as it reflects one's culture, language and country of origin. The findings of this study confirmed Deaux's view that identity is associated with one's language, and cultural or traditional upbringing, and this happens within a certain national boundary, so we can experience a national identity. Growing up in Lesotho may therefore be assumed to influence a person's cultural, traditional and national identity unless another identity is adopted.

One of the participants, Kay Tee (5F) from the MSG group who was a student in one of the High Schools in Soweto in South Africa, shared her views about her national identity in this way:

I am proud to be a Mosotho and even at school when we talk about who you are, I proudly say '*Ke Mosotho oa Lesotho*' (I am a Mosotho from Lesotho).

She was proud to talk about her identity even in a foreign country (RSA). As Pitikoe (2016) stipulates, people usually identify themselves by the countries where they originate. Kay Tee differed from other participants in that she spent most of the time at school in South Africa interacting with other learners in a foreign country. The school members were aware that she was from Lesotho and she positively took pride in her identity as a Mosotho. It was noted that even those who visited the RSA briefly seemed to retain a sense of pride about their Lesotho identity. One respondent from LESCO, President (2M), concurred with Kay Tee as he emphasised that:

Identity is who you are, that is your image and when you are outside Lesotho you have to be proud of who you are.

Nazo (10F) from LESCO group also proudly said:

Even if I am a Mosotho staying on the 'other side' (RSA), my presentation, my dressing and my accent ... show who I really am.

Matsieng (6M) also reflected pride in his national identity saying:

I feel that this is [Lesotho] the right place; anything I can achieve in RSA I can achieve right here.

According to the place-identity theory, Matsieng's response confirmed his positive identity and attachment to his country, Lesotho. This is supported by Pitikoe (2016), who states that due to attachment to a place an individual identifies well with that place. Terenschenko (2010) also argues that place is central to identity. President (2M) from the same group shared what he understood identity to be:

From my own understanding ... identity is who you are, that is your image ... for example if I am in South Africa and you ask me, who are you? If I say I am a Mosotho and I display my ID, that's my identity it shows who I am.

Both Matsieng and President's responses indicate that their identity associated with place distinguished them from other people in terms of their culture and appearance. Identifying themselves as Basotho was also a source of pride because it gave them a sense of belonging. Sports (7F) argued that her personal image also contributed to her national identity as she indicated that:

Being proud of who I am goes to a question of what being a citizen means to me ... being a Mosotho citizen means a lot to me ... it means being a proud Mosotho.

This pride can also be seen in the attire and language used while away from home, especially during important national celebrations. Blacky (M4) from MSG interpreted national identity as reflected in your dress code and gave an example:

When we are celebrating important people's birthdays in the country we dress culturally and that shows that we are Basotho and proud of our culture and our nationality.

Any traditional attire is usually considered important for every nation and, according to Allen (1969), cited by Khau (2012), clothes form an essential part of ceremonial activities and confirms a person's identity. O'Neal (1998), cited by Khau (2012), contends that traditional dress instils pride in the person wearing it. However, youth in Lesotho, according to Rosenberg's (2007) study, have a different view and feel embarrassed about it instead. There is evidence that this traditional Basotho identity is subject to globalisation influences.

Rosenberg, for example, suggests that due to the influence of the African-American identity symbols which came with their own styles and values to South Africa, both South Africans and Basotho, especially youth “have not only appropriated these aspects of rap identity, but they have also incorporated it into their own socio-political identity” (Ibid:7). The youth in this study seemed to contradict Rosenberg’s observations.

Dressing culturally in Lesotho entails wearing *kobo* (blanket), which is regarded as a very important part of dressing for Basotho; a *seshoeshoe*, although these two traditional dresses have been influenced by European designs according to Khau (2012); and a *mokorotlo* (Basotho Hat). So during occasions people proudly display their national identity.

The collective pride about being Basotho went as far as identifying with the head of state. For instance, Ralichelete (2M) from LESCO, during the photovoice session said that:

As Basotho children, we know that the King is Head of State so when you sue him, you are suing the whole nation and we fit in his shoes and want to feel his burden because he is being sued. It means everyone below him has been sued.

The Basotho national identity is an internalised sense of collective identity which reflects a strong sense of patriotism. This patriotism is a feature of the communitarian notion of citizenship which expresses national pride and loyalty among citizens (Mahafza 2014). In this context, this group was expressing their loyalty to the crown in a sense of oneness that Basotho feel towards their king and towards each other at a subliminal level.

Jerry (2M), from the LCYM group, concluded that the issue of identity was a very important cultural phenomenon for Basotho which stretched beyond its legal status:

Here in Lesotho identity is taken seriously as here everyone wants to know where he or she belongs, even a [small] child.

This is because the different ‘*liboko tsa Basotho*’ clans are regarded as an important form of identity (Matsela 1990).

Unlike Rosenberg’s (2007) observations, the majority of these participants showed pride in their national identity, its associated behaviours and representative dress and did not want to

be shy about it. The fact that they felt proud to be Basotho was also an extension of their positive sense of who they were. This sense of pride also reflects the identity-building process which, according to Burke and Stets (2009), influences individual behaviour. Being proud of who you are improves one's self esteem; as Matsieng truly believed that he was a 'Mosotho of Lesotho' no matter what the circumstances. Responses on national identity reflected the place-identity and social identity theories as articulated in Chapter 3. Matsieng's reaction reflects Lappergard's view (2007) that place develops an individual to see themselves as distinct. Ashforth and Mael (1989) also support the notion that an individual retains a sense of belonging to their national place of upbringing, even if they move away.

Peace and unity

For a very long time Lesotho has been known to be a peaceful country from the Founder Moshoeshe I, who was popularly known to have said '*Khotso ke khaitsele ea hae*' (Peace is his sister). This is reflected in the Sesotho greeting of Khotso and the welcome sign at the Maseru Border Post, which reads '*Kena ka Khotso Lesotho*' (Enter in peace to Lesotho).

There are, nevertheless wider tensions in Basotho society which traditionally reflects a culture of peace along with a sense of freedom to roam and interact. This culture of interaction, however, is now threatened in two ways. One is that, political democracy has produced tensions of loyalty and allegiance to political struggles; the other is that the natural environment is constantly threatened by a limited sense of responsibility towards its maintenance. This phenomenon of peace as a national identity is gradually declining amongst Basotho. Youth still believed it to be fundamentally a peaceful country, hence Dan's (9M) statement:

I only love one thing about Lesotho, that it is a peaceful country.

However, this notion of peace and harmony also had another side to it and could also be interpreted as oppression. Sports (7F) from LESCO indicated that:

People are now scared to speak out ... it is not as peaceful as many people claim it [Lesotho] to be, many people are just afraid they don't want to act.

According to Edelman, Bresnen, Newell, Scarbrough and Swan (2002) social capital theorists indicate a concern that dark side of social capital is that social pressures and close ties between individuals and groups may prevent people from speaking out against wrong doings for fear of rejection by the collective. Sports' statement reveals lack of trust and fear and this indicates that people have become passive citizens and that peace is perhaps an aspiration rather than reality. Once people lose trust that leads to less interaction amongst each other and less obligation in issues of concern. Edelman et al. (2002) indicate trust leads to enhanced cooperation which leads to more trust, while reciprocity as an obligation leads to more reciprocal conduct. The dark side of social capital therefore privileges reciprocity over trust.. But still, according to Robino (9M), Lesotho was comparatively seen as:

A country which has freedom, unlike many other places in the region.

Another feature of Lesotho which was popular among the participants was its notion of unity, reflecting the traditional communitarian values of being part of a collective. Wire (7M) from MSG, who was a player in the Lesotho National Soccer Team acknowledged the unity they show while outside the country:

What I love about Lesotho is we have unity, oneness. Basotho are always together when we are outside the country.

Youth dislikes about Lesotho

Despite this articulated communal national identity of Basotho, Nazo (10F) from the LESCO, postulated that although Basotho children were brought up in this manner, there was another hidden side of Basotho identity which was not always displayed – selfishness:

And Basotho most of the time, you find that they are people who are ... it is like they are selfish themselves; if something is there they don't want us to share and give each other ideas. A person will hold on to something instead of sharing it. (10F)

Basotho have always been known to share, especially food, such that a visitor is even offered water to drink when arriving at a certain family. This hidden identity, as she indicated, was unlike how Basotho are popularly known – to be a collective and sharing nation. But Nazo indicated this was not always the case these days and people had become more

individualistic. This negativity contrasts with the expected or usual identity of Basotho, in relation to their collectiveness. Cobbah (1987:320) discerns that “as a people, Africans emphasize groupness, sameness, and commonality”. Basotho are no exception to these constructive elements in their communities, but it seems that the hidden identity of some people contradicts these traditional principles. Nazo’s statement confirms that there are exceptions of people who have become individualistic – a trend which goes against the African values of, “...a sense of cooperation, interdependence, and collective responsibility” (Ibid:320).

There was also evidence that the African value of unity when living outside the country was not necessarily pursued in the same way as when within the country itself. It can be summarised that when people from the same country of origin meet in a foreign country, they support each other because of their national identity bond. Yet, those same people would not necessarily support each other once on home soil because they do not necessarily need the same level of solace from a collective identity in a foreign land. So on home soil, people are more likely to select who they feel comfortable with. Blacky (4M) concurred with this by stating that:

What I hate about Basotho is that they pretend to love each other when outside the country and yet when here at home they know they hate each other.

Corruption was another issue that the youth did not like about the country and, as Makoa (2014) illustrates, political elites are known for corruption and dishonesty. Lesotho is not an exception to the other African countries with people in government who are alleged to be corrupt and this seems to be a public identity image across Africa. Blacky (4M) declared:

I hate such leaders because they are also corrupt ... we should put people in government who have never committed crime.

Poulo reinforced this notion of corruption by commenting that elected authorities abused their access to funds to pay off family debts rather than focus on the needs of the electorate. Poulo (10M) stated:

What I don't like is that our authorities look at their families first ... they pay their long overdue debts, our taxes go there and our money does not benefit us.

Poverty was also seen as a common element of concern for the youth. Thulos (4F) from LESCO indicated that although she loved Lesotho:

It is a land of peace, but its people are hungry.

She assumed that this could be because:

Most of the leadership leave to go and ask for funds but when those funds get here they only make those who are already richer and that is those in power ... and they leave out the less privileged.

There was a feeling that leaders do not show any love and care for their voters or love for the country, as they care little about the development of communities. This was revealed in one of the visits to the Semonkong area where the group saw lack of infrastructure and a lot of social ills experienced by community members.

Although Lesotho is also seen as a country that cares for education of its people, as it sponsors Basotho youth at post high school level, there were still some concerns. Robino (9M) confirmed this, saying:

I love it because government will give us money to go to school.

Although he also stated:

[But] at the end of the day there is no employment, lack of jobs, there is lack of job creation.

Konyana (6M) from MSG concurred with this statement and said:

Here in Lesotho there are so many of us educated but when you go to many organisations or ministries you find that it is old people working there. Well I don't like it. In other countries

there is a time limit but here unless you die you don't leave your employment.

He thought a solution to this issue of older people not leaving their posts to younger ones, could be rectified:

A year before retirement we engage the younger person to work together and understudy and learn from the older one.

Princess (3F) saw Lesotho as a country that does not want development and argued:

What I don't like about Lesotho, honestly this is a joke, there is no development, the country doesn't want to develop.

She gave examples of unmaintained infrastructure, of very old police houses in all districts, of the Lesotho airport (Moshoeshoe I Airport), which is not seen to be comparative to other airports in the region:

Basotho don't want to copy good things ... make important places look better than they are now.

She seemed particularly concerned about the infrastructural development of the country and that did not augur well with her because it gave a poor image compared with other countries. These concerns can have an influence on whether young adults take pride in their country or not.

Political awareness and youth responsibility in Lesotho

Youth in the LESCO group demonstrated strong political awareness and a consciousness and concern with their nation. An impediment noted by participants was poor leadership. President (2M) argued that institutions were becoming inefficient due to poor leadership:

We have kind of mediocre administration in our institutions, if you look at NUL as an institution, it is walking in the dark, it's like they have forgotten their vision. In the past we used to have students from Zimbabwe, from outside Lesotho, but today we don't have those people; it means we have lost track ... we are now walking in the dark because of poor leadership. (2M)

He further elaborated that:

This bad administration has created an environment that makes Lesotho unable to expand, our economic institutions, our social institutions are not expanding but are shrinking.

As a result, he did not see any development and that called for change in the leadership. He further contended that:

I don't see any development in the next twenty years to come so the solution to this now – we need radical change.

Lesotho's political history has not always been peaceful, and participants believed that people are afraid to challenge the government, irrespective of how it behaves towards them, for fear of provoking unrest. This instability in Lesotho politics does not augur well with youth, as Dan felt. Although Lesotho has been known to be a peaceful country, he stated:

I dislike this government and politics. Besides that [peace] I don't like anything about it, I hate its politics, I hate government of Lesotho.

Lesotho's identity as an enclave of South Africa

There were other influences on the individual and collective identity of Basotho young adults emanating from Lesotho's geographical and socio-economic relationship to South Africa. It is described in this way: "Lesotho is an enclave entirely surrounded by South Africa, with a population that has been estimated variously at anywhere from 1.9 million by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 2011 to 2.2 million by South African sources in 2009" (Cobbe 2012:1). This situation of being an enclave has an impact on the identity and sense of well-being of the Basotho.

The Report of the Commonwealth Secretariat (2000: ii) stipulates that small states are prone to poverty, among other issues, and Lesotho is no exception. Youth in Lesotho, specifically in these groups, compared their identities to that of youth in South Africa, the richer country. The findings revealed that there was a lot of 'anger' towards how South Africans viewed Basotho or young people from Lesotho. Most of the participants felt they were belittled,

threatened, bullied and despised by other young South Africans because of their economic status. Tempest (10M) from LCYM complained that, due to poverty, some despise them:

There are those who despise us saying that we are poor and old fashioned.

The anger in the participants was also vented when Mapsy (3F) and Wire (7M) said:

Khelek ba re nka joalo ka nama ea ntja ! (They take us like dog's meat!) (3F)

And:

Ba re nka hanyane (They take us lightly) (7M)

Colleagues in the group sympathised with Mapsy, who was quite upset, and also agreed with her on this point further commenting that South Africa really “takes us for a ride”.

The report of the Commonwealth Secretariat (2000:ii) states further that due to limited capacity, “... weaknesses in both public and private sector capacity are a key problem for most developing countries; smallness of size adds a further dimension to the challenge”. Due to these conditions, the socio-economic status of these states is very poor and they heavily rely on their neighbours for assistance and this puts more pressure on them. Rosenberg (2001a:143) argues in his study that, “the Basotho feared being governed by what they considered to be an unjust and hostile South Africa” and had this resulted in “the growth of a national identity in Lesotho after 1910”. He further suggests that this growth was a response to fear of incorporation into the Union of South Africa. But the findings of this study reveal that, because of the socio-economic situation of South Africa, young people of Lesotho are rather embarrassed about their identity and wish to be associated with that of South Africans. This poor national identity serves as a contradiction to the overwhelmingly positive individual identity images that the contemporary youth portrayed about themselves within the country itself. Some key features of this negative national identity resulted from interactions with South Africa and Lesotho's image as both a labour reserve and a failed state. These are discussed in more detail below.

Lesotho as a labour reserve for South Africa

The high level of poverty in Lesotho forces citizens to migrate to South Africa for employment (Cobbe 2012). But these interviewed youth were aware that Lesotho has certain

natural resources which could benefit the whole nation and reduce the high level of poverty. This was a concern in all the three groups. It seemed, from some of the comments, that young people were left alone 'to fend for themselves'. Dan (9M) said:

Lesotho has many resources but as youth we don't know what to do with such, like the talent ... like Dan [himself] who is an actor [but] doesn't get any support from government.

This comment suggests that, with the resources that the country has, something should be done to reduce Lesotho's high dependency on South Africa.

It is evident that Lesotho, like other neighbouring countries, has always been a labour reserve for the RSA, with large numbers migrating to the mines. This trend changed, along with the mining industry decline in the early 1990s, when most of the mines retrenched its workers. However, Lesotho still continues to be a labour reserve for South Africa due to the high unemployment rate in Lesotho. As Cobbe (2012:2) states: "Lesotho once had the distinction of having a higher proportion of its labour force temporarily employed outside its borders than any other country". Despite the economic benefits to Lesotho, accrued from remittances and wages from the migrants, as far as their identity was concerned, the participants had a negative view of this trend. They felt that South Africa took advantage of that vulnerability. Matsieng (6M) of the LESCO group contended that:

They only come here when they want labour and exploit our people ... they are exploiting our country; they are not even interested in us. So that is a threat to us, you know they have the ability to constrain our economic development.

President (2M) from the same group indicated that:

To South Africa we are just a labour reserve. They don't see any importance in Lesotho.

Participants saw South Africa as a powerful bully which exploits its surrounding neighbours, who are less powerful and who have been its labour reserve for a long time. Although the RSA was seen as belittling its neighbours, it was noted that South Africa depends on labour from its neighbouring countries, including Lesotho. Dan (9M) of MSG reiterated the point that although South Africans look down on Basotho:

They [South Africans] are not people who like to work.

This point is substantiated by the long tradition of men from Lesotho migrating for work in South African gold mines (Cobbe 2012). Dan stipulated that recently, even domestic workers from Lesotho were engaged in South Africa. This environment seems to have had an influence on identity such that the youth had to deal with a constant tension of wanting to feel proud about themselves as individuals and as Basotho, but they felt their differences from South Africans belittled them and made them less proud about themselves.

Lesotho as an inferior state for South Africa

There was a common perception that Lesotho, as a country, cannot fully exercise its independence or autonomy as a sovereign state because of its outside image. President (2M) stated that:

South Africans when they view us ... they view us as a 'failed state'; we are always saying we are independent, we are autonomous, and we have sovereignty but...

He reiterated his point thus:

Lesotho as a country is just [like] a poor village (2M).

Comrade (1M) shared similar sentiments that Lesotho was simply treated like a village. He said:

They just see us like a village and that makes us fearful ... they feel like anytime they want to 'swallow' us, they can do so and that makes us wary and vulnerable.

This presumed 'poor village', according to Kay Tee (5F) from MSG, was being exploited by South Africa, as she remarked that:

South Africa just wants to milk us out (5F).

Sports (7F) was very emotional about how South Africa views Lesotho:

Lesotho is more like a carpet that South Africa cleans its feet [on] ... they think we are cursed, they think we are a failed state, they think we do not have values you know, we [sorry cannot carry on ... am feeling emotional ... sorry"] (*Couldn't continue due to anger*)

Colleagues in the group sympathised with her and also agreed with her on this point further, commenting that South Africa really exploited Lesotho.

There was a sense that Lesotho feels consumed by South Africa and does not feel able to stand on its own feet. Tempest in LCYM seemed worried about the degree of dependency of Lesotho on RSA and expressed himself thus:

As we are landlocked we are going to go back [reintegrated] into South Africa and I would not like it but we are so dependent.

This sense of vulnerability was in direct contrast to their earlier articulated identity images of loving themselves and feeling proud of what they could achieve, and respecting their family values. Their vulnerability and sense of being seen as inferior within South Africa was reinforced very strongly by Matsieng (6M), who shared his friend's experience of being in Cape Town and wanting to buy some shoes. He recounted the experience of his friend:

That person asked him where are you going to wear those shoes in Lesotho ... they think we are just staying in the hills, we ride horses, we wear 'kupper heads' [balaclava]... so on and so forth ... people of South Africa '*ba re tella haholo*' (they don't respect us at all).

Another characteristic associated by South Africans with the notion of Lesotho as a failed state was its level of poverty. Matsieng (6M) remarked that:

When they hear the word Mosotho to a person of Africa, what comes to mind first is poverty [a] poor man is coming, poor man is on that side.

It is a fact that Lesotho is economically poor by international standards (UNDP 2014), but the participants felt that was not how they, as a nation, should be defined. It is clear from these

statements that these young people did not appreciate the way Lesotho is recognised by South Africans. The participants consistently articulated that South Africans see the public image of Lesotho as a very poor country, disadvantaged in many ways. Lesotho is regarded as a 'failed state' which serves only as a labour reserve. In as far as fashion was concerned, the youth felt that Basotho are referred to as a 'non-modernised country'. These comments have implications for how youth in Lesotho identify themselves when they are across the border or mix with South Africans. The Basotho youth in this study were therefore struggling with the image of their 'real selves', which meant that they sometimes felt ashamed of their identity in relation to their wider regional environment.

Basotho shame about their identity in relation to South Africa

There was a perceived lack of patriotism among Basotho who have been to South Africa because they seemed to develop a greater interest in material things and money, perhaps to emulate their richer neighbours. Thulos (4M) from LESCO stated that she got irritated by Lesotho people who would go to South Africa and get used to saying all the good things about the country and yet say nothing good about their home country:

I get very angry and disgusted when schools are closed and I go to the border post and see lots of people at the border gate from work, talking as if they are no longer Basotho ...

Thulos (4F) blamed the negative impact that these stories had on Basotho identity on some Basotho themselves, because she indicated that once they visited South Africa they came back home and talked as if they were no longer Basotho:

They have 'changed tongues'...

They were now people from '*ka kwaa*' (the other side). They became embarrassed to show their true identities, and:

That shows that [as] Basotho we don't like our country.

Despite only spending a short period in South Africa, when returning to Lesotho, Basotho pretend they cannot fluently speak Sesotho, their mother tongue. Thulos cautioned:

If only we could stop 'switching tongues' that is only then that South Africa would respect us.

This is a sign that, in spite of the participants' inner positive identities when they thought about themselves on an individual level, it seemed that Basotho, as a whole, felt inferior about who they were as a nation once they were confronted with their external image. Then they tried to behave as if they were no longer from Lesotho, even though they would display characteristics such as linguistic pronunciation and behaviour that would inevitably expose them as Mosotho. The result of South Africa's influence on Lesotho as a nation, therefore, is significant and has context specific implications for civic education and youth policy in Lesotho. Previous research has indicated there is a decline of national identity among Basotho which is connected to an increasing identification with South Africa (Rosenberg, 2007). This, in turn, results in a sense of limited agency or self-determination.

Lack of self-determination as a national identity

Self-determination is defined as a process by which a person controls their own life (Concise Oxford Dictionary 2004). There were many comments reflecting how, as Basotho youth, they regarded themselves which resulted in lack of self-determination. Nazo (10F) attested to this by stating that:

Yes in reality people of South Africa are taking us very lightly 'M'e Thakaso, but we as Basotho like to copy things from South Africa.

She therefore felt that:

As Basotho we call it upon ourselves for them to treat us that way.

And that made people feel vulnerable. Comrade (1M) confirmed this vulnerability as he felt that:

Because Lesotho is surrounded by South Africa we are bound to become victims.

He highlighted that South Africa surrounds Lesotho and has dangerous weapons and many more resources than Lesotho:

We cannot have such resources because anything which could be guns or bombs we may wish to have has to go through their country.

This in itself prevents Lesotho from acquiring anything from outside South Africa without its knowledge, as everything has to go through that country. There was a sense that Basotho allowed themselves to be treated as victims, thus perpetuating a vicious cycle of dependency and low self-esteem in relation to South Africa.

Nazo (10F) reinforced her earlier statements and further commented that Basotho also reinforced their inferior status by not allowing themselves to take national initiatives on matters such as legal procedures. She stated:

Yes, in reality people of South Africa are taking us very lightly Mme Thakaso ... but we as Basotho ...[we let them do so] ... we Basotho like to copy things from South Africa, for example we copied the ID system, but the IDs that we have here expire, but those of the other side do not expire.

It seemed to her that Lesotho had internalised its sense of inferiority to South Africa which reinforced the treatment that Basotho received. Nazo felt therefore that Basotho reinforced this negativity as a self-fulfilling prophecy:

They [Basotho] like to belittle themselves to this country of South Africa, they don't like to have their own ideas they can implement, without copying from South Africa.

Although the participants in the study did not like the way South Africa perceived them as Basotho, President (2M) believed that Basotho reinforced their own negative image and this was partly because financial rewards were now overriding other values:

The problem with Basotho is that we don't have the love for our country ... yes, money is our desire, which means we are eager for money so that cannot help.

The sense that the 'money economy' had overridden people's love for each other had been highlighted in an earlier study, with reference to herders and non-formal education, by

Preece, Lekhetho, Rantekoa and Ramakau (2009). In that study there was a tension that was associated with modernisation and the loss of a less complex existence. Nevertheless, in spite of this clearly evidenced contradiction of national identity image, the youth wanted to try to find alternative images to re-build themselves as a positive force to be reckoned with.

Resistant identity as a nation in relation to South Africa

Katola (2014) has stated that in order for Africans to counter the negative effects of modernization or globalisation on African identities, it is important for them to reconnect with and appreciate their African culture. There was a sense that the participants in this study were trying to do this in relation to Lesotho as a nation. Despite all the negative feelings about how they were perceived by South Africa, these young people still identified themselves with pride. Nazo (10F), for instance, felt that Lesotho had its own professionals who could be employed for different purposes such as intervening where there are internal problems in the country, rather than importing those same professionals from across the border:

We have so many professionals, [which could be used] like now I don't like the idea of Ramaphosa [Deputy President of South Africa], the fact that he is now here to intervene in Lesotho matters.

Although Matsieng (6M) intervened to say that Ramaphosa was here on a Southern African Development Community (SADC) mission which still shows that Lesotho is also seen more widely by (SADC) as vulnerable, Nazo felt that even for these other activities there was no need to rely on professionals from outside Lesotho, because Lesotho had its own professionals.

In spite of the above identity contradictions there were indications that Basotho have often resisted attitudes towards their public image when outside Lesotho. As Rosenberg (2001) postulates, the dress code has always been one of the easiest ways to show pride in being a Mosotho. He mentions that “one of the most visible ways which the Basotho distinguished themselves from South Africans was through items of clothing such as hats and blankets” (Rosenberg 2001a:148). Matsieng reflected:

Wearing a blanket identified somebody as being Basotho ... in Cape Town on Moshoeshoe's Day we would all wear our blankets to show that we are Basotho. (6M)

He felt the only way this attitude could be corrected is:

If we love our country and are proud of it.

It was argued that Basotho should be proud of their nationality to earn respect from other nations. By being strong and confident in what they do, Blacky (4M) felt, they would prevent this negative behaviour from South Africans:

But I think we allow them to treat us that way.

He further (4M) indicated that such national strength could influence how South Africa treats Basotho. He cited the example of their soccer team *Bahlabani* (Lesotho Under 20) recently beating team RSA in soccer games in Botswana and how that had earned them some respect from their counterparts. Thereafter, team South Africa had reacted more humanely towards them, yet before the games they had been mocking them, calling them "*Bo Moshoeshoe*", (those of Moshoeshoe). Blacky continued that after the match:

They wanted to befriend us. But we wanted to discipline them and teach them how they should respect us.

Matsieng (6M) referred to the two countries identities as a rich or poor country. But he resisted the common assumption that the RSA was always going to be rich in resources compared with Lesotho. He thus challenged the common national images of the two countries. He was optimistic that South Africa would soon exhaust all the richness it has, stating that:

South Africa is at its highest ... it can go ... especially Johannesburg ... now under it is a hollow area caused by excessive mining and it can collapse anytime, those mines are finished and they are now threatened, they have exhausted their natural resources. (6M)

He seemed to believe that at one point Lesotho would rise up to become a better economy because of its natural resources and probably ‘overtake’ South Africa:

Lesotho has potential, we have a lot of diamonds and we have a lot of other things to discover.

In other words, in spite of his awareness of the country’s negative image, he maintained national pride, to the extent that he believed in Lesotho’s potential as a nation state.

These discussions indicate that there remains a strong sense of national pride both in and outside of Lesotho. Although Rosenberg (2007) suggests that, among the youth, some of the traditional symbols set youth apart from their contemporaries, so they are now more wary about looking different from their age peers, particularly in South Africa, where external influences are more prevalent. Rosenberg’s suggestions contradict the findings here, which revealed that the youth took pride in identifying as Basotho, even by attire, when they were in South Africa. Kay Tee from MSG indicated that they even called her Moshoeshoe when she wore her *seshoeshoe* dress and T-shirt with the Founder’s picture. This contradiction may be because the youth in this study had already indicated a strong positive sense of self. This positive identity was also reflected in their religious identity, irrespective of which youth group they belonged to, as the next section indicates.

5.1.4 Religious identity

Katola (2014) indicates that religion is a fundamental and probably the most important influence in the life of Africans, who have an unshakable and deep faith in God who is seen as the nodal point of peace, social justice and harmony. Evidence to this, is the strong religious influence on youth in Lesotho, generally because of the legacy of the country’s colonization by missionaries and the prevalence of church schools. It seemed particularly strong for youth in Roma, for reasons stated earlier in Chapter 3. Oladipo (2004) claims that Africans were originally portrayed as pagan people who did not have any religion and were therefore considered inferior or heathen by the Europeans (cited by Waghid 2014). But Olupano (2015) challenged that perception, as he highlighted that Africans have always been spiritual. Whether from a deeply historical influence or as a result of colonial influences, a person’s religion seemed to be one value that the participants were brought up with that has

contributed strongly to the construction of their identity. This point becomes evident later in the discussion about youth groups and their group identities. Mapsy (3F) of the MSG stated that she grew up in a religious family and she narrated:

As I was growing up, it was a large family. We used to sit in the evening for family prayer, prayer, prayer saying the Rosary and sometimes we would get tired and bored as it took a long time, sometimes we even slept during the prayer.

As a result of attending a Catholic school she even identified herself as a Catholic by wearing a rosary which is a visible sign to associate her with that particular religion. Oppong (2013) agrees that religion influences identity formation and supports Mapsy's example in his argument stating that children whose parents are significantly religious are more likely to follow-suit. Letope (8M) of LESCO described one of the values he learnt as a Christian:

...the spirit of giving and sharing and I now feel it is my responsibility to give to the needy even when it was [is] your last food.

This identifies him as a Christian and which translates into how he interacts with others. Religion is also seen by Agjibi and Swart (2015) as a crucial source of the formation of morals and accountability in society. Letope, through his actions of giving and sharing, portrayed himself as being accountable to the needs of those in his society. This is a quality that is reflected in Basotho culture generally, as has already been stated (Matsela 1990). Big Mama (4F) from LCYM confirmed this:

Mostly I was taught about the church, to go to church, because even now it is a good thing, I don't feel at anytime that I could miss church; it is in my blood ...

This religious identity was manifested through their regular attendance and dedication to church activities. Mapsy (3F) further indicated that she loved being with her peers in her Christian Life Community (CLC) group, about which she said:

It is my family, besides that CLC members ... they are also like family every time I go to them I come back happy, there is never a time when I leave the group unhappy.

According to Ashforth and Mael (1989), a sense of group belonging and social identification refer to the perception of oneness with, or belongingness to, some human aggregate. This was the case for Mopsy and her connection to the CLC. Group belonging is also reflected as part of social identity theory because it enables an individual to maintain a positive and distinctive sense of self (Tereschenko 2010). Although Christianity is not the only religious faith in Lesotho, it was presented as one form of identity that participants talked about. There are values such as apostolic work attached to Christianity which require commitment to certain responsibilities. Letope (8M) from LESCO showed that there were some responsibilities he had to fulfil as a Christian:

I am so much into Christianity a lot ... on weekends I ensure that I meet my connect groups, sometimes we have some walk around the valley and then Sunday I go to church ... we even have some sporting activities as the church people. (8M)

Religion preaches oneness as the greatest principle shared by all religions. Agjibi and Swart (2015) postulate that religious communities continue to serve as unifying factors in societies. Therefore, being part of a certain religion (Islamic or Christian) gives members of different religious denominations a sense of belonging to one another. It also motivates how they behave as part of the Christian community and this motivation seemed to have an impact on the participants' daily lives as they expressed love and sharing with their fellow members, even with those from the different denominations. Although most of the youth demonstrated unstinting loyalty to their religion, the occasional individual indicated signs of critical reflection that challenged the acquired cultural norms of their upbringing. President (2M) acknowledged the Christian upbringing he received from his family, but stated that he had recently begun to identify unanswered questions, which, according to his culture, he was not supposed to ask. He gave an example:

For me I grew up in a very traditional and Christian family where everyday [always] you go to church and we were told you should not question this and that, but after my J.C. [junior certificate] level I began to read a lot of novels so I started to question a lot of things.

Similar examples of questioning among the youth were articulated in Preece and Mosweunyane's study (2004), where there was a view that religion hinders achievement of some goals for women's empowerment.

One of the religious identities that could be detected among the participants was love and fear of God. Waghid (2014) indicates that the purpose of religious life for many Africans is to acquire good morals and inculcate in them the desire to act with hospitality, selflessness and kindness. It seemed the religious influence of the Roma Mission mentioned earlier has had a large influence on what the youth have learnt. Bluetooth (1F) from LCYM expressed that one of the values she was brought up:

The fear of God and help[ing] others. For example, at school I help other needy children.

Princess (3F) from the same group believed that it was only because of God that everything happened, therefore she had been taught:

To pray all the time.

This religious upbringing was also noted by participants from outside the Roma Valley. Letope (8M) of LESCO, who came from Leribe in the north of the country, indicated that:

I have something to say on some of the things that will always be there ... other things I still value about our parents is this thing whereby they always take us to church, and that kind of religious [upbringing] has some impact in our lives so that as you grow up [you] have some element of sympathy ...

He appreciated these religious values which he learnt as he grew up and believed they had also strengthened him.

Among the Lesotho youth in this study the issue of gender emerged, but not as a challenge to their religious upbringing. Aside from religious identity there were indications that the participants shared distinctive gender identities that connected to their cultural backgrounds. The next section explores how gender influenced the way young people perceived themselves.

5.1.5 Gender identity

Pastorino and Doyle-Portillo (2009:437) explain that gender refers to the “experience of being male or female and it represents how we think and feel about ourselves in terms of our anatomical sex”. Gender is the most common and frequently mentioned identity used to describe oneself, and it is also commonly used by others to describe us, as stated by Deaux (2001). Morojele (2009) states that the theories that help us understand how gender is shaped, giving meaning in social structures are the discursive and materialist theories. The way an individual identifies him or herself is influenced by the discursive theory which, according to Morojele (2009), places emphasis on meaning attached to being either male or female within a society. The above claim is confirmed by the participants, who defined identity as who they were, but also associated it with gender. From the MSG group, Kay Tee (F5) mentioned her gender as part of the way she would introduce herself to enquirers at her school in South Africa.

Ke ngoanana oa Mosotho ea tsoang Lesotho (I am a Mosotho girl from Lesotho).

Her statement is also supported by the materialist theory, which “emphasises concrete social relations, of work, family, sexuality ...” Morojele (2009:82). Besides being a Mosotho girl, Kay Tee confirmed that she was from Lesotho. In a follow-up conversation she indicated that she also wore a ‘*seshoeshoe*’ dress and a sweater with a print of Moshoeshoe I on its front and her school peers teased her by calling her ‘*Moshoeshoe*’. Tempest from LCYM, when asked to define identity, also associated it with his gender, saying:

I am a Mosotho boy (*Ke moshanyana oa Mosotho*).

In both instances they emphasised their identity inclusive of their gender. This once more reflects social identity theory (Ashforth and Mael 1989). The youth in this study equated their gender with the additional symbolic membership status as being part of the Basotho people.

Deaux (2001:3) considers gender to be a fundamental category, arguing that it may “not be surprising that a great many meanings and implications are associated with gender”. Gender as a social construct was well understood by the participants, since they were able to identify their gender identities in a way which seemed to emanate from their cultural backgrounds.

Role behaviours, which are mostly attached to culture, are also linked to gender categories. This can be seen in Sesotho, where strength, wisdom and responsibility are associated with males and females are considered a weaker sex. Morojele (2009:6) confirms this in his study, as he argues that, “due to patriarchy and various traditional and cultural norms, customs and practices, the structure of Basotho society in fact created gender inequality and injustice”. Males are socialised to be superior to females in Lesotho, and one respondent from LESCO, Comrade (1M), attested to this stating that:

Being a Mosotho man, I am proud as it becomes an advantage [over females] because I can see that I am going to be head of the family.

In the Lesotho context this practice has already given males an advantage over females as far as taking responsibility is concerned. Patterson et al. (2010) argue that this gender disparity ultimately suppresses the way a female perceives herself, having an impact on her personal identity. This discrimination based on gender has remained strong in Lesotho, despite the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the implementation of the Framework for Action of the International Conference of Beijing in 1995 (UNESCO 2015). Morojele (2009) emphasises the prevalence of inequality among males and females in Lesotho by indicating that males (boys) are socialised to become custodians of patriarchy while females (girls) are socialised to be of service in the patriarchy. He further postulates that “traditionally, more power and social status in Basotho communities is accorded to a first born male child [*mojalefa*]” (Ibid. 2009:45).

However, in contrast to Comrade’s claim that males have an advantage over females, Dan (9M), a male from MSG, suggested that females could use their gender to advantage as a means of manipulating men, but the indications here were that this image of female youth as being ‘loose’ was a more negative characteristic than the assumed natural advantage of male superiority:

There are cases where girls get more advantage over boys because they are able to bribe with all they have (*laughter ...*), for example at NUL a girl is able to bribe male lecturers and boys to get things freely.

Gender in Lesotho culture is mostly demonstrated in the roles that people perform. Since females are considered the ‘weaker’ gender they are assumed to need male support. In his study, Morojele (2009) indicates that the assumed attributes of males and females in Basotho culture are perceived to be a ‘heavenly intervention’ from God, intended to regulate the operations and relations of the human species. This cultural socialization which is legitimised as a designation from God, gives boys, because of their assumed superiority due to their physical strength, an advantage over girls. This inequality was acknowledged by Thulos (4F) in the LESCO group:

As females we are at a disadvantage ... here in Lesotho males have much power over us ... for example, even in modern law about ‘Will’ it has included that you have a right to write a will, but 50% has to be given to that person who is said to be the heir, even if the girl is there and a parent decides to give inheritance to her, a certain amount still has to go to that one said to be the ‘*mojalefa*’ [being a male who inherits]. (4F)

Morojele (2009:9) further postulates that “Basotho boys are socialised to use forceful and strong language. Normally the forceful language is used towards women, girls and young boys by older men when giving instructions.” These gender differences were experienced historically when the initiation processes were more extensively undertaken. There were clear expectations regarding training of males, but for females “*ho ne ho sa hlake hore na melemo e neng e kotuloa mehleng ea khale e sa tsoela ba le kenang thuso*” (it was not clear if the benefits reaped in the past were going to benefit those who join) (Matsela 1990:54). Based on this statement the initiation curriculum for boys was designed to include sex education, national philosophy, leadership, patriotism and military techniques. This training was intended to instil toughness and bravery in males (Van der Vliet 1974 in Morojele 2009). However, Morojele further indicates that what girls were taught was in essence socialising them into the service of patriarchy. Due to a lot of developments such as, this traditional curriculum is no longer applicable. Nevertheless, these practices could have an effect on females and their identity and influence their participation in development activities.

Gender related tensions reflect how parents and other members of society treat males and females. Birditt, Miller, Fingerman and Lefkowitz (2009) indicate that parents’ intrusion in the lives of their children, especially females, is one example of gender related tension. It is evident that these inequities in relation to gender in the culture of Basotho seem to be

predominant both in the family setting and outside it, with implications for how youth organisations and schools address this issue. Such inequities have an effect on a person's identity, as Morojele (2009:215) indicates:

Within formal schooling processes girls had recourse to conform to dominant perceptions of gender. They feared teachers who actively reinforced dominant masculinities or femininities. This meant that during formal schooling processes girls became less assertive, reserved and somewhat reticent.

In spite of the above mentioned norms, when it comes to performing roles in the present day it seemed, from the participants' perspective, that some parents were now ignoring the gender role differences. Thulos (4F) from LESCO indicated:

My father brought me up ensuring that I learnt tasks meant for boys so that when my brothers were not around I would take over.

Matsieng (6M) from LESCO revealed that some gender specific responsibilities were challenged in the school environment. He acknowledges this here:

I have been brought up in a very traditional society whereby there were defined duties for boys and girls. But as you go to high school you are told by the teachers that you have to sweep, but at home you know that it is a girl's job and for me it was sort of an embarrassment to go to the forest and pick up leaves to sweep. (6M)

This example confirms that in different settings identities vary, resulting in the practice of multiple identities. According to Deaux (2001), an individual defines oneself depending on how he or she feels with a certain group of people, which reflects the social identification process. It is elaborated that through this process, "... we define ourselves in terms and categories that we share with other people" (Ibid.:1). Scalaguzen (8F) from MSG, for instance, felt and behaved differently while with family members compared with when she was with school mates. She indicated that:

Although I do not perform male duties at home, while at school I do ... it is true there are those that I don't want to do [at school but], I have no option.

It seems therefore that changing school and individual parental attitudes have had some influence over the dynamics of Basotho culture.

There were also indications that these changing dynamics were beginning to impact on attitudes towards gender amongst the youth. President (2M) from LESCO acknowledged the advantage afforded males socially, but argued:

As a [modern] Mosotho man, I thought that both sexes have similar responsibilities towards national development. I [may] have more advantages over girls when coming to social issues, but looking at development ... we have to be the same, especially considering that in most instances they have equal qualifications.

It has been suggested that communication barriers should be eradicated as much as possible between parents and their children, as that can ensure healthy relationships for both parties (Yousri & Mamdouh 2013) and stimulate an understanding atmosphere (Hassan 2013).

The above mentioned identities manifest themselves in various ways and reveal certain behaviour. There is a relationship between values and identity and the next section discusses how these values were manifested through certain youth identities.

5.1.6 Values learnt and their effects on identity

Values are defined as moral standards that guide our human behaviour in society. They are significant for the sustenance of a society and therefore they have an influence on identities. It is imperative to transmit them from an early age (Debbarma 2014). The notion of instilling values at an early age is also suggested by Oxfam (2006) in outlining a curriculum for global citizenship incorporating the teaching of values and attitudes which are meant to instil a sense of identity and self-esteem, as well as value and respect for diversity. In the context of this study the following values were mentioned: respect, love, discipline and assertiveness or self-respect. Sometimes these values were interrelated, for example, discipline and respect.

Respect

Waghid (2014) contends that in the African context, respect is not just taking elders' words as absolute truth, but that the wisdom of elders is a benchmark that should be accepted for guiding human action. This notion was expressed by Scalaguzen (8F) of MSG thus:

I have been taught to respect [older] people, do everything assigned to me as told and timely or as best as I can.

Elders are regarded as repositories of communal wisdom and are believed to give guidance to young people. Respect is also an element of the South African term *ubuntu*, which includes the recognition of the authority of elders (Kanu 2010; Waghid 2014). In relation to respect and discipline, Tempest (10M) from LCYM said:

You respect yourself, respect others, even when an elderly person has a heavy luggage I feel I should help; the other one is being prayerful.

As a young person, he felt that he could bring change in his community by creating awareness about sensitive issues and that people would learn from his words or his actions. According to Cobbah (1987:321), "respect is the cardinal guiding principle for behaviour within the family and in the society at large". This implies that it is regarded as the fundamental value that has to be afforded everyone, irrespective of whether that person is a biological parent or not.

LCYM's Youth Leader, Aboz also highlighted that this traditional value of respect would be expected to manifest itself and be reinforced in different contexts. He said:

It can help or promote their [young people's] relationship with colleagues, because they learn different characters and learn how to deal with them.

The emphasis here is on learning and appreciating each other, and through practising respect people could easily achieve this appreciation. Through group membership the youth learnt about certain individual behaviour which they may not have met previously, positive or negative. These experiences in the group were expected to help build resilience and tolerance towards others.

This notion of respect appeared to be distinctive to Lesotho, in comparison with observed behaviour in neighbouring South Africa. Dan (9M), for instance, said:

As Basotho children we are taught to respect both parents ... but in the neighbouring country [RSA] young people when they talk to elders they do not show any respect, they talk like they are talking to their buddies. (9M)

His views reflect an observed difference in the RSA, which has a more cosmopolitan population with a less cohesive culture compared to Lesotho. According to Dan, the Basotho way of behaving is a desirable one and this reinforced his own sense of pride in being a Mosotho. Basotho children will always refer to an older person while greeting them as '*m'e* or *ntate*, (madam or sir), for example, '*lumela 'm'e or ntate*', which is not very common with children from outside Lesotho.

There were examples, however, of contradictions between what was learnt from home and in school when Basotho children started it. Jerry (2M) from LCYM indicated that although there are good values that he had been brought up with, there were some that he could not continue with anymore because he felt they no longer helped him. Although some of the values taught were to make him respectful and humble to other people, he stated:

Some of the values I was brought up with ... (*shook his head*) ... I feel I cannot continue being humble ... that one of being humble ... (*shook his head again*) *aicona!* [no no] Sometimes if you are humble these people when you are like that, even when a person takes your pen, he knows that you will go buy another one tomorrow so they keep taking your things, so.... yes ... no it doesn't work lately.

Nevertheless, this was not a universal position. For instance, Tempest (10M) had a different view:

The one [value] I have left is that of being humane ... it is helping me a lot, because many challenges come my way, and I am able to overcome them. Even if a person can challenge me I don't burst ... sometimes when I am humble I defeat them.

Love

Love for one another was what Nozi (5F) from LCYM narrated that she was taught:

To love other people, you have to love everyone, don't discriminate even one who doesn't love you.

Most of the youth's learnt values, together with the practice of sharing amongst each other, portrayed love and togetherness. These values, in turn, reflected the religious and communitarian values of collectivism in Basotho society. According to Ngozwana (2014), the moral value of oneness or unity in Lesotho is emphasised amongst individuals, starting in families, extending into communities and then in society as a whole. This sense of unity is also regarded as a sign of love among the participants. Letope (8M) explained:

You saw your parents sharing with those in need ... so if someone could come to ask for something you feel you want to give, you give food away even when it is your last food ... as we were still going to Sunday school we always brought the egg or something to offer to the preacher or other needy children.

As a result of collectiveness, sharing is referred to as an age-old, indigenous social practice that is embedded in the Basotho culture (Pitikoe 2016).

The youth from their respective groups were also taught that discipline and assertiveness were complementary values to nurture.

Discipline

Even though culturally, physical punishment is regarded as discipline, the Lesotho Act No.7 of 2011, The Children's Protection and Welfare Act, defines this behaviour as 'abuse' and further stipulates that "assaulting a child or inflicting any other form of deliberate injury or harm on a child" (GOL 2011:467) is illegal. Therefore tensions exist, caused by the cultural value that a child is not expected to 'talk back' or 'question the elders' and that they are prone to physical discipline. There is a real sense in Lesotho that discipline can only be physical, hence the phrase '*thupa e otlooa esa le metsi*' (a stick is straightened while still wet or soft). Alternative forms of disciplining (punishing or controlling) do not seem to feature and participants mentioned cases when they themselves were exposed to physical punishment. Moja (7F) from LCYM gave an example of discipline:

I was brought up with scolding because it was said '*thupa e otlolloa esa le metsi*' (a stick is straightened while still wet/soft)

... I was told to stop naughty things like going out to play and coming back late, but I did not oblige. (7F)

Another respondent cited his examples as follows:

For me I grew up in a very traditional and Christian family whereby everyday you go to church and we were told that you should not question this and that. (President, 2M)

But through exposure, after he did his Junior Certificate (JC), he began to read several books, learnt a lot and started questioning some things. Nazo (10F) confirmed that growing up as Basotho children, they were not supposed to talk back to their elders or even ask questions:

Mostly in our Sesotho culture we don't have to ask ... like ... if you ask, but why do we have to do this ... why am I not supposed to eat eggs?

Here, the rationale of preventing girls from eating protein foods such as eggs was used as discipline by parents (Ngozwana, 2014), as it was believed that eggs would make them start engaging in sexual acts.

But there are those values that seem to be learnt in family settings which are not easily incorporated into school settings or even transferred into other families and so they hence cause tension. This disparity was acknowledged by Matsieng (6M) of LESCO. He gave an example of himself growing up at his grandmother's house and when he moved to his real home things were different:

As I grew up I was brought up by grandmother and those things of sweeping were quite abnormal for boys, but as I stayed in my real home I realised that those things actually do happen.

He further argued that

as you go to high school you are told by the teachers that you have to sweep, but at home you know that a girl's job and for me it was sort of an embarrassment.

Moja, President and Nazo all confirmed that communication with elders was expected to be respectful and manifested as not talking back or asking any questions. It must be noted that

they obliged with what they had been taught while still in the care of their families, but away from home they seemed to change that behaviour. Berger, as cited in Eccles (1999), indicates that the young adulthood stage is about intimacy versus isolation when people seek companionship and love with another person or become isolated. It is also noted that during this stage, development of individuals is “driven by basic psychological needs to achieve competence, autonomy and relatedness” (Eccles 1999:31). Outside the family setting, young adults get an opportunity to experience independence and autonomy, but still get support from family, school and community. As they grow, interaction with the family is superseded by one with peers and they develop a strong sense of self and become autonomous (Ibid.). But Eccles (1999) suggests that to avoid tensions between parents and their children during this challenging and confusing stage, parents must be able to adjust to the changing needs of their children with less conflict.

Good behaviour and achievement were seen by elders to be the outcome of discipline. This, was often in the form of physical punishment. In spite of perceptions by elders in the study by Ngozwana (2014), that children would now challenge physical interpretations of discipline, there were indications that not all the youth regarded this kind of treatment as negative.

Bluetooth (7F) from LCYM acknowledged that as she grew up she received a lot of scolding to instil discipline in her. But she commented further, that if she had not been brought up that way she believed she would not have achieved what she had compared with other children who she grew up with, most of who were not successful:

I was brought up with a lot of whipping ... it was not torture; I grew up with such children [who did not get disciplined] ... and most of them did not reach high school, but I have reached high school.

From Bluetooth’s point of view, this form of discipline had helped to develop her into a responsible person.

However, in contemporary law a child can legally charge parents for abuse if an act of punishment is identified as physical force. This is a global issue, as in the UK there used to be physical punishment in schools and homes and many older generation people have complained that the lack of opportunity to hit their children has caused indiscipline and

rudeness (Elton Report 1989). It is a generational issue in how punishment is interpreted. Traditional punishment has involved the use of sticks or similar treatment under the label of ‘discipline’; but for the modern generation this tradition is no longer acceptable, because international law protects children from physical abuse. Discipline now has to be interpreted through some other form of punishment, an aspect which has been interpreted by parents in Lesotho as a colonially imposed rejection of culture (Ngozwana 2014).

Assertiveness and self-respect

In addition to love and discipline it seemed that the youth had also learnt the value of assertiveness, perhaps also as a reflection of self-respect. Dan (9M), for instance, stated:

I have been taught to clearly state if I do not want something. Even if it is a person whom I do not like ... I should move away from ... move away from a person who is trouble.

He believed he could show assertiveness:

Like, if I do not want to take alcohol I have to take my stand and say no ...

Self-respect also manifested itself as tenacity to achieve personal goals. Jerry (2M) from the LCYM suggested that this may not have been a universal value, but was something that he learnt from his family:

I can say I was brought up the same way [as others], but there are some values which I think are ‘specifically’ for my family, I don’t know others. For example, we were brought up never to lose ... never give up ... we grew up [with that] as a family principle.

These values clearly contributed to each individual’s sense of self as holding values that they were proud of. Although the notion of discipline was not always well received, some agreed that it had borne them fruitful results and had contributed to building them into responsible people.

5.1.7 The role of significant others

The participants indicated that, as children, they learnt from their families, communities, peers and schools. Within those environments there were particular people who were seen as playing a significant role in their upbringing.

Pitikoe (2016:226) posits that “significant others help people to build up their positive identity, in some cases; [they] also help in establishing external networks”. For most people, the family and surrounding community are the first source of identity building. It is here that significant individuals can play a strong role in the development of young people. It is not surprising to note that there are many factors that influenced these young people in terms of how they felt about themselves, whether good or bad. This section discusses significant others in terms of family, community and the wider environment.

Family members as significant others

The family is the primary socialization institution and what is learnt there is highly influential on a young person’s life. In most cases, the participants mentioned influences from their family and the people who were around them as they grew up and their interaction with them. There is a common Sesotho saying, “*ngoana ke seipone sa lelapa labo*” (a child is a ‘mirror’ reflection of his or her family). This phrase can be substantiated by Matsela’s statement on cultural values, as he indicated that “*makhabane ke pelo ea bochaba, ‘me ho qepha ha ona ho fokolisa le mo kulisa bochaba*” (values are the pivotal element of culture, and their decline means a decline on the culture) (Matsela 1990:10). Basotho children were therefore moulded to reflect what was taught in the family and formed an identity with that particular family. But generally, as demonstrated by recent studies in Lesotho (Morojele 2009; Ngozwana 2014; Pitikoe 2016), Basotho children grow up under very traditional value systems. Matsieng (6M) substantiated this by indicating that:

Our society is very traditional and we grew up in that environment that is very traditional society ... boys have those defined duties and girls have those defined duties.

The concept of a ‘traditional’ upbringing can be seen in other African countries. For instance, Preece and Mosweunyane (2004:40), in their study of Botswana youths, point out that the youth still retained a sense of connectedness with traditional family relationships. In African

contexts this means retaining intergenerational links and passing on communitarian and gender-related cultural values. In societies where early deaths of siblings or parents may be common due to disease or other environmental factors, the importance of intergenerational ties contributes to social cohesion. This was evidenced by Dan (9M) from MSG, saying that he received great influence from his grandmother, who brought him up:

Important people in my life are not many, it is only one person, it is my grandmother; she is the only person important in my life ... Because she has taken care of us (me and my siblings) when our mother passed away in 2011. She is the one who brought me up to where I am now.

He stated that he had special respect for her, as she had brought him up after he lost his mother when he was in Standard 4. She was regarded as the best person in his life, as she showed love and care and that had given him confidence. A family, according to Longres (1990:182), is regarded as a social institution that serves a number of functions such as procreation and socialization of children. It is also “a means for providing affection and emotional stability”. Dan received that affection and emotional stability from his grandmother, who became a role model in his life and that ultimately contributed to his positive self-identity. As mentioned above, he referred to her as the only important person in his life currently. He further disclosed that he had lost his sister, who was brutally beaten to death by her boyfriend and that had created a lot of hatred in him which could have resulted in a negative and revengeful identity, but he resisted that with the help and support of his grandmother:

She used to tell me that in life I have to look at things that improve my life ... not waste time to hate anyone ...

Dan emphasised that this helped him maintain his positive identity. The grandmother had been a pillar of strength for him, continuing to pay the high school fees for his other two siblings from her earnings as a domestic worker in the RSA. As a member of the family his grandmother also provided for his economic stability. Longres (1990:182) asserts that a family is “a vehicle for economic production and consumption”. In Dan’s case, this was evident because he was able to continue his education as a result of the earnings of his grandmother.

Pindah's (1F) identity had been influenced by her father with whom she was the best of friends and interacted amicably. She explained:

For me my father is the best father ever, he is my friend, we talk, I love the way he approaches me, he knows the stage I am going through [as] he also has gone through it.

This relationship with her father had a great impact on her identity, as she mentioned that the way he approached her made her 'open up' and she was able to 'face the world' knowing that she had her father's trust. The love for a father was also expressed by Thulos (4F) from LESCO who explained:

I was brought up by my father, he was very strict, but I loved him very much.

This positive emotion towards parents or other family members contributes enormously to how a person identifies themselves. Family members were also acknowledged by Letope and Thulos from the LESCO group for influencing their identity. Letope explained that he had developed a spirit of giving which he had observed in his parents as he was growing up and Thulos learnt that she had to share in the responsibility of looking after the animal flock when her brothers were absent. Konyana from LCYM indicated that he maintained close ties with his family:

I prefer being at home [with family]. It is very nice, I prefer being with parents who are still alive and are not working. They guide me on how I can approach life, how I can avoid some of the things that can spoil my life.

This sentiment was shared by almost all participants in this group. Tempest, for example, emphasised that:

Most important people in my life are my family [parents and siblings].

A respondent from LESCO group, Matsieng (6M), thought that although family may have been viewed as strict in some cases, he appreciated the way Basotho children were brought

up. He further emphasised his point by stating that families are able to control and influence the behaviour of their children, particularly in view of current health challenges:

So we grew up in very traditional families whereby our lives were generally controlled and we become better persons and see our parents for longer periods simply because their behaviour was actually determined by their parents then, but today the society is very flexible, very sick, we are dying so on and on ...

All the participants identified more or less similar values that they had learnt as they were growing up as Basotho children. Katola (2014) explains that in an African traditional society, a sense of morality is instilled in the minds of people right from childhood, with the aim of ensuring that everyone grows up as a responsible member of society. Respect and good behaviour, discipline, love of one another, praying, love and fear of God, doing different chores for boys and girls, are example of such values embraced in morality. These seemed to be common values that all three groups identified as their having learnt from the family. Nevertheless, Chapter 6 demonstrates that within the context of understanding rights and responsibilities in modern society, there are tensions between what they learnt from home and what they experienced from the environment.

For example, participants from the MSG felt that with positive recognition from family they were able to portray their positive identities. However, they expressed the need for open interaction between parents and children. Some of their responses were: ‘our parents do not trust us’, a potentially negative assumption that children make about their parents. Mapsy (3F) said that even though they did not want to disappoint their parents, sometimes their parents’ attitude discouraged them:

When [you think of] disappointing someone who trusts you, you think deep about it ... if you ask your mother [permission] to go for discussion or [something] and she says alright, go well, you become happy, but if she says ... you can go but I know you are not going there, instead you are going for boys ... you end up saying, since she doesn’t trust me I might as well just do as I please.

It can be noted that the family has both positive and negative influences on one’s identity. From a positive point of view, love and caring are common values that end up impacting on a

person's identity. A child that grows up in a loving and caring family brings that with them to the community and to school. The family, being the first socialization institution, moulds who a person will be when they join the world and moulds the primary identity. However, Carlson (2000) argues that due to non-effective monitoring support and parenting techniques, parents (and family) can influence deviant behaviour and, ultimately, negative identities of their children. Young people then move into the community and school and these two settings have their own influences on how they identify themselves.

Significant others can also be negative, as Rosenberg observes, particularly in relation to the environment of neighbouring South Africa: "Lesotho is an excellent example of the influence which the 'other' hostile or friendly, can play in shaping identity on the individual and national level" (Rosenberg 2001a:149). This implies that South Africa has an influence on how Lesotho citizens identify themselves, as was evidenced earlier in this chapter. The next section documents how these individuals moved beyond their family into the wider society and the impact this had on their different identities.

5.1.8 Community and wider environment

People are products of their environment and they behave and identify differently according to the influences of their immediate surroundings. This is also attested to by Twigger and Uzzell (1996), who state that identity depends on an individual's socialization in a certain physical environment. Hudson and Melber (2014) acknowledge that environment shapes the way that a person is recognised in a given context. When certain behaviour is displayed it reflects a particular identity, whether that of a parent, a husband or of a child, depending on the context. The research participants seemed quite aware that they displayed certain identities, depending on where they were and who they were with and, in turn, their behaviour was influenced by those different environments.

Dan (9M) from the MSG, attested to the fact that identity is influenced by the environment. He had stated earlier that circumstances can change who you are, therefore identity is situational. He added that even when he was in South Africa the upbringing that he had as a Mosotho differed from those of youth there, who appeared not to show respect to elders when talking to them. But he felt he was able to maintain his behaviour and identity, even in a foreign environment.

An LCYM respondent also felt that identity was not constant and the environment had a strong influence. Tempest (10M) explained that he identified himself differently while at his home with parents and siblings from when he was at his own house with his wife and children. Konyana (6M) in the same group agreed and stated:

We differ, when at LCYM meetings we don't bring along behaviours from different settings.

Tempest (10M) further appreciated that:

Every environment has its own language and behaviours hence the different identities.

This meant they would change from the way they behaved while with their families. To emphasise Tempest's point, Nazo (10F) from LESCO agreed that behaviour while away from the family differs:

When we were brought up in the family, the girl is always cautioned [but] when at school we go for many things, some of which we don't do at home ... at home you are in the house with parents but here we go out [as we want].

Environment clearly played an important role in how young people identified themselves and Nazo (10F) maintained that she preferred her identity as a university student and that she preferred:

... being on campus as there's a lot of [positive] interaction with friends/colleagues sharing everything.

She felt that this environment gave her the benefit of being amongst people who have aspirations for success, which ultimately influenced her. Matsieng (6M) supported this feeling, although he stated that even before he came to university he already had aspirations of being a wealthy person:

As a young person I used to ... aspire and see myself as a civil servant having a lot of cash.

Members of LESCO come from different communities in Lesotho to join the Roma and university community, therefore it would be expected that their interaction with peers in the new communities would differ. Both Nazo and Matsieng seemed to support the idea that the university environment motivated positive interaction, which could ultimately encourage people to fulfil their ambitions. These examples of interaction with different groups made an important contribution to their sense of identity.

On the other hand, Jerry (2M) from LCYM argued that a person can portray a true or false identity based on:

... how you want to be perceived or how you want to present yourself no matter the environment, so it doesn't change. Therefore, there are two identities, a true and false identity. If you are violent or aggressive and feel that is how you want to be known you will not change because you feel you are showing your true self.

He indicated that that one can hide the true identity in order to fit in and be accepted into a certain environment:

But you can also pretend and show the false identity, like if you are gay you will do certain things.

This latter point is discussed in the following section. Revealing different identities in different contexts enables one to have multiple identities, depending on the environment and the situation. The next section discusses multiple identities with examples.

5.1.9 Multiple identities

It has been stated that, "Multiple identities emerge out of the fact that individuals are always acting in the context of a complex social structure" (Burke & Stets 2009:14). This being the case, it would therefore be expected that in their respective contexts, young people display many different identities. These different identities, according to Tempest (10M) in LCYM, tend to make a person a chameleon, saying:

At home I am a boy, at my house I am a father.

Despite the many identities people have to adapt to, the literature argues that one is still a unique individual. Hence, Gee (2001) contends that a person is recognised in a particular way, depending on a given context. Tempest took on different roles and identities according to the environment where he was situated. He reflected this change when he indicated that he displayed different identities depending on where he was, whether at his house, his home or at the LCYM group.

There were examples given of how people would behave differently according to the expectations of their immediate environment. Scalaguzen (8F), for example, said:

When I am at home, in my family [where] there are no boys
and when I am told to clean the surroundings I will say no, but
when I am at school I will do as I am told.

She abided by the rules that governed her at school and therefore displayed the required behaviour in that context.

Nazo (10F) of LESCO was also another witness to this change of behaviour, indicating that:

When here at school [university], we go for many things
[functions], some of which we don't do when at home.

The reaction of both of them is supported by the identity process theory, which, according to Lappergard (2007), is a dynamic social product of interaction. In the community (even in their organisations) and at school, young people interact with their peers from diverse backgrounds with different personalities. This is where they may reveal identities which they do not display while at home, but ultimately it is this combination of identities which constitutes their individual selves. This idea is supported by Bourn (2008:49), who noted in the context of a review of the UK curriculum on citizenship, that: “we all have a multiplicity of identities which may jostle with each other but which ultimately unite to make us individual”.

Young people, while away from home, want to be accepted by their peers to prove that they are independent thinkers and are self-sufficient. For instance, Nazo (10F) of LESCO claimed that at school they adopted different identities which could not be portrayed at home because they did not display the accepted norms expected by parents. She commented that:

When at school we go for many things, some of which we don't do when at home. At 9 or 12 p.m. we go for discussion and many other things, at home you are in the house with parents, but here we go out when we want.

According to Mental Health America of Colorado (MHA) (www.mhacolorado.org), people that are around you at school and in other places help you work out who you are, either positively or negatively. However, Tempest (M10) raised the issue that even though one may display multiple identities to fit in, there is, potentially, an inner identity which does not change, even if it is not displayed publicly. He explained:

... the issue of being gay, a person can pretend to be in a certain way ... do things, but deep down *ha a ikutloe ale joalo, ebe tse ling o li etsa a sa hlokomele* (does not feel exactly that way, then will do some things unconsciously). Then this gay person gives a false identity. So the true identity is that one that does not change no matter what.

Deaux (2001) postulates that there is a critical aspect to gay and lesbian identity, because in most segments of society these are highly stigmatised, and this is often due to some ethnic and religious beliefs. Therefore, Tempest (10M) may be correct in saying:

Sometimes you find that as a community we don't accept others ... a gay person is not accepted and the perceptions we have about such people makes them feel excluded from the community.

He was supported by Jerry (2M) on this issue, who attested that:

The being gay issue, [a person] can pretend to be in a certain way ... do boy things, but deep down not feeling that way, something he does unconsciously ... this person is giving a false identity ...

Suggested here, is that there is a certain identity that a person can try to hide, but because it is inborn, it may not be possible to do so and the individual's behaviour may reveal their true identity. Deaux (2001:3) confirms this, saying that:

The experience of prejudice and discrimination that gays and lesbians face makes the process of social identification a particularly difficult one at times, as the positive values that one typically associates with one's own group are not shared by society at large.

This has serious effects on the gay person, in their not being able to portray their true self-image. Since a person's gender is a personal experience of being male or female, Pastorino and Doyle-Portillo (2009) argue that it is not easy to understand gender identity because of its complex process involving biological and environmental roots. Ryan (2009) gives the example of parents who cannot accept the sexual identity of their children and indicates that lack of communication and misunderstanding between parents and their Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered (LGBT) children increases family tensions and conflict. This has an impact on the self-esteem of the individual and his or her personal identity. The participants agreed that despite their positive self-image, there may be influences or perceptions that affect who they really are and occasions when a person may tend to hide the true self-identity for fear of being humiliated. This shows that these young people were aware that there are multiple identities that a person has which they may display differently depending on their different environments. In addition to the individual understanding of identity in terms of self and the potential influences of family and school, it was also evident that the youth possessed another set of identities that reflected, and were a reflection of, their membership of specific youth organisations. The next section explores these influences in more detail.

5.2 Membership in youth organisations

Membership in youth organisations influences how people identify themselves and this is referred to as social identification. According to Ashforth and Mael (2009), in social identity theory the individual defines him or herself in terms of salient group membership. In their respective groups, youth interact and share much with their peers and this process contributes to how individuals define themselves. Youth everywhere become members of various groups

and young people in Lesotho are not exceptional to this phenomenon; membership in organisations is deemed important in denoting the perception of oneness with, or belonging to, a particular group (Ibid. 2009).

These organisations can be religious, political or simply social groups. As the leader and conductor of the LCYM, Aboz outlined the aim of such groups:

[To] develop members socially, politically, spiritually and make them responsible members in community and church.

A leader in the MSG, Dan (9M) who was unanimously elected as a group leader for the purposes of this study, stated that:

These groups are there to bring out talent in the youth and promote and improve arts and theatre in Lesotho.

As suggested by the NYPL (1995), youth became members of these organisations voluntarily. Sharing the group's social identity with peers does not necessarily mean that they know or interact with every other member of the designated category (Deaux 2001). According to Jasper and McCarry (2015), the group identity unites members so that they can be more productive and communicate with those outside the group – such members believe they have something in common. Deaux further postulates about youth in their respective groups that, since they share numerous features with other members, the group as a whole also has significance for the individual member. For example, with the three groups in the study, a member in LESCO felt the significance of being in that group because of the love for politics, while a member in the LCYM had a passion for choral music. This implies that they did not necessarily share all the same values, but had a common value which brought them together.

This engagement helped them to arrive at a set of values that they could use to establish a meaningful self-identity as part of the collective. As has already been indicated, they displayed identities which were different from those at home because they related easily with their peers and were guided by rules set in their respective groups which were often different from domestic rules.

It has been observed from the findings that the participants revealed collective and multiple identities, depending on the context of their different organisations. Through these organisations they were also able to engage in regular networking. These links contributed to the participants' collective identities, as they associated with other individuals in their respective groups and were able to articulate a shared understanding of who they are.

5.2.1 Identities in the three youth groups

Lesotho Student Convention (LESCO)

The Lesotho Students' Convention (LESCO) is a group of students who are members of the ABC political party. One member, Letope (8M), explained that it is a convention for all NUL students:

Yes it is a convention for every student.

However another member, Matsieng (6M), argued that:

But you have to divorce that other party.

He clarified this, saying:

When you are part of LESCO it simply implies you are an ABC member because this organisation is an affiliate of ABC political party.

This was in response to a question about whether students from all political parties can be members. Matsieng's statements attested to the fact that although it was supposed to be a students' convention, as Letope (8M) alleged,

It caters only for a certain political party, the ABC. We operate under the name of a 'convention' because the university does not allow operation of political parties on campus.

The members were learners at the NUL in various programmes in different years of study. This reflected a general concern within the group of addressing corruption in Lesotho. According to Matsieng (6M), LESCO gave them a platform from which they were able to:

... effect change in our country, in our politics, whereby we can advocate for transparency...

Some of the goals of youth in this party included liaising over development activities with different youth organisations in Lesotho.

The value of respect was reinforced by membership in the youth groups. For instance, (1M) indicated that LESCO had also impacted on his attitude towards politics and because of LESCO he felt he could now effectively contribute to prevent unacceptable behaviour from the higher authorities. He stipulated that being part of this group was challenging:

Because I love politics ... I feel pain about the bad things that happen in my country and I feel it is important that, I contribute to prevent corruption and those bad things happening, help get the word of the people to the higher authorities, because it is through us who can help that people are served well with justice.

Members in this FGD mainly came from the Maseru district (the capital city of Lesotho), with two respectively from Leribe (in the north of the country) and Mafeteng (in the south). Members in this group were between 19 and 28 years. The tables of the bio-data were shown in the methodology chapter, providing their age and gender, their year of study at the university and their original residences.

Lesotho Christian Youth Movement (LCYM)

The Roma Valley is known for its history of being the first mission in Lesotho, which was founded by the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) missionaries from France in 1862. There are two main high schools in the valley, one for boys, which were started by the Brothers of the Sacred Heart and the Holy Family Sisters for girls. Most of the young people in this area go to those schools so there is a strong religious influence in the area. The Lesotho Christian Youth Movement (LCYM) is one of the religious youth movements in the Roman Catholic Church (RCC). One of the group's main activities is to ensure youth serve in the church during the Holy Mass and to sing hymns and chorals. They also do apostolic work in their communities, keeping young people together and away from acts that could cause deviant behaviour, and they perform any other activities for the development of the church. The participants in this group were part of the larger LCYM group. In the Roman Catholic Church

there are various groups for youth and adults, but this particular group ensures that praises to God is done to the best of their abilities through singing. Their motto is:

Ke phelela Molimo, Kereke e 'Katholike' le Naha ea Heso” (I live for God, the Roman Catholic Church and my country).

And their vision is:

Boitsebo bo tletseng ba mocha oa Mo-Katholike eleng lefa la rona, kholiso e tiileng ea lerato la nnete la boena, bonngoe bo tsitsiseng mokhatlong ka mehla (True identification as a Catholic youth which is our heritage, encouragement of true love for one another, true oneness in the movement all the time).

Participant members in this group came from the Roma valley, except for three who came from neighbouring communities. They did not feel comfortable disclosing their ages, and this was respected, but they were estimated to be in the age range of 19 to 24 years.

Mixed Social Group (MSG)

The MSG consisted of members within the age range of 18 to 24, who were mostly completing their high school and were not working, except for some part-time jobs during the school holidays. These were youth who came from a variety of different associations, such as the Christian Life Group (CLC), *Mankabelane* Theatre and Alter Servers in the Roma mission. All of them came from the Roma Valley. Although from different groups, they seemed to share similar perspectives on life which were revealed when they were asked why they had joined their respective groups. They all thought that being members in their respective groups gave them a sense of belonging and built trust amongst them.

Youth groups as a collective identity

Fominaya (2010:394) cites Polletta and Jasper (2001), who locate collective identity within the individual and define it as “an individual’s cognitive, moral and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution”. Fominaya rather, concurs with Snow’s (2001) definition, which sees collective identity as a relationship that emanates from people’s interaction. Unlike personal identity, there is a shared sense of ‘oneness’ or ‘witness’, hence McLaren (2011) refers to collective identity as a relationship by which an individual identifies with a group. This identification occurs in such a way that the group’s

identification is significant for the person's individual identity. Fominaya (2010:394) explains this collective identity as:

Anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collectivity and in relation or contrast to one more actual or imagined sets of others. Embedded within the shared sense of 'we' is a corresponding sense of collective agency.

According to Lekoko and Modise (2011), the African concept of 'I', understood as 'We', allows an individual to see him or herself collectively. They use the concept I/We in relation to learning in African contexts. Members of the respective groups outlined above, indicated the same collective sense of oneness, which empowered them to believe that together they could do great things. Membership in these youth organisations seemed to create a sense of belonging among the members and their collective identity was expressed in various ways. For example, one member from LESCO (Sports 7F) expressed her satisfaction that:

In being part of the LESCO family, we share our views on political issues and situation in the country.

The same sentiment of collectiveness was shared by Pindah (1F), as she attested that in the CLC group she felt free to ask for anything she needed because she knew she would get assistance without being ridiculed. According to Taylor et al. (2006:11) collectivism puts "emphasis on loyalty to the family, adherence to group norms and harmonious social relations". It was evident therefore that through membership in their respective groups, young people were able to adhere to the norms of their groups and thereby create harmonious relations amongst themselves.

For instance, the youth embraced the idea that through jointly participating in social activities, individuals can gain a sense of belonging and, in essence, a collective 'identity' that transcends the individual. It was also noted that each of these groups had their own collective identity which correlated with the principles of the group. Adler (2012) refers to this as collective identity formation where members identify overarching themes that require collective action and later connect the individual identities to collective identities. Matsieng (M6) felt that membership in LESCO promoted the convention's ideology through which he claimed that, as young people, they were able to jointly bring about change.

As part of LESCO it simply means you are an ABC member because this organisation is an affiliate of the ABC political party. Now this is the right platform whereby we can impact change in our country or politics, whereby we can advocate for transparency and true leadership.

This particular group also promoted a national collective identity which appeared to be very strong amongst the members. It also follows the place-identity theory, which develops an individual in relation to the physical environment and is also a substructure of self-identity (Lappergard 2007). Letope (8M), of the same group, also identified himself as a member of the collective society of Basotho and believed that:

It brings all people of different parties or ideologies together in order to take this nation somewhere especially in the development way.

This notion of collective identity can also be referred to as a social identity which, according to Adler (2012), is embedded in social networks and communities which share values. This identity is defined in terms of an individual's identity and personal space in society. There appeared to be two indicators of collective identity among these organisations, namely identity as a group membership and sharing of personal identity in the group, but also a wider sense of national identity through organisational membership, which the LESCO organisation, in particular, seemed to embrace. As a collective, LESCO promoted the national and cultural identity of Basotho.

The sense of being part of a collective was confirmed by Letope (8M) of the LESCO group, by his attestation that, since members came from the different disciplines at NUL, they brought together the knowledge from those disciplines in order to bring about change:

And break this thing of '*metsi le oli*' (water and oil) (a phrase commonly used by one political leader implicating serious differences among members of the same political party).

Sports (7F) stated:

LESCO is 'my home away from home'.

Her identification with LESCO as a 'home' showed how passionate she was about being a member of this group. She elaborated:

We have the same vision, same agenda; apart from that we are all politicians; that is why I joined.

Nazo (10F) alluded to the fact that membership in such groups has an impact on one's life and therefore on one's identity construction and she acknowledged the influence, stating:

I wasn't interested much in politics but ... I ended up being a member of LESCO because of this coalition government, [during the time of the interview, Lesotho was being ruled by the first coalition government which was experiencing problems that were causing instability in the country] I saw things were not going on well at all so I thought as a young Mosotho student of NUL I should join this group (10F).

Being a member in this group helped her learn many things that ignited her interest about important issues in the country and she was now following the affairs of her country as a citizen. Membership in LESCO had raised her political awareness and sense of justice and her citizenship identity also improved through what she had learnt through the organisation. Now she felt she could participate in the country's political affairs. These views reflect how people tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories, such as religious affiliation and group membership (Tajfel & Turner 1985 cited in Ashforth & Mael 1989). Nazo's identity perspective reflected the goals of the NYPL (1995:10) which stipulate that membership in an organisation ensures:

Coherent networking of youth organisations among themselves ... even as their individual identity is preserved.

Scalaguzen (8F) from MSG shared similar perspectives to Nazo in articulating that her membership in certain groups had a positive impact on her life:

For me most of the time I love being in groups like this because I learn a lot of things, as people's views differ and we talk about constructive and [learn about] destructive things.

Another point noted is that membership time in such organisations is often limited, but for LCYM there is no fixed term for how long a person can be a member. As Aboz pointed out:

In LCYM, a person can be a member for as long as he or she is pleased [to do so] and is still [willing to be] controlled by the regulations of the group.

As indicated earlier, in some cases membership was linked to attendance to an educational institution and support or interest in the institution-based organisation. For instance:

With the *Mankabelane* Theatre Club a person can be a member for as long as a member is still a student at NUL. (9M)

Dan (9M) from the MSG said:

I am a member of *Mankabelane* Theatre Club [*a student theatre group on NUL campus*] because I want to improve my talent.

His wishes also reflect the goals of the NYPL (1995:13) which has as one of its objectives “promoting the participation of youth in artistic and recreational activities”. That membership, however, provided wider social benefits, as Dan stated further:

We are also able to help each other, whether with money or otherwise.

Princess (3F) from LCYM showed that she loved music:

Though I learnt many things while already a member, I simply became a member because of my love for music.

Tempest (10M), Princess (3F) and Big Mama (4F) shared the same sentiments of a love for music and praise (to God). For example, Tempest declared:

I love praising God and when I am here I praise Him without fear of those next to me, and like I said, I love young people and that is my second reason.

Similarly Big Mama (4F) confessed that:

When I first joined there was sharing of the gospel ... and in those times you would leave this place blessed and motivated ... in between we would be singing choruses and even if you came here under stress, once you enter this place you leave it at the door and forget everything. (4F)

The collective identity that these participants associated with their groups was the creation of a stronger bond amongst them as members. This can be interpreted, in African contexts, as *ubuntu*, which according to Sigger et al. (2010), encourages respect, caring, community sharing and trust among people. According to Big Mama there was an element of trust and caring for one another in their group, as they were able to comfort each other. Through the spirit of collectivism it was noted that they were able to develop interaction which helped them to assist each other when need be.

Membership of these groups also extended access to wider networks, as each person also belonged to other groups and each person had a set of skills and knowledge that they brought into the group membership. These additional assets are explained through the concept of social capital below.

5.3 Social Capital (SC)

Jones (2005) refers to social capital as a network of relationships which provide an understanding of the most immediate, although changing, channels into other forms of capital. Social capital is a networking resource which relies on trust, reciprocity and sharing among community members. According to Bourdieu (1985), it is the totality of the resources owned by a network of people who can come together formally or informally. As indicated previously in chapter 3, there are three types of social capital, namely bonding, bridging and linking.

5.3.1 Bonding social capital

Bonding social capital is viewed by Ferlander (2007) as an essential element in relationships, as it provides support for daily life. Members of LCYM all possessed some qualities that appealed within their group and this was reflected in their interactions in the group, as they

frequently met to prepare for singing Mass choruses. Tempest (10M) and Princess (3F) shared similar reasons for being members in this group:

I was brought [into this group] by [on the basis of] two things, I love praising God and when I am here I praise him without fear of those next to me. (10M)

I truly came here because of music ... I wanted to join this group where people sing and praise God. (3F)

Because of this shared passion they showed for music and praise, they willingly participated in the frequent practice sessions held in preparation for Mass. Similarly, LESCO members had a love for their particular political party, ABC, and its ideology, which resulted in frequent meetings to share their values.

The notion of youth being able to share their problems and challenges while in their respective groups seemed to be common amongst all the groups. Members felt that being in these groups developed the close interaction amongst them. Poulo (10M) further alluded to that fact by stating that:

Yes it has helped me a lot, because if there is anything you need you can ask one of them in the group, you can share your problems and then you are able to solve those problems and it ends there, [it] won't be heard by other people; whatever we do for each other to help ends in that group. (10M)

Letope (10M) also introduced the idea of how the group saw themselves as a collective whole which contributed to helping them work towards the same goals:

So that we can come up with one thing ... it is a kind of *ubuntu* or oneness ... something like what was said by Mr. Nyerere about villagisation ... collectivism ... we bring all people together ...

This understanding of action for a common purpose was encapsulated in Nyerere's (1977) Arusha Declaration when he became President of Tanzania. His aim was to focus the direction of Tanzania's national development by ensuring that human resources focused on rural development and the conceptualisation of self-sufficient village communities working together.

The shared religious values and love of music, however, were the glue or homogeneity that bound the LCYM group together as a social unit, which implied that they relied more on bonding social capital relationships.

The sense of sharing and bonding with others is further illustrated by Pindah (1F) from MSG who attested to the following:

As I grew up I didn't want to be with others but since joining CLC ... it has helped me a lot, because if there is anything you need you can ask one of them in the group, you can always share your problems and it ends there ... (1F)

Her membership and the confidence she had in this group had even helped her change her lonesome identity. This lonesome character was also displayed by Poulo (10M), who confessed:

As for me ... the things I like is ... I love being by myself, do everything by myself/alone ...

But through being part of the Altar Servers group he had been able to open up. He elaborated:

I saw those people have love, want to be like family ... have unity or 'oneness' and that is why I joined them.

This indicates the element of trustworthiness among members in the groups. Tzanakis (2013) cites Putnam (1996), who maintains that social capital requires a certain amount of trust among societies and individuals.

It must be noted that although the MSG group were members of different organisations, they articulated similar feelings about their membership in those separate organisations, such as bonding relationships, a spirit of sharing and unity. It was argued that people were able to 'open up' when they felt they could trust those around them. Pindah (1F), from the MSG, but who was a member of Christian Life Group (CLC), revealed her trust in her peers as she said:

We share our problems as young people, it is called review of life, and we advise and encourage each other on different issues.

She was able to confide in her peers in this group because, as people learnt to trust each other through interacting with them, group membership and cooperation resulted in a ‘virtuous circle’. Trust is an important element of social capital, as Uslaner (2002:2) explains: “trust in other people is based upon a fundamental ethical assumption: that other people share your fundamental values”. This bonding relationship can also be seen as a sign of collectiveness, as it involves love and sharing amongst members.

Membership in LESCO promoted and created awareness of current affairs, thus providing a platform for continuous learning, as Sports (7F) stated:

It also helps me with current affairs, I love them and I always get new things in ... even if I missed something, when I come to LESCO meetings I get so much information and sometimes more in depth. I can now talk about the current situation because of the way LESCO has built me, hence giving me a certain identity. (7F)

UNESCO (2015:39) discusses the four pillars of learning that were originally identified in the Delors Report (1996) on lifelong learning. One of these pillars is “Learning to know – a broad knowledge with the opportunity to work in depth on a small number of subjects”. This type of learning can be seen in the LESCO group, in particular, through their interactions with colleagues and networking on various issues relating to the politics of the country.

Being part of LESCO had helped Sports have a sense of belonging which, in turn, had updated her knowledge on current affairs. Her statement confirmed that bonding social capital was a very important element in young people’s lives, as she was able to learn from her peers in the group. This interaction also had a positive impact on her personal identity because she could now confidently converse with other people about the situation in her country.

5.3.2 Bridging social capital

Bridging social capital allows people to extend beyond their immediate social boundaries and explore relationships with other external groups with similar characteristics (Ferlander 2007;

Thomas 2002). As an example of bridging social capital, in addition to seeing her organisation as being a 'home away from home', Sports (7F) explained that:

Here in Lesotho, and maybe elsewhere, for one to get a job, networks of who you know make most things happen and this also shows the importance of social capital as a collective resource for young people.

She confirmed that LESCO had given her hope, as the rate of employment for those who had graduated was a major problem in Lesotho, but through membership in LESCO,

There are some members who have gotten jobs and it shows that if I am still a member of LESCO I will get one.

The group network was also a bridging social capital learning resource. According to Matsieng (6M), a political studies student, being part of LESCO had helped him:

... to have a taste of a very political environment, meet people, get to be in the very political situations and learn more in a practical way ... here [in this group] we are able to engage in politics ... real politics ... that has really helped me ... (6M)

Dan's (9M) case was exceptional:

Although I am not a student at NUL, I was invited by *Mankabelane* Theatre group members because of my expertise in theatre, where they saw my performance in other activities in other clubs of Maseru.

This is an indication of how the networking value of bridging social capital had been useful for the theatre group, because now they could access Dan's services. LESCO members also seemed to focus on developmental issues and they illustrated how their heterogeneous interests or subject disciplines could complement each other through their common values and interests. In order to effectively participate in developmental issues, Letope (10M) explained what was necessary:

We are from different disciplines, he is from Political Science, I am from Education, he is from Humanities and he will be from Science. All disciplines, we ... so we try to merge them together in

order to use our own disciplines to address [problems] what is happening in this country.

The way in which the members were able to draw on each other's different knowledge sources demonstrates a feature of bridging social capital which, according to Miller (2014), cross-cuts social ties and connects individuals who otherwise might not have anything in common; in this particular case the different disciplines acted as bridging social capital, bringing people together with different things to offer the group.

It is evident from the last four participants (Dan, Princess, Tempest and Big Mama) that membership in these groups promoted and satisfied their talents because they were able to interact more with peers and learn something through their interactions. Group membership therefore contributed to building multiple identities. Settles (2004:487) indicates that holding multiple identities can provide an individual with benefits such as having access to multiple skills. For instance, in the LCYM meetings youth acquired the skill of improved singing.

5.3.3 Linking social capital

Linking social capital helps build relationships with institutions and the individuals who have relative power over them (Hawkins and Maurer 2010). This relationship takes them outside their actual membership and links them with outsiders. It is important to note that LESCO was not just a student's convention but served two purposes – a voice for students at NUL generally and also a voice that influenced youth in their national electoral constituencies to the government because of the knowledge and experience they gathered while on NUL campus. They were able to influence youth in their respective constituencies countrywide. Comrade (1M) explained:

We don't necessarily have to go to the higher authorities ourselves, they [party members] also approach us because here [NUL] we come from [our] different constituencies, so they come to us here as the centre.

Pindah (1F) from the same group indicated that she loves being in company that brings some change and development in her life:

I love being with 'makhooa' (whites) (OlympAfrica Youth Ambassadors Programme (OYAP), American volunteers who were resident in her village then) ... I love being with them because we speak English.

Being able to interact with members of OYAP, who were more fluent than she was in English, helped her improve her English Language while she was completing high school. Pitikoe (2016) associates linking social capital with social relationships which connect individuals to powerful structures within external institutions. These OYAP volunteers had an advantage of fluency in the English language, therefore they acted as powerful language learning resources for Basotho.

This is another important networking value of linking social capital which, as stipulated by Hawkins and Maurer (2010) above, deals with relationships at institutional level. Members used their collective talents and resources (bonding and bridging) within the group to interact with people in the government (making external links) to further their cause. Comrade's statement illustrated that LESCO had an identifiable status as a contact point for students who were able to provide help back in their respective constituencies. An example of how LESCO catered for students' welfare was cited by Nazo (10F):

As first year students, especially those of us from the Maseru based Institute of Extra Mural Studies [IEMS]), they had problems being incorporated into the Students' Union (SU) at the main Roma campus, NUL. We were always left out regarding sponsorship issues, but through LESCO we were able to get assistance from the National Manpower Development Secretariat (NMDS) for their sponsorship.

LESCO thus became a resource for linking social capital with NMDS. One LESCO member even highlighted the value of the organisation in building social capital amongst them. Hawkins and Maurer (2010) describe linking social capital as an important extension of bridging social capital, which deals with establishing relationships at institutional level. President (2M) clarified this idea:

Most of the things that have helped us [as members of LESCO] we were able to build social capital; the kind of capital we have is the one that will enable us to access the resources and good people and relevant ministries at the right time... (2M)

Therefore, through LESCO they were able to liaise with people in the government. Similarly, President (2M) explained that through LESCO:

I have been enlightened and I now refer to myself as a 'development practitioner'.

He continued:

Using LESCO and people I met through LESCO and the interaction I have had ... I have been able to unpack some of the disciplines that we have been taught On that note I would say LESCO for me has played an important part in my profession. (2M)

These are values he acquired through membership in LESCO. This participant also portrayed himself as a vocal person and an active leader in organising activities on campus and while they visited the communities. He indicated that he had been active in resuscitating the group, which had seemed to be dormant when he arrived at NUL. His character enabled him to play an important part:

We reintroduced the organisation into the institution, so that we can have that platform to air our views so that if we have anything that concerns students at this university, we can use LESCO as a link to the management and to the government. (2M)

These qualities had commanded respect from his colleagues. It can be assumed that these are qualities he developed as a member of LESCO, along with the social capital relationships that he developed with his peers.

Dan (9M) also benefited from being a member of *Mankabelane* Theatre Club, in terms of group relations, which helped him to build confidence:

I am a member of this group because I want to improve my talent and I am continuing as a member because I see a lot of improvement in my talent ... (9M)

According to Hawkins and Maurer (2010), exchange of information and resources is a form of bridging and linking social capital. Dan was now being seen as a 'role model' in his

performing arts career, as he was invited to help the group by sharing his skills and talent and was able to network with other theatre groups in the country. Similarly, from bridging social capital resources, Dan had been able to interact and establish wider linking social capital networks with external groups which had heterogeneous characteristics, thus enabling access to information and resources for network members and getting more audience and exposure through his talent. According to Ferlander (2007) and Morrice (2007), this form of social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead' in one's career.

These statements about membership in the respective groups have illustrated that the participants not only manoeuvred around their different identities depending on their different contexts. They also highlighted a high degree of confidentiality and trust among members.

In order to assist youth in working towards development of their goals, the Government of Lesotho designed a policy for youth in 1995 that intended to address challenges faced by youth in the country. Although this policy was written for an earlier generation, it is discussed below in relation to the interview responses, since it is the country's only official guideline for youth development outside the formal school system.

5.4 National Youth Policy of Lesotho (NYPL)

One of the objectives of this study is to investigate how the findings will influence civic education programmes for Lesotho youth and the proposed revisions for the National Youth Policy of Lesotho (NYPL). The views of the youth on this issue were analysed together with the response from the questionnaire which was completed by the Youth Development Officer in the ministry. The intention behind her inclusion in the study was to elicit her views, on behalf of the ministry, on the NYPL and its implementation.

The Youth Development Officer (YDO) from the Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation stated that:

The policy highlights the challenges faced by young people in the country along with areas of intervention. (YDO)

She further indicated that programmes had been established to address crucial areas through training and empowerment programmes. With regard to responsibilities of the government towards youth development, she indicated that these are:

Promotion of gender equality and excellence in sport, youth participation in socio-economic, political development of the country. (YDO)

This statement gives the impression that the government is interested in the contribution and participation of youth in development activities from the different spheres. The policy also promotes excellence of youth in sports. Through sports youth can become members of collective groups or teams where they can learn and influence each other on positive behaviours. One youth respondent, who was a soccer player (Wire 7M) from the MSG, claimed that although the policy motivated their participation in sports locally and internationally the Minister of Sports did not seem sufficiently supportive:

During international matches ministers from other countries are there throughout the games, but the Minister of Lesotho will only come Friday when match starts and see us for a short time and leaves, so Lesotho needs representation of younger people. (7M)

He felt that the presence of the minister would motivate them, thereby promoting their national identity while they represent the country in the hope of bringing back victory. The NYPL (1995:10) emphasises that:

Youth organisations play an important role in the development of young people to meet the demands made by society for their independence, responsibility, achieving satisfactory relationships with their families and other people, preparing for marriage and raising a family, and for developing a basic philosophy of life.

Therefore, the formation of youth organisations in Lesotho has the support of the government. Another responsibility of the government, according to this policy, is promotion of youth participation in political development. An organisation in this study such as LESCO reflects this goal. However, during the focus group discussions LESCO members stated that they were not aware of the NYPL document (until I showed them a copy). They suggested that the policy was not being implemented, as they were not aware of any initiatives from the

ministry. Ralichelete (3M) of LESCO appreciated its existence, but suggested that it was not a document that had been ratified by the youth themselves:

Yes, it exists but there is no implementation ... maybe youth were not part of its formulation ... I don't know ... then they cannot follow up its implementation.

Worth noting here, is the fact that this policy is so old that it may not have been a 'live' document in this century, so this generation had no clear awareness of its content and therefore could not follow up its implementation.

The YDO indicated that there were government plans to update this youth policy to incorporate all the needs of youth. She suggested that the policy:

Should include the recent challenges faced by young people in the country, should be comprehensive enough and clearly articulate strategies, measures and instruments and initiatives to be employed in addressing issues of youth.

The YDO concluded that the main concerns that the policy should address are the high unemployment among Basotho youth, with a need to give attention to graduates, because graduate unemployment is increasing drastically. However, the YDO contended that the existing NYPL was:

Highly accessible, as it is found in District Administrators' offices of youth in every district.

But President (2M) from LESCO argued that:

[availability] ... it is only known by certain people.

It is evident, therefore, that much of the youth do not know of its existence. This indicates lack of accessibility of the policy to the major stakeholders (youth). In view of the current plans to update the policy, there are indications that government may have overlooked the engagement of these main stakeholders, based on the general responses from the three groups.

The YDO claimed that the ministry liaises with other stakeholders to design youth development programmes. She indicated that:

Stakeholders are always engaged in the planning, implementation and evaluation of our youth programmes.

Yet, youth from these three groups claimed they were not even aware of any existing consultations. Youth in these groups also raised a concern that although the policy was intended for them, unfortunately they were not aware of it so they could not relate to it or its contents. This lack of knowledge about it also resulted in no reference to it in relation to discussion of their citizenship rights and responsibilities. Despite the discrepancies of perceptions about its accessibility it has been noted that the NYPL acknowledges development of youth organisations in the country and that it encourages young people to:

Engage in positive and constructive association with their peers in order to arrive at ... a set of values that may be used to establish a meaningful self-identity ... (1995:10)

The three case studies discussed in this chapter reflect two organisations in their entirety and the third case study identified participants who were members of several different youth organisations, thus illustrating that Lesotho does indeed have various youth organisations who are responding to the aspirations that are articulated in the NYPL. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that those organisations have contributed meaningfully in several ways to the members' collective and personal identities.

5.5 Implications for civic education

There was a sense that the youth were reflective and thoughtful about who they were and their roles within the Lesotho community. Although they adapted to their different environments, there were strong indications that they had a sense of pride in themselves and their ability to contribute to their country as a collective as well as individuals. In this respect they reflected the African tradition of connectedness and social connectedness to their roots and families. Even though there was evidence of family tensions between tradition and schooling, the youth on the whole seemed to feel they could manage these tensions in the spirit of respect for their elders and family values. Membership of youth organizations had an

overwhelmingly positive effect on the participants' self esteem and development of social capital. The LESCO members in particular showed signs of political awareness that could be utilised positively for citizenship awareness raising in others, which could be incorporated in civic education programmes. The other groups illustrated basic principles of self-worth and caring for others, which could also be developed in terms of civic behaviour.

There were, however, contradictions that existed between internal positive identities and external negative identities of the youth, especially with reference to national identity in relation to their surrounding neighbour, South Africa. These identity tensions have implications for how the youth groups might be a resource for civic education.

5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed diverse types of identity and the contribution of youth group membership to developing youth identities. There were positive manifestations of these identities such as being proud of who they were, being self-assured, caring and confident. They indicated that, with these identities, they made a difference inside their country. As Basotho they realised that some outstanding values such as respect and discipline were compared positively in relation to youth from South Africa. Despite all the positive aspects, they faced challenges about their external images, which they felt they sometimes collude in. These tensions have implications for both the youth policy and civic education programmes in Lesotho, indicating that perhaps a country specific programme would be needed to address Lesotho's particular context.

CHAPTER 6: CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

6 Introduction

Since identity is a core feature of citizenship (Delanty 2000), Chapter 5 discussed how the research participants understood their identities in relation to themselves, the values they had been brought up with, the roles they played in different contexts and also their collective identities as members of youth organisations. It was evident that their membership of different organisations played a strong role in helping the young people define who they were and how they responded to their environment. It was also evident that identity changes according to time, place and context and that there were some intergenerational tensions concerning the identity roles that they were expected to play. Participants also revealed different emotions about their identities as Basotho and how they interact with or are perceived by others, especially South Africans. There was strong resentment about the way South Africans perceive Basotho. But there were indications that they were still proud of their Basotho identities in spite of the perceived attitudes towards them.

This chapter builds on the previous chapter's focus on identities. The focus now shifts to how youth manifested and understood their different citizenship identities. This chapter therefore addresses the citizenship rights and responsibilities focus of research questions 1, 2 and 3, which are: How do young adults see themselves in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities in contemporary Lesotho context; where and how do they learn these rights and responsibilities; and how do they manifest their identities, rights and responsibilities through their youth group membership?

Since the study hopes to inform the proposed revised youth policy, this chapter also includes views about civic education and citizenship responsibilities from the Youth Development Officer from the MGYSR. The main themes in this chapter are citizenship, rights and responsibilities. The citizenship section is subdivided into themes of citizenship as: belonging, a legal status, a responsibility, and its expression as communitarianism, cosmopolitanism, or civic republicanism.

The chapter also explores how the associated concepts of citizenship rights and responsibilities have been understood, how the youth were taught about them, interpretations

of their parents' understanding of rights, who should educate youth about rights and lastly the relationship between rights and democracy.

Under the citizenship rights section, the following subheadings are discussed: teaching and learning about rights, understanding of rights, common parental understanding of rights, lack of education and awareness about rights, and who should educate youth about rights. The citizenship responsibilities section covers: responsibilities displayed by youth, and tensions between cultural and school responsibilities.

6.1 Citizenship

6.1.2 Understanding citizenship as belonging

The notion of citizenship as belonging had geographical and symbolic connotations. In Sesotho there are two separate words that can be applied to Basotho. These are '*moahi*' and '*mofalli*' which mean, respectively, a natural resident and one who comes from another place within the country to be a new resident. According to the participants' interpretation, these two words could be interpreted to mean a citizen depending on one's location. Citizenship therefore was understood in terms of the specific physical setting that one belongs to. Konyana (6M), for instance, of the LCYM group understood citizen as one who is born in a country:

I am a citizen ... I am a resident here and it can only be because
I am born here.

He also felt that being 'born here' (Lesotho) made him belong to this country, and he would therefore be referred to as '*moahi*'. Bluetooth (1F) from LCYM further explained that when a person moves to a new residence within the country, they can only be referred to as a citizen in the new location if there is proper transfer documentation to prove that you may belong there. In this case one would be '*mofalli*':

Even when one moves from one village to another, the chief has to
write a transfer letter to inform the other chief that you no longer
belong in his village.

However, this assumption about national belonging is not necessarily applicable on a global scale. For instance, although citizenship is associated with belonging within a certain boundary, it is different for Palestinian youth who were forced to stay in Lebanon as stateless refugees. This was as a result of portioning of Palestine into two independent states in the 1940s (Fincham 2012).

Citizenship was also expressed as a physical and symbolic act where, very soon after birth, a person is located within certain family boundaries. Culturally, an umbilical cord is normally embedded into a special spot in the soil of one's home (*thotobolo*) and this resembles the origin of a person. Tempest (10M) of LCYM, for example, indicated that he was answering the question of citizenship purely from a Mosotho or African perspective. He said:

I take a citizen of Lesotho to be one who is born here and where my umbilical cord is and that of my parents and even his '*thotobolo*' (a waste/ash disposal place) is somewhere in this country.

Citizenship is not only strictly bound to physical boundaries, but there are those distinctive cultural notions that reflect birth places such as *matebeleng* (an area for people of the *matebele* clan only). In such instances, people are more attached to their clan, but still maintain their national citizenship. There is also a distinctive sense of belonging for people who are attached to certain parts of the country due to their animal possessions. Pitikoe (2012) indicates that in Lesotho and Botswana these are people who own large herds of animals which have to be kept in the cattle posts. Such people cannot move to the lowlands. Their sense of belonging is more in the highlands over the lowlands, over and above their national identity.

The other participants battled to explain the concept of a citizen and some were associating it only with the ability to speak Sesotho. In the MSG group the notion of citizen/citizenship was not well understood, but Scalaguzen (8F) attempted to say a citizen is someone who speaks a language of a country that he or she is in:

Mosotho is someone who speaks Sesotho. (8F)

This statement concurs with the findings of Ngozwana's (2014) recent study in which Basotho defined citizenship according to geographical boundaries where people within a specific boundary share the same language. However, Scalaguzen's statement was refuted by Wire (7M) from the same group:

But even in South Africa there are people who still know [and speak] Sesotho very much. For example those in Free State, they know it a lot, [but they are South Africans].

In other instances citizenship is associated with belonging to a certain country and being able to relate to certain national or cultural customs, as in the example given by Tempest (10M) in the above statement. From these views, one who belongs to a certain country with the relevant documents or through naturalisation is regarded as a citizen but is also influenced by practices within a boundary. The next section deals with the legality of citizenship.

6.1.3 Understanding citizenship as a legal status

Citizenship was defined as a legal status that a person has, thereby giving the person freedom to do certain things and belong to a certain state. As Bagnall (2010) postulates, while the legal status also gives an individual a sense of belonging, it nevertheless binds such a citizen to abide by laws that govern a country.

Under this subheading, participants were asked for their understanding of what it meant to be a citizen of Lesotho and what it meant to be one in practice. Their definitions of citizenship varied according to their educational background. For instance, those at university (LESCO participants) gave more detailed interpretations that included the legality and naturalisation of a person. When asked who a citizen was, a member of LESCO defined a citizen as one who is born or naturalised into a certain country and one who has legitimate documents that entitle one to reside in a country. Matsieng (6M) elaborated thus:

Maybe I have to first start by explaining how one becomes a citizen, basically by birth or naturalisation.

He further explained that:

One may be born here and with time may decide to go out and have citizenship somewhere. That [person] may not necessarily

be a citizen here [anymore] ... so a citizen can be anybody [who may acquire legal documents].

Matsieng further confirmed citizenship as a legal status that a person has. He elaborated that a person can be:

A citizen basically by birth or naturalisation, by acquisition of the right documents.

Another member from LESCO, President (2M), defined a citizen as follows:

I would say everyone that is legitimate and falls within that scope of law as citizen, is a citizen of that country.

As mentioned above, responses from other groups differed. Dan (9M), for instance, from the MSG, described a citizen as:

Someone who is allowed to do certain things [in a country] ...

Bluetooth (1F), from LCYM, defined being a citizen with a legal connotation in the following way:

I am a Mosotho because I oblige by the rules and I respect the culture and laws given by governors.

A definition of citizen from Dan (M9) was:

A person who has 'things' [legal documents to prove that one is Mosotho] allowed in Lesotho. One cannot reach certain things because he does not belong here [if he does not have]... things like passport.

For Dan (9M), lack of these legal documents such as birth certificate, identity card and passport does prevent a person from accessing some essential services. It can be assumed he is referring to services such as sponsorship from the national sponsor.

His statement concurs with that of Mapsy (3F), who thought citizens are:

People who were born in Lesotho and have birth certificates.

During the LCYM discussions, it was also felt that if a person had stayed in Lesotho for some lengthy period, then they were entitled to be called a citizen. Tempest (10M) argued this point by stating belief that:

There are some laws which state that one can be a citizen only if you have stayed here for five years and have so many assets.

But this does not change the status of foreigners who stay here for longer periods, but for investment and other purposes only. Jerry supported this view, as he indicated that:

There are Chinese people who are here to invest with authorised documents to stay here ... but still maintain their Chinese citizenship.

Princess (3F) explained it thus:

My understanding is that to be a citizen of Lesotho is ... even if you were not born here and your family reside here, and change everything you will be taken as such, everything done here things like tax... even if you were born or work in South Africa we consider you as a citizen because your family is here.

Therefore, it would not be correct to judge citizenship only by the period one has stayed in Lesotho. After some deliberations, Jerry (2M) argued that staying in Lesotho for a long time does not necessarily determine one's citizenship status:

I think staying in Lesotho for a long time here does not necessarily determine you are a citizen, because people of Lesotho are working in South Africa and stay there a lot and come here to visit ... but still being Lesotho citizens.

This is because due to globalisation the concept of citizenship may not be restricted to one country, because people can be free to move and associate in any country as long as they abide by the rules of such countries. Delanty (2000) and Isin and Turner (2007) agree that citizenship is a concept that goes beyond the nation state's boundaries, meaning that cosmopolitan citizens do not belong to one particular nation but are global citizens.

Ngozwana (2014:165) confirms that "citizenship, by belonging through legal terms, is commonly determined by the state or country whose laws are enforced for citizens to abide by". The above quotes also bring in the element of national identity which is reflected

through legal documents, as was mentioned by Matsieng in Chapter 5. In a similar fashion, a person ought to have documentation that shows that he or she is changing from one country to another. In Lesotho, transfer documents also apply even for internal movement within the country, when a headman will provide documentation to confirm citizenship of his subject to another village, as Bluetooth indicated earlier.

Heaters (1990:336) stipulates that a citizen is “a person furnished with knowledge of public affairs, instilled with attitudes of civic virtue and equipped with skills to participate in the public arena”. The element of furnishing a person with knowledge of public affairs, as stated by Heater, still has to be investigated in the context of Lesotho, as there are no adequate civic education programmes. A citizen was therefore generally understood as a person who is born in a country and has legal documents from the resident chief to confirm that fact.

6.2 Citizenship responsibilities

A responsibility is the opportunity or ability that a person has to act independently and take decisions without any authorisation (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 11th ed. 2004). Responsibility can also be referred to as a duty or an obligation that a person has. Waghid (2014) interprets being responsible to imply that an individual possesses the capacity to ‘respond’ or to do something about a situation or the ‘ability’ or power to change that situation. Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) suggest that responsibility is an attitude that a person learns according to the environment they live in. This is an indication that a person becomes aware of his or her own responsibility in context. It was noted therefore that youth in the Lesotho groups were conscious of their responsibilities according to their respective youth environments. For example, the LCYM members took on the responsibility to sing and ensure that there was continuity and order during the Holy Mass, without being told what to do.

A child learns of responsibilities through social example, which is through observing their elders. It can be expected that, in view of the ages of these young people in the study, there were some responsibilities that they were expected to carry out which they had learnt as they were growing up. Youth in the various groups in this study seemed to understand that they had a responsibility towards their families and their communities. They were able to display how they acted out their social responsibilities, though this was not easy for them to explain

verbally. The photovoice sessions provided them with an opportunity to illustrate various activities that portrayed their citizenship responsibilities to their communities.

Ngozwana (2014) argues that there is little, or unequal and unfair dissemination of information about democracy, citizenship rights and responsibilities provided to the citizens of Lesotho. But Stettersten and Ray (2010) suggest higher education institutions, as they touch a large number of youth, could do more to support families and communities to provide the needed support to the youth on such matters.

The next section discusses those responsibilities as understood and practiced by the participants in this study.

6.2.1 Understanding citizenship as a responsibility

According to Jarret (1995), as cited by Zeldin et al. (2007:82), giving responsibilities to children at an early age “encourages mastery, enhances self-esteem, and facilitates family cohesion”. Matsieng’s (6M) views portray such elements, as he stated that being a citizen gave him pride and commitment. He confessed that:

I feel like being a citizen means a lot ... I am a part of the whole system and I feel like I matter in everything, I have the ability to make change and I love my country and I believe that things can change any time if I work harder for my country.

He had the confidence that as a Mosotho, he belonged to the whole country and its laws and had a responsibility to effect change in Lesotho, such that he was not even persuaded by his relatives living in the RSA to move and join them. He had a strong belief that even in Lesotho he could still achieve many things:

I feel that this is the right place, anything that I can achieve in RSA I can achieve right here. (6M)

This strong feeling about citizenship identity and responsibility is attested to by his colleague President (2M):

I feel to be a citizen of this country that ... I feel I have a debt to pay to this country.

That could be interpreted as showing a sense of social responsibility that goes with the status of citizenship. For example, Smith et al. (2005) conducted a study in the UK which investigated young people's understanding about citizenship. It revealed that youth in that study described themselves in relation to their wider society, as they cared and had feelings about their roles in that society.

There were three main ways in which the Lesotho youth in this study demonstrated citizenship responsibility. The most common way could be illustrated as communitarianism.

6.2.2 Understanding citizenship as communitarianism

Communitarian citizenship, as viewed by (Delanty 2000), reflects a notion of community as something that stands for unity and as a cultural resource that ties people together. An individual is expected to be part of the community and also form part of a group of people who are committed to sharing and exchanging whatever is regarded as a common good amongst other members of the same community (Ngozwana 2014). This is considered to be a moral good that individuals in a community manifest towards each other and whereby they exercise an obligation towards one another. Waghid claims that this behaviour is especially important in the African context (Waghid 2014).

According to Nyamonjh (2002), African people are expected to invest in their home village (and country) as the best insurance policy and ultimate sign of success. The assumption is to do well for their communities, so that when they ultimately go back they will be proud that they have given back to their people. He posits that this guarantees that such people will survive even after losing everything while in the city, as the village people will acknowledge and remember their contribution towards the development of their community. This implies that when young people leave their home villages it is important that they continue to invest in those communities through activities that maintain their home links, so that if or when they rejoin their communities they will be accepted because they will be acknowledged for having done 'good deeds'. Ngozwana (2014) indicates that according to communitarian thinking, citizens need a society with a degree of common or shared goals and a sense of collective

common good. During the discussions participants identified commitments that reflected a sense of citizenship responsibility defined with respect to providing a helping hand in their community's development.

During a visit to Mafeteng in the south of the country, as seen in picture below, LESCO members worked together to assist the people who were hoeing in the fields. The picture



Figure 2: LESCO members in Mafeteng working with farmers

clearly shows the poor cultivation of the expected produce from the field. According to Preece and Mosweunyane (2004), in the Botswana context young people are ready to assume responsibility earlier than their parents. This sentiment was also evident from this LESCO group who, as young adults, were already interested in helping communities in their fields. These actions are an indication that the youth group members had retained a communitarian sense of responsibility towards their rural societies, which reflects cultural expectations in the African tradition as articulated by Nyamnjoh (2002). The LESCO members stated that they wanted to promote self reliance within their communities. Topino (6F) explained thus:

We encouraged the farmers we interacted with, to become more self reliant. As Basotho create your own jobs so that you can be assisted to reach your dreams.

The LESCO group discouraged the community members from depending solely on handouts from government, encouraging them to rather seek solutions to their own identified needs. These people were working in their fields and the youth encouraged them to continue working there so that they would get better produce. Ralichelete (3M) explained their act thus:

As they do [did] this they were creating better lives for themselves so that in future they don't starve.

Another example of communitarian values was demonstrated by the LCYM group when they visited a bereaved family in one of the remote villages of the Roma Valley. In Figure 2 they are seen preparing meals for people visiting the bereaved family. In a photovoice session, Big mama (4F) stated that:

One of us had lost her mother so we had gone there to help and when we arrived there, we found only the elderly and we felt we had to prepare some food for them before we left.

A colleague in the same group, Nkau, explained that they also helped with cutting wood that would be used during the funeral.



Figure 3: LCYM members at a family funeral of one of their members

Waghid (2014) stipulates that such communal sharing with one's community is determined by the individual's sense of responsibility or *ubuntu* towards the group and the group's responsibility towards the individual. For example, the elderly, destitute and helpless are expected to be prime recipients of *ubuntu*. Caring for the elderly is therefore an important aspect that the youth considered to be a feature of good citizenship. President (2M) from LESCO, during the FGD, elaborated on this:

We had a function at the Netherlands Hall where we [were] advocating for the rights of the old people ... if you look at countries like Britain and the U.S. there are social security

facilities, free transport ... but in our country we have nothing ... so that means we as young people we owe these people, we felt we have to pay ... [give back to community]. (2M)

There was evidence of similar acts of responsibility in the form of communitarianism among the other groups. Some MSG members made it their responsibility to provide clothing for the vulnerable children and others in the Roma Valley. The Figure 4 photograph was taken by MSG showing the displayed clothes that were to be distributed to the vulnerable children. Coleman (1988) acknowledges that communities play an important role in yielding benefits to individuals and in this case the vulnerable children benefitted from clothes they received.



Figure 4: Clothes to be donated by MSG members in Roma

Mapsy (3F) explained this exercise thus:

We also wanted to show other people [in the church] that if you have something that you don't like anymore there are some people who are needy, so that they could see how others could benefit from such things.

This exercise was carried out with the assistance of the village committees, who were requested to provide lists of orphaned and vulnerable children in the communities. An announcement was made in church for the children to come to the church on a stipulated date. The nature of these activities reflects similar examples and attitudes to those articulated by Ngozwana (2014), Arthur (2000), Preece and Mosweunyane, (2004), Delanty (2003) and Bagnall (2010). They all share Ngozwana's (2014:62) argument that "a citizen earns a right of citizenship through their participation in society, by attending to duties and

responsibilities”. They maintain their position as citizens through their communitarian behaviour towards fellow community members.

Since they were dealing with small children, the MSG group members applied approaches that would make the children feel relaxed and not be shy about the whole process of donations. As clothes were being sorted some members tried to bond with the children through games, as can be seen in Figure 5.



Figure 5: Recipients playing with MSG members before donation of clothes

Referring to the games in Figure 5, Pindah (1F) said:

We thought we needed to play with them to create some friendship and bond with them before we did the distribution.

Mapsya (3F) further emphasised that:

We wanted to make them feel part of us [so that] we belong to each other.

The youth therefore demonstrated love, care and responsibility towards them. As the games continued, children were also made aware of the responsibility of other people who donated the clothes to them and this was intended to teach them that giving is a good thing. Wire (7M) confirmed this thus:

In this circle we [also] taught them about where the clothes were coming from so that they don't just accept but that they understand where they came from.

Through the games they were also taught about collectiveness and unity. Pindah (1F) told them that:

In Christian Life Community (CLC) 'we are a family'.

The timing of this donation of clothes coincided with the start of winter, as she said:

We thought there were some who couldn't come to church due to lack of warm clothes.

During the photovoice discussion in the MSG group they narrated how they had jointly planned to make a donation of clothes to the vulnerable children. They felt the exercise had succeeded because they joined efforts to collect clothes from their communities for the donation. This exercise was identified as having made a great impact on the people who received the clothes. Pindah (1F) and Mapsy (3F) expressed their satisfaction in seeing the children (Figure 5) and everyone who received clothes being very happy:

Here our beloved friends were already fitting themselves ... they were so happy ... they were even proudly showing each other what they have received. (1F)



Figure 6: Excited children fitting and showing off the clothes they received

Mapsy continued:

It made us so happy too when we saw them having arrived being so shy, but now leaving us feeling so happy and excited about what they received. We felt we had achieved a great deal in boosting their morale. (3F)

The gesture of donating clothes meant that they had created a bond with the recipients. There was a sense of ‘oneness’ that was experienced by both donors and recipients. The idea of collectivism as a feature of these organisations is further noted by Pindah (1F), who referred to the CLC group as a family, saying:

Yes it has helped me a lot; because if there is anything you need you can ask one of them in the group.

Blacky (4M) felt it was important to create awareness about the activities of their group, saying:

Another thing that made us do this is to let our parents know about our club and this made them [parents] realize that we take our responsibilities seriously.

Preece and Mosweunyane (2004:83) acknowledge that even though youth may approach their responsibilities from a non-traditional perspective, it “does not mean they have no sense of responsibility”. The above story is one example of the youth participants’ commitment as a group to their society, where they demonstrated compassion for vulnerable children. Similar examples in the Botswana study by Preece and Mosweunyane suggested that: “there is an indication ... that the qualities of *botho* and patriotism are secure with the young generation” (Ibid.:84).

Part of these acts of communitarian responsibility is still embedded in cultural tradition. For instance, although they were young adults, they still retained a sense of wanting to attract parental approval, a feature of Basotho identity as young citizens – the connectedness to their roots is never far away. Blacky (4M) indicated that through this club parental influence is still strong:

Parents want to see their children in clubs that positively benefit other children and other clubs ... parents wouldn't advise their children to join if it does not benefit the community or even the child does not benefit anything from such.

Membership in such groups does not only help members, but the community at large. As mentioned by Blacky, parents and other community members become aware of these groups as they carry out these important activities. These findings are supported by Diller (2001), who indicates that civic engagement is referred to as experiencing a sense of connection, interrelatedness and, naturally, a commitment towards an individual's greater community.

This group was therefore able to prove to the church leaders, the members and community at large that they still carried out their responsibilities both as Christians and as community members. They had been able to perform their communitarian responsibilities as active citizens and this was gratefully acknowledged by the recipients, as can be seen in the photos.

Another example of commitment to citizenship responsibility was shown by the LESCO group while they were in Tsikoane, Leribe, where they joined villagers who were working on a road construction. This group also felt they were 'giving back' to the community and adhering to the African philosophy of co-existence, which Cobbah (1987:320) sums up as: "I am because we are, and because we are therefore I am." A similar example was seen whereby four MSG group members worked with casual labourers who were working towards reviving an irrigation dam.



Figure 7: Some of the MSG members taking part in dam reconstruction in Roma

Blacky (M) indicated that they felt it was their responsibility to have some of their members from the CLC group to join these workers since the dam benefits the whole community for irrigation purposes.

We know that we benefit by getting vegetables at low prices in our area so 're ile ra lumellana hore re ke re ba fee letsoho kannete empa che rona re sa tlo pataloo' (we agreed to 'give them a hand

The Bill of Responsibilities of Youth of RSA (2008) cautions the youth that every right goes with a responsibility. The Bill stipulates that youth must accept and declare that they are aware that their rights come with responsibilities.

Responsible citizenship is closely associated with *ubuntu*. An example of this practice highlights how elderly people benefitted from a vegetable garden which was started for them by the LESCO members. Waghid (2014:61) states that *ubuntu* as caring does not only involve empathy, but that "one actually responds to the person by evoking his or her potentialities in order that he or she does something about altering and modifying his or her condition of vulnerability". This can be interpreted to mean that the responsible citizen not only provides for, but builds capacity in others to develop their own self sufficiency.

During this exercise which was supported by the Ministry of Agriculture, LESCO members planted vegetables for elderly people for their consumption. They visited the elderly in the area of Bela-Bela in an effort to start a vegetable garden for them with the intention that this would make a contribution to the ongoing welfare of fellow citizens. As an illustration of Waghid's concern for capacity building, in the process they involved other youth in the area to help the elderly to continue looking after the plants, as President indicated below:

We had gone there to plant vegetables for the elderly and they further encouraged other youth to volunteer. We called youth in the area and requested them to continue with [the] task of caring for what we had already started and that they should do so voluntarily.

The above examples of advocating for rights of the elderly and planting vegetables for them are a sign of communitarian citizenship with a motivation to contribute to change. In this

instance, the youth who volunteered expected the lives of the elderly to be altered and modified as they would now benefit from the produce either by eating or selling. There were many other examples of volunteering, all of which demonstrated that communitarian citizenship remained a core element of these young adults' sense of responsibility towards their communities and vulnerable groups.

The International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC 2011:4) states: "There is no higher calling than when a person gives his or her own knowledge, skills, time and resources to someone in need of help and comfort. This is the fundamental principle of volunteerism". This organisation considers volunteering as the heart of community building, while Hall and Coffey (2007) see volunteering and community development as the 'bread-and-butter' of youth work. Volunteerism is also seen by UNESCO (IFRC 2011) as a most powerful means of engaging people in development issues. In this way, youth exercise their social responsibility to their community.

For the LCYM members, there were certain characteristics of being a good citizen that were interpreted as being active and responsible. Tempest (10M) of the LCYM confirmed that volunteering was connected to his religious affiliations:

We do voluntary work as a group by visiting and cleaning for elderly which is an apostolic service according to our religious movement.

He added, that as a student at the Lesotho College of Education (LCE) (a teacher training college in the country):

I am a volunteer; I help children and youth with their school work. (10M)

Volunteering was seen as something worthwhile and which gave the youth a sense of satisfaction. Big mama in the LCYM group, for instance, stated:

Rea thaba le rona ha le ile ra etsa mesebetsi ea bo-apostola (we become happy when we have done our apostolic activities [as LCYM members]).

The IFRC (2011) contention that volunteering gives contentment to those who have engaged in it is therefore shown to be valid. Volunteering not only pleases the volunteer, but UNESCO highlights the significant benefits that accrue as a result of youth volunteering activities. The acts of volunteering denote the love and care for people in communities and creates a bond between the youth and the community members.

According to Ngozwana (2014), voluntarism, or volunteerism, reflects a premeditated decision to take action on a particular issue. Volunteering also reflects active citizenship of young people which, according to the ICP and Pravah Report (2009:4), “refers to the ability of (young) people to be engaged in social action in every walk of life”. Voluntarism is also seen as a form of participatory citizenship, according to Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) in the context of Botswana youth, who understand their citizen responsibility through exercising their choice to do voluntary work or self-help work to promote self-sufficiency. In his 2015 message to the youth, the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon is quoted as stating that “Volunteerism is an ideal way to improve society – and it is open to virtually everyone” (UN 2015a).

Hughes and Wilson (2004) indicate that through ‘youth theatre’ young people engage in theatre related activities that seem to make an impact on their communities. This is something that the youth in this study also referred to. For example, as a form of educational entertainment, Dan (9M) from the MSG group said that his theatre club hosted plays to the small children at local primary schools or in the communities, providing both a fun and educative role for the audience:

We entertain small children through drama because we know they get clothes and food [from other groups] so we just visit them to do things differently and have fun with them. Most of our messages are on HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse because we feel they are most appropriate to the youth.

Hughes and Wilson (2004:65) observe that besides issues relevant to their own lives, through theatre youth are able to “...explore a wide range of subject matter and confront difficult and sensitive controversial issues”. It was evident that there were youth organisations in Lesotho taking initiatives to do this.

It was also evident that the youth themselves understood that communitarian values reflected a collective effort of members of a certain community to help each other. Matsieng (6M) postulated:

Our country is more communalistic ... with communalism ... we share [food] ... if somebody doesn't have something, but somebody [else] has we will be able to share, we are able to eat morning, day and evening.

This approach to responsible citizenship is similar to the findings by Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) in Botswana where youth were involved in community projects such as building waiting rooms for people waiting for buses. These findings showed that in spite of the intergenerational concerns articulated in Ngozwana's (2014) study, youth who were members of specific organisations did indeed contribute to their community's needs as volunteers, thus following the communitarian tradition of their culture. However, what this study has not been able to ascertain is the extent to which youth as a population belong to organisations and whether they would contribute in the same way if they were not members. Nevertheless, from the snowball sampling of participants in the MSG focus group, there were indications that youth do belong to one organisation or another and that indeed the strong religious affiliations in Roma meant that youth were likely to at least belong to a church organisation. Although these findings cannot be generalised to the rest of Lesotho, it is likely that religion plays a strong part in the lives of most youth in view of the country's missionary past.

Voluntary activities indeed create a bond between youth and their communities and Avoseh (2001:480) indicates that such communal acts are traditional. Avoseh cites a key example of this tradition which was espoused by Tanzania's first democratically elected President Julius Nyerere, who coined the concept of *Ujamma* and African Socialism where "the individual makes conscious efforts to be aware of the existence and interests of others and therefore she or he 'lives and lets others live'" (Ibid:480). The youth here demonstrated one of the traditional African values of communal responsibility which emphasises commitment to the interests of the corporate existence of the community and this puts humanity at the centre of nation building (Ibid:480).

Communitarianism, however, is only one form of citizenship. The study also sought out what other forms of contribution the youth chose to make to the wider political or social needs of their society to address injustices or inequalities. LESCO members to a greater extent than the other two groups showed a combination of communitarianism and civic republicanism. In other words, they employed their own, Afrocentric notion of civic republicanism, which combined communitarian values of bonding and building links with communities with a political aim of educating them about their rights. Put in another way, civic republicanism takes on a communitarian role because the notion of collectiveness is the way that African communities engage with each other. This combined role has implications for how civic education should be taught and enables youth to see how to merge the traditional value system with a more proactive, educative stand. There is potential therefore for the African concept of ubuntu to be used to shape young adults' understanding of civic republicanism as a contribution to national development. Waghid (2014) for instance, highlights that 'ubuntu' is a process of becoming and has to be learned..

6.2.3 Understanding citizenship as civic republicanism

Youth have been described as showing a lack of civic engagement (Putnam 2000; Sherrod 2003) because they feel left out of the mainstream and are not involved in decisions that affect them. Yet Sherrod (2003) contends that findings from focus groups of his study in the United States on attitudes race, religion and family revealed that youth do have a commitment to political issues. He also indicates that even youth with inadequate political knowledge do develop political attitudes although they are less likely to vote. The notion of civic republicanism puts emphasis on the role of civil society as an organised group of people that interacts with state and society or community (Ngozwana 2014; ICP & Pravah 2009; Parlow 2008). In this notion, citizenship participation is often more political, but it still includes collective action towards common goals. To allow full citizen participation, Sherrod (2003) argues, the key element is identification with the nation state so that the country becomes a social reference point for the development of political attitudes among citizens. This kind of participation positions people within the civic republicanism notion of citizenship. Although there were few examples of this kind of citizenship across the three youth groups, the LESCO group provided one example of how they saw themselves as having a political sensitisation role towards their communities. They joined community

members working on road construction with a view to educating them about their civic rights as electors. Comrade (1M) of LESCO related:

We were telling them that if people of Tsikoane came and voted for the right government it would have prevented their problems. (1M)



Figure 8: LESCO members on road construction in Tsikoane Leribe

It can be deduced from Comrade's (1M) statement that some Basotho village people were still not conscious about their rights and what they can demand from the government. He believed that these people were not aware about their political right to vote for someone who would bring about infrastructural development in the communities. He explained that LESCO informed the community that:

Because we are now here, let us change and give our votes to someone who will later help us ... and stop giving them to someone ... [thinking] that everything is for himself. (Comrade 1M)

During the discussions villagers indicated that they did not have roads because they had not previously voted for the current Member of Parliament (MP), so he was punishing them for not voting for him as he was in a different party. Topino (6F) confirmed this:

In other villages there is no electricity, no water and this is because they have not voted for the present MP and they were

not aware that bringing development to their community is his/her responsibility through the relevant ministry.

The LESCO group's mission was to lobby for political party representation of reliable people who would be accountable to their communities, as the current representatives were uncooperative when they knew that people had not voted for them. This in itself is an abuse of democracy the by politicians.

Comrade (1M) reiterated:

But because we are now here let us change and give someone your votes who cares. Stop giving them to someone who had made himself a mortal god in that area, knowing that everything is for himself.

The concern was that they were visiting them because they understood the villagers' vulnerability in all these ailing situations and the youth felt responsible:

It is our responsibility to ensure that networking is alright because roads are part of it so that we link the villages so that their production can reach the market in time. (1M)

Although the LESCO group's activities contained an element of communitarianism when interacting as volunteers with the Tsikoane community helping villagers on a road construction project, they also used the activity to engage in conversations with the villagers as they worked. Their political motive was to sensitize people to elect a government that would understand their infrastructural needs. At the same time, LESCO members said that they had emphasised to the community the necessity for the villagers to take the initiative to start the road work themselves to show that they were prepared to help themselves and not just ask for the aid. As part of their civic republican approach, Comrade (1M) of LESCO indicated that as they worked with the people:

We were telling them that, if [as] people of Tsikoane [they] came and voted for the right government it would have prevented their problems.

Therefore, the roles of the LESCO group were to conscientize and influence the participation of Tsikoane community to ensure that in the next election they would participate in electing a

government that would listen to their concerns. As stated by Ngozwana (2014:65), “civic republicanism is a citizenship concept that is linked to direct, participatory democracy”, adding that it allows for full development and voluntary action of citizens in their civil society. Peterson (2011:15) suggests that “the key defining and organising [purpose] for [civic] republicans today is that of freedom”. This implies that civic republicanism is a growing trend but is potentially threatening to traditional communitarian societies, as it allows for an element of confrontation towards the government by the people. Nevertheless, the ideology of the civic republican approach to citizenship is beneficial when social ills are not being addressed by government.

Figure 9 shows the ABC youth at a political rally held by the leader of the party and as LESCO members and an affiliate to the party, they attended. Thulos (F) explained that it is at such rallies that they are reminded about their party slogan ‘*Sera sa motho ke tlala*’ (hunger is a person’s enemy) ABC 2012:5). She indicated that this rally was held at Ha Lekhobanyane in Mazonod:

It is true that we enjoy ourselves through party songs, but as young people in the party, our leader also motivated us that we should be change agents in our communities by ensuring that there is development amongst us as young people.



Figure 9: ABC youth at a political rally

A civic republican intervention could develop the required level of critical thinking that the village communities require to make government address their needs. LESCO members expressed their concern with corruption and felt fully able to identify politicians who were

not corrupt, such as their former prime minister who they felt had attempted to fight corruption. There is the potential for developing a civic republican citizenship by building on people's knowledge and frustration about their government and this could be a platform from which to encourage civic responsibility in the form of political awareness raising.

Peterson (2011) contends that civic republicans are concerned specifically with civic education, as they are interested in how citizens learn to become active and engaged members of their communities. The LESCO group had endeavoured to raise critical awareness among the Tsikoane community members of their right to vote and choose the leadership that would take heed of their concerns, unlike what is presently happening where politicians coerce voters to elect them, as stated by Poulo of the MSG. According to Shale (2015:5), "election campaigns should be about communicating ideas to citizens while at the same time creating space for them to communicate their preferences and influence policymakers and implementation". Prior to the 2015 elections, LESCO members had visited several communities. Their main intention in these visits was to campaign and sensitize community members on a number of civic issues, especially their political right to choose a government that would provide for their needs. As Galston (2003:264) notes in this regard, "civic knowledge promotes political participation.

All other things being equal, the more knowledge people have, the more likely they are to participate in civic and political affairs". The youth group's objective was to succeed in influencing the people to hold government accountable. In other instances they visited Mafeteng, Tsikoane, in Leribe and Semonkong in Maseru district. In Mafeteng, LESCO members gave their rationale:

Our main reason for this campaign was to bring political transformation to our culture as Basotho, ... and we were telling them that as Basotho children we are what we are because of our people, so that is why we are going to engage to produce whatever that can be good for them as a community.
(Comrade 1M)

During these visits LESCO members indicated they were carrying out their political responsibilities to their people by educating them about their rights and this was also seen as a way of 'giving back' to the communities or performing their citizen duty to care for their elders. Monghali (4M) shared his view:

I think ... we as youth, [we feel] it is our responsibility as students from university to assist wherever possible ... like we know in our communities where we come from, we have elderly people whom we benefit from their taxes through the National Manpower Development Secretariat (NMDS) ... so we were showing [them] that we, despite being university students, we have a responsibility to assist in our communities.

At tertiary level in Lesotho, citizens get a bursary from government to pursue different programmes and they are, for instance, at a university because of these government subsidies from people's taxes and savings of their families. Therefore they coexist with the communities even when they are not physically present. Youth of today in this study indicated that they cared very deeply about their nation and their people, but many did not feel they had a voice to articulate the more civic republican concerns. Instead, they played volunteer and communitarian roles because these activities were acceptable to their elders. Some, however, also understood that they are not restricted to their own country, but could also migrate to other regions to be citizens. The next section elaborates on their understanding of cosmopolitanism.

6.2.4 Understanding citizenship as cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitan citizens can also be referred to as global citizens or citizens of the world. Smith and Thomas (2015) contend that even the farthest corners of the world do become influenced by what goes on globally. The example of Lesotho's island status within the RSA means that Basotho cannot fail to interact regionally. Yet, as an enclave within another country, the nation is distanced from other national border relations and there are indications (Preece et al. 2009) that many parts of Lesotho are marginalised from the global world. Nevertheless, in the context of wider global relations, it was important to see to what extent the youth in this study saw themselves as part of global citizenship movements.

Though the concept of citizenship as an active role within the wider world was not clearly understood by all participants in this study, the findings revealed that some youth articulated values that reflected the concept of cosmopolitanism. For example, Comrade (1M) from

LESCO explained how he would regularly attempt to use different media sources to keep up to date with news around the world:

First thing I do is to turn on my radio and listen [to] what is happening around the world and take my phone to get to the social networks, I also read newspapers.

UNESCO (2015) indicates that globally more than 90% of young people between 18 and 24 are on some form of social media. Comrade's motivation to know what is going on around the world helped him to develop greater awareness and understanding of other cultures. Delanty (2000) and Isin and Turner (2007) contend that cosmopolitan citizens do not belong to one particular nation, as is indicated in Article 3 of the African Youth Charter which reads: "Every young person has the right to leave any country, including his or her own, and return to his or her own country" (AUC 2006:16). This gives them the freedom of movement to visit and interact with those in other countries. Therefore, cosmopolitan citizenship is an opportunity to connect through globalization networks and other means which go beyond the nation state's boundaries. According to President (2M) from LESCO group, consciousness about what is happening globally can have a positive or negative impact on the country of Lesotho, as he argued:

As a nation we have the world [which] is now [a global] village so if we can know what is happening outside your own state ... they may come and help you in your state so you have to be aware ... we have to be alert to the good or bad that is happening around the world. (2M)

There were few examples of cosmopolitanism from the other two groups. Nevertheless, there were indications that the youth were aware of global interaction with other youth around the world. Even though there was some awareness that Lesotho is part of a globalised world which influences cultural identity and behaviour, Mahafza (2014), in his study on the extent to which Jordanian university students understand citizenship, acknowledges that people from different cultures interact and influence each other differently and it is likely that some cultures dominate others. For example, Wire (7M) from MSG said:

Even in soccer matches where we represent Lesotho, they will tell you that, you can do this and that with other countries, but not with those from South Africa.

It can be deduced from this statement, that South Africa dominates other countries, hence the ‘other countries’, in this case, felt that South Africa was superior and therefore had to be treated differently. Yet Wire (M) still felt that interaction with other soccer players from the different countries had influenced his sense of competitiveness:

I belong to the Under 20 Lesotho National Team and I can already see my way up [into the National Squad].

Young people participate in various activities nationally and regionally. The LCYM as a church group holds choral music competitions at different levels in the country. As mentioned by Abos, the leader and conductor of the group the picture below is a demonstration of one of their successes after winning a cup in the competitions held. He elaborated that:

As a group we join choral music competitions that are held in and outside the country. Here we had won place where we competed with groups



Figure 10: LCYM group presenting their trophy in church [photo by permission of LCYM]

Another vital aspect explained by Mahafza (2014) is that the world has become a small globe due to technology. The electronic multimedia revolution has brought sudden rapid changes to life in general and citizens interact and communicate regardless of their location in different places. His comment that people from different cultures interact and influence each other differently indicates a growing trend that youth engage globally through different types of media and social networks to become part of what is going on. The exposure to the world could have an influence on the youth in Lesotho who may in turn adopt the civic republican

ideology where they actively put into practice their sense of political responsibility within their communities. The above examples of interest in world affairs and engaging internationally are tentative indicators of this transition from civic republicanism to cosmopolitan citizenship.

Faour and Mausher (2011:17) indicate that “young people today need to be both national and global citizens in order to expand their capacity to compete in an independent world and a globalised economy”. They further explain that through citizenship education programmes with specific learning goals and appropriate delivery methods this can be achieved. In an effort to lessen the tensions which have been identified by youth between SA and Lesotho as this affects their (Basotho) identity Faour and Mausher (2011) suggest that multiple identities that vary from country to country should be addressed as they all have an importance in an individual’s life.

This section has dealt with examples of how three types of citizenship responsibilities were understood by youth. Endresen (2009) stipulates that citizenship is inclusive of a set of rights which relate to the view of people as citizens who play a role in making and changing law and participating in civil society. Understandings of those rights is discussed in the next section.

6.3 Citizenship rights

Asante (1969) contended that the concept of human rights is by no means alien to the indigenous African legal process and that African legal systems have always had an articulate justice system. All human beings, including young people, are accorded with human rights and, as such, are entitled to internationally agreed standards and principles, both as groups and as individuals (UNDP 2011). Bagnall (2010) also sees citizenship rights and duties as being common to all citizens. Elechi (2004) postulates, however, that human rights are a cultural and value laden concept which a person is entitled to for no special reason other than being human. In Lesotho, previous research by Thakaso (2010) has indicated that the populace tend to see rights and responsibilities as intertwined and this was noted from the definitions of these two concepts by the groups in this study. UNICEF.CA (2009: pages unnumbered), in its civic education on-line programme in Canada on the Teaching and Learning Activity 5, Rights and Responsibilities, states that: “the right to opportunities to

share opinions corresponds to a responsibility to express opinions in ways that do not harm another's rights". Ngozwana (2014), in her recent study of understanding of citizenship and democracy among more mature adults in Lesotho, highlighted that it was difficult to talk about one without mentioning the other, since rights and responsibilities were discussed in an integrated fashion in her focus groups. Comrade (1M) of LESCO group made a clear distinction between these terms. He argued that during their visit to Mafeteng they were exercising their political responsibility and educating the community:

The main reason for that campaign was to bring a political transformation to our culture as Basotho.

As they actively participated in this society, they also told the people that:

Time is gone where we see a politician talking to us from far away in their big cars ... this is the time where we pass information that these people lack.

He felt that it was LESCO's responsibility to conscientize communities about their political rights because the politicians only communicated with the people only before elections so that they lured the public into electing them. Members in all these three groups also stated that they have the social right to be accepted as a citizen in Lesotho and to have an identity as members of a political party to have a sense of belonging to that political community.

6.3.1 Understanding of rights

The understanding of rights is also seen as being interpreted differently by different generations. It was evident that due to cultural tradition and beliefs parents were not comfortable talking about rights to their children. The youth responses, supported by previous studies (Ngozwana 2014), indicate that parents felt that the international position on 'rights' as a concept meant that children were given too much freedom; at the same time, children felt that their parents were denying them their rights. These observations suggest the youth awareness of a generational issue regarding understanding this concept and they were keen to bridge that gap between what their parents know and what a new generation of youth know. They were also keen to address these differences in a less confrontational way with their own children. Young parents wished to bring up their children differently in educating them about

their rights and this in itself is an indication of changing attitudes towards their understanding of rights.

Kay Tee (5F) from MSG argued the point that because parents sometimes did not take responsibility for their children, they denied them the right of support and protection. The Constitution of Lesotho under Section 32(a) provides for “protection of children and young persons without any discrimination for reasons of parentage or other conditions”. This statement entitles them to the protection (and support) from parents. However, Kay Tee (5F) attested to the opposite :

It is sometimes the parent’s fault, because a parent disowns a child and [the] child ends up stealing ... [if] a parent does not support you as a child; but you need parents’ support.

Matsieng (6M) from LESCO associated these discrepancies in understanding and practice about rights with lack of decentralised services and access to media coverage. The MSG, during their meeting, seemed to be confused regarding interpretations of rights and responsibilities. This confusion may have been a result of exposure to different material, schooling and an individual’s background. These different exposures are believed to have an impact on the understanding of some of these concepts. Dan (9M) of this group defined a right as someone’s responsibility towards him, such as a parent’s right to take him to school:

A right is someone’s responsibility on [towards] me.

This responsibility is strengthened in other countries because it is a legal requirement to go to school, so that it becomes a parental responsibility to pay for the child’s education. Mapsy (3F) perceived a right as follows:

A right is a responsibility due to me ... it is someone’s responsibility ... after you have been given a right then you have a responsibility over it. Your parent has a responsibility to take you to school; you have a right and responsibility to study.
(3F)

Princess (3F) suggested that since Basotho parents were not well informed about this foreign concept of rights, all they did was bring up their own children according to their family cultural norms rather than according to any universal standards. She explained it in this way:

Individual parents want to bring up their children in their own individual way, I always see Basotho bring up their children according to how they want their lives to be not how another family wants. That is why they will not tabulate the rights. Our parents want to bring us up the way they want according to their family.

She emphasised that this attitude to child development seemed to be dependent on how parents wanted their children's lives to be rather than what other families or wider opinions may say about the subject. Her views contradict the more traditional African value system which is articulated by Nyamnjoh (2002:112) as follows: "It is traditionally African to see and treat the individual as a child of the community ... abilities and powers are best acknowledged and provided for when harnessed by relationships with others", in the community. Nyamnjoh cites a Cameroonian proverb to illustrate this point: "a child is one person's only in the womb" (Ibid.:111). He describes how traditional African societies would take a collective village approach to bringing up a child, where family decisions were made communally but did not allow children to exercise their rights.

Views from all three groups indicated that youth were not being allowed to use their rights. According to Princess (3F), they had not been given a chance to exercise their rights and responsibilities:

Ha rea tloetsoa ho nka boikarabello ba rona (we have not been made used to taking our responsibilities) ... as most of the time we are referred to as children. If you want to do something they will always say go away, you are still a child you don't know anything and that discourages us.

However, it was earlier argued by the youth that at times this knowledge about rights tended to 'run to their heads'. This admission suggests that perhaps the youth were not given sufficient opportunity to learn how to be responsible and articulate their rights, and also to make mistakes in safe settings so that they learnt to make calculated judgements about their behaviour, rights and the consequences of certain actions. This would then lead them to understand how to fulfil their rights responsibly. Princess made a further point:

They [parents] will not tabulate your rights [but] one will say I will buy you a dress.

This implies that parents know it is the child's right to receive clothes from them, but it is not necessarily a shared decision. A lack of understanding about rights between parents and children in Lesotho can be deduced from this statement and this is further alluded to by Dan from MSG:

I do not think we understand each other about rights. Like now I am a President of *Mankabelane* in the campus theatre group and am expected to ensure that group ... but I do not know my rights to ensure that it grows.

There was a general concern that both parents and their children did not adequately understand the rights issue, stated directly by Dan (9M):

I think we still do not understand each other about rights; you are given a right to be a certain person or do a certain thing.

The Sesotho culture posits that 'a child will always be a child to the parents', and Tempest (10M) commented on this:

So they don't want or trust us to take charge.

Therefore, it is not easy for youth in Lesotho to even claim their rights from their parents. The common understanding is that rights are a generational and not a cultural phenomenon, because the older generation does not recognise the concept of rights in the same way as the younger. Since the inception of these rights, there is even a common saying in the Sesotho culture that modern children are '*bana ba litokelo*' (children of rights), referring to them as no longer controllable by their elders and a sign that the Basotho culture is being ignored. Looking at the cultural and generational statement that 'a child belongs to the parents', it was noted that the new generation seemed to have a different view and was bringing in a new discourse about children – they were children of rights who by implication did not belong to the parents in the same way as their parents did to theirs. This was illustrated by President from LESCO:

As you grow older you will be forced to abide by the norms and values of the family and society, but as you grow up you are trying to advance and become more rational ...

This statement implies that as youth mature, they become independent and move away from parents in many respects and because of this cultural difference it has not been easy for children in Lesotho to learn about their rights first hand from their parents. They have learnt about them in other settings. These statements also illustrate that there are different levels of understanding about rights; hence parents 'could not teach their children what they did not know'. It follows, therefore, that youth in the study felt that learning about one's rights seemed to have occurred incidentally because they learnt about them mostly from outside the family setting. There was a sense that parents could not teach children about something they themselves did not know or understand. The concept of rights was mostly learnt at school or at tertiary institutions through interaction with peers and from their youth organisations.

Different understanding about rights also applied across genders. Nazo from LESCO argued her position:

As girls in [our] families we are treated differently from boys, often with us girls they are stricter and want us to be protected. I don't know why, but it's the way we are facing many challenges we were brought up in the family, the girl is always cautioned about many things. (10F)

A family is the first teaching institution for children. Learning about rights at an early age could have an effect on how they perceive themselves as they develop. It would therefore be important to reflect on how this lack of understanding can influence people's sense of identity as they grow older.

There were also generational and cultural tensions of understanding about rights which extended to the way males were often denied access to school in favour of herding responsibilities. Even though Lesotho is a signatory to the Education for All (EFA) declaration (UNESCO 2000) agreement which binds signatories to ensure that all young people and adults, irrespective of gender, are given the opportunity to gain knowledge, values, attitudes and skills to be able to work effectively in their communities, Konyana (6M) argued that Basotho culture denied some groups, especially males, those opportunities. He contended that:

People staying in the remotest areas, boys are bred to attend to the flock and [most of the time] nothing else, whether he likes it or not and they do not know that they have a right to education. Girls are the only ones given the advantage of going to school. (6M)

This is distinctive to Lesotho culture which bucks the global trend of gender discrepancies in school attendance. In another example, Yousri and Mamdouh (2013) highlight that in Egypt it is girls who are denied schooling because they are expected to get married. Matsieng (6M) from LESCO acknowledged that:

There is a clash between human rights and social and cultural norms.

He went on to say:

Yes there are human rights but there are also our values in society, they exist concurrently ... but there is that friction, but they go hand in hand ... because of this modernization.

He cited one constitutional case in Lesotho where culture clashed with human rights. Senate Masupha was denied her Principal Chieftainship status due to cultural attitudes to women and the Laws of Lerotholi which give males an advantage over females. The Constitution of Lesotho does indicate under Section 19 that there is “Right to equality before the law and equal protection of the law” despite gender. The Court of Appeal of Lesotho upheld the decision to dismiss her suit to inherit her father’s title and estate as Principal Chief of Teyateyaneng (GOL HRP 2014). This example of a clash between human rights and culture, highlights that according to Sesotho culture only males can inherit their father’s legacy. This tension between rights and culture was also noted by Sports (7F) from the same group. She articulated that she believed people in Lesotho do talk about rights, but without understanding:

But I think there is a huge confusion between rights and the norms in our society.

These tensions are accredited to the generation gap where parents are reported to have emotionally invested in their relationships with their adult children without an understanding

of the new generation ideals (Birditt et al. 2009). Ralichelete (7M) implied that the level of understanding of rights between themselves as the youth and parents differed, because as far as culture was concerned ‘children have no rights’, but with democracy ‘children have rights’. Ralichelete (7M) believed that due to the geographical structure of Lesotho, there were still a large number of people who remained disadvantaged by their lack of knowledge about their rights:

The problem still exists because those rights are known only here in Maseru [in the lowlands], those people in the highlands do not know about their rights, they cannot read, there is no conscientization about law, ...there are no people who go there to tell them about the new laws or amendments to the laws ...
(7F)

Cattle posts ‘*metebo*’ are located high up in the mountains (Pitikoe 2016) and the Lesotho road infrastructure does not make them easily accessible, so the community receives fewer educational opportunities. There was a sense in these discussions, that the youth still had a limited understanding of rights in relation to what is articulated in Article 42 of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1948), which reads: “You have the right to know your rights! Adults should know about these rights and help you learn about them, too.”

Rights have also been linked to responsibility in terms of seeing them as that which is someone’s responsibility towards an individual. Mopsy confirmed that youth understanding of a right and a responsibility is unclear. The phenomenon of rights has been interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, it is a status of freedom, but on the other, when viewed from the family context, it is an act of a parent being responsible towards their child. She also acknowledged that at times the youth did not use the opportunity to exercise those rights that they are given. She gave the example of their service in church, when the Priest did not necessarily have to invite them to read the gospel in church during the Holy Mass:

It is not for him to stand in front of us and say young people stand up, come and read the gospel during the Holy Mass, but it is the young person’s responsibility to feel that I have to go and do this ... we are given rights but we don’t use or acknowledge them. (1F)

Dan (9M) suggested that rights seemed to be associated with freedom to do, rather than freedom from danger, and the latter interpretation was perhaps how his parents understood rights. For instance, he believed that at different age levels while growing up one would expect the rights of the child to be negated in deference to those of the parent:

At 9 to 11 years your rights are with your parent because a child can be naughty by nature.

Dan added that the parent would rightfully take decisions for the child, but:

At 18 [years] a person [is assumed to have] right and that is where they get all responsibilities over those rights.

What is implicated here is that from 18 years upwards, the young individual is expected to take charge of his or her actions, has a certain identity and now has freedom of association. In pursuance of this same theme he suggested that decision-making, as a right, can be hindered by lack of awareness of how to link that with responsibilities and he argued that:

It is us who make wrong decisions about our responsibilities. That is why I say we still do not understand the difference between rights and responsibilities. We really do not understand where the difference is between rights and responsibilities.

This lack of awareness was evident in a number of discussions. The implication of these thoughts is that the notion of rights needs further exploration at an educational level and should also be related to responsibilities. The next section discusses how the youth felt they had learnt about their rights and what were the educational implications of this.

6.3.2 Teaching and learning about citizenship rights and responsibilities

It is imperative that youth are aware about their rights and responsibilities as citizens for them to effectively acknowledge their importance. The need to educate youth about their rights cannot be underestimated, hence the Human Rights Resource Centre (HRRC) (1999) states that educating children about human rights helps to ensure human dignity for all. The HRRC indicates that they teach children about human dignity in the form of rights and responsibilities and that is regarded as an active step towards curbing social ills, such as crime and violence. The Human Rights Resource Centre is a result of a curriculum project in

Minnesota, named the Circle for the Child Project, in an effort to promote the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child through education and political action.

Despite its importance, according to Bosl and Diescho (2009), human rights as a concept arrived relatively late in Africa. UNICEF.CA (2009:1) suggests that “as global citizens children and young people must learn to exercise their rights responsibly as part of their duties of citizenship”. Bosl and Diescho’s (2009) statement substantiates the view that in Lesotho teaching about the concept of ‘rights’ to citizens is a rare occurrence as it is considered a foreign concept and therefore not talked about in the family or communities. As a new phenomenon in the Lesotho culture the notion of human rights has also not been well received, especially by the adult population, because the international definition appears to contradict cultural assumptions about rights, particularly for young people who are still expected to defer to their parents or older guardians. In the Lesotho context human rights have been associated with ‘too much freedom’ for the young generation (Ngozwana 2014).

The imported concepts of rights, as articulated in the United Nations Convention on Human Rights (UNCHR) (1948), are said to challenge the traditional Basotho culture. The older generation in particular, as illustrated by Ngozwana (2014), resists the acceptability of these entitlements, especially for women and children. The general lack of education on this topic by institutions – school or through the media – about rights and their relationship to citizenship and responsibilities is likely to be another contributing factor to this negativity. Tempest (10) in the LCYM confirmed that the human rights issue was a foreign phenomenon in Lesotho:

It never existed in Basotho’s minds, never existed but only comes up now that the world is a global village.

This situation in the Lesotho context has implications for how children are brought up and how what they learn in their families interfaces with public messages about rights. Thulos (4F) of LESCO also acknowledged that:

The human rights phenomenon clashes with the Sesotho culture in that away from home we exercise those rights, but once we go home it becomes different.

This view is supported by Ngozwana (2014), as she asserts that Basotho children are seen to have changed behaviour regarding obedience and this, she argues, is said to have coincided with the introduction of democracy and the children's assertion that they have rights which they have learnt about in school. But there was a general concern by the young people, that most of the time their parents and other adults made generalizing statements about them. Princess (3F) further complained that:

If one [person] has done something bad [in the past] then they just say no, no, we don't want young people here because they do this and that

She argued that young people felt rejected by adults because in the family most of the time they were not given a chance to air their views:

In the family setting you are not given chance as it will be mostly said go away and don't do these things this way, here you are still a child ... then you feel rejected. (3F)

Parents and other adults always emphasise a young person's status as 'still a child' and this was seen by Princess as suppressing the confidence of the young person. Modernity therefore was seen and interpreted as rejecting culture, ignoring the fact that culture itself is dynamic. Tempest (10M) blamed the suppression of rights on cultural attitudes:

It is traditional cultural attitudes that restrict us as young adults to have opportunities to perform some of our rights and responsibilities.

According to Ngozwana (2014), in Lesotho children today are seen by their elders to behave differently from what is expected as a result of imported information about democracy which brought with it a new concept of rights. In order to change the perception of lack of knowledge about these concepts, Comrade from LESCO suggested that:

Media which is very powerful can be used to reach places like Semonkong (in the highlands).

He felt that the media influence could have a positive effect on people in those remote areas, and then there would be a better understanding of the different issues which are mostly

understood by those who have wider access to different media. The rural inhabitants would be expected then to be influential in educating their peers and others about the citizenship rights and responsibilities.

In terms of growing up as a Mosotho boy, for example, Matsieng (6M) indicated that:

Culture suppresses having our rights, as we have the traditional or cultural identity which does not condone the issue of rights.

Preece and Mosweunyane (2004:99) contend that “the youth of today are aware of their rights and wish to see those rights implemented, rather than support oppression in the name of culture”. Tempest (10M) postulated that:

Our parents grew up not being taught about them [rights], they brought us up without talking about them, so for us they are only coming up now and maybe we will also be able to pass them on/educate our children about them.

It was therefore seen to be of utmost importance that youth in Lesotho know about their rights so that they do not become oppressed and disadvantaged. One respondent from the LCYM group, Jerry (2M), attached this intergenerational tension to lack of knowledge about rights and culture and suggested that:

If both parties [parents and children] know about rights there is no way that we can have oppression, because if they know them they will do what is right.

Konyana (6M) illustrated his position by stating that:

I think knowing about your rights, is very important because ... knowing about your rights reduces oppression.

Indeed, the NYPL (1995:14) identifies the need to protect the fundamental human rights of the youth by “encouraging free and safe participation of all youth irrespective of gender, in the conduct of public affairs and protection of law in order to motivate them and make them feel independent”.

As mentioned earlier, 'rights' is a foreign concept in Lesotho which has not been positively received; therefore it has not been easy to learn about it in any formalised or uniform way. Youth in Lesotho seemed to haphazardly learn about their rights from school and different organisations that they joined. Tempest (10M) indicated that:

If you are a Mosotho there is nowhere parents sit you down and educate you about your rights.

He felt he had learnt about his rights from his peers, though what he learnt was not about his right to be protected; instead he learnt from his peers that he had a personal obligation to protect himself. He learnt through traditional herding activities which Basotho boys are expected to undertake. He narrated that:

At my home I was never taught about my rights ... I grew up in a community whereby I was made to fight for myself as a shepherd, even if they were teaching me about my rights as a boy, to 'fight for my head', there was [always] a boss [bully] in the fields so it was in a very awkward way [to learn]. (10M)

In Sesotho culture herding is considered a traditional rite of passage for males and this does in some ways affect the learning of those herders. This implies that there are contradictions that Basotho children are faced with regarding what they learn. Princess (3F) concurred with Tempest, stating:

But it is not common that we are educated about our rights, here in Lesotho.

That being the case, she continued:

And that is why we misinterpret them.

Pitikoe (2016), for example cites an example of one herder in Lesotho who had to assume his father's provider role in the family, while at the same time compromising his basic right of access to education.

The concept of 'misinterpreting' rights was also raised by Ngozwana (2014) when she interviewed adults in Maseru and rural Qacha's Nek about their understanding of citizenship

and democracy. There was a sense, then, that learning opportunities in relation to citizenship rights were inconsistently available. It seemed that informal learning was the most common source of learning about rights. Princess (3F) from LCYM believed that the media contributed to their knowledge about rights, indicating that:

I think for you to learn about rights you read a memorandum ... but through media [maybe] like I know most Basotho like to listen to MoAfrika FM (a local radio station in the country).

She highlighted that she only learnt about human rights from outside the family:

At tertiary level, there was a programme on human rights and that is where I learnt about them. (3F)

This lack of knowledge prompted her to take the initiative to learn more about the concept through the internet. This was an interesting and common perception from young people, that they were never taught about their rights, especially from the home, but did so outside the family.

However, Princess obtained her learning more formally through her university course. She continued:

No, even in our schools we are not taught about our rights ... even myself I just happened to learn about my rights at tertiary because I was doing a law course which involved learning about people's rights; that is when I first learnt about them ... (3F)

However, the issue of whether people had been informed about their rights or not was not straightforward. For instance, Pindah (1F) from MSG suggested that she had learnt something about rights, even if they were not formally spelt out:

I can say I have been given rights, but after that we kick them and pretend it is other people who have not given them to us, even if we are not told here are your rights, we are given a chance but we do not use them ... they are given to us but we do not care about them. (1F)

This was an indication that young people do learn about their rights from an early stage, but Jerry (2M) in LCYM, believed that:

We acquire them informally through observation, you see your parents very serious doing things for you, parents ensuring that you go to school, you are not told it is your right, you eat, you get clothes etc...

Pindah and Jerry's statements suggest that young adults do recognise that they have entitlements. For example, they saw their parents providing them with food, clothing and education without necessarily clearly stating that it was their right. Pindah further indicated that as young people they manipulate the lack of public clarity over rights and fail to take responsibility to maximise those rights for positive purposes.

Those who were students in the higher education system did get the opportunity to learn more formally, like Princess, who was a university law student. The implication, however, of this comment from Jerry (2M) is that children are not encouraged to see the connection between their parents' acts of care and their rights as a child, or that such actions are the outcome of a parent's responsibility or obligation to the child. As a result, the relationship between rights and responsibilities was not automatically recognised:

We do not link or associate these rights with our responsibilities.

The act of caring for the welfare of children was not articulated as recognition of a child's rights.

People in Ngozwana's study (2014) indicated that information about rights was not taught in context to make it fit well with culture, tradition, values and norms of Basotho. According to participants in her study, the notion of rights confused a lot of people because the concept is perceived as a development intervention from the West.

The findings of this study suggest that youth were aware that the concept of rights, which is associated with democracy, was not well introduced. Dan (9M) highlighted, however, that it was the parents' responsibility to inform themselves about the new discourse so that they ensured that children's rights are adhered to. He stated:

But this tension should not deny us our right; rather our parents should take responsibility over their children's rights when they are still at a younger age.

Members from these groups shared the same sentiments that there was lack of education or awareness on rights both to the adult and youth population. President (2M) alluded to that fact by stating that:

For me I think as a nation we are not empowered enough to realise our rights' and due to that lack of education on rights ... in this country rights are not respected, that means a lot of people are not even aware of their rights.

It is for this reason that Tempest (10M) stated:

We did not learn about [our] rights the right way.

The data from photovoice sessions also confirmed the lack of knowledge about rights. The youth felt that this lack of education or knowledge resulted in exploitation and oppression from those in power. Young (2004) indicates that lack of knowledge about rights renders community members susceptible to any form of injustice and he refers to Marx's theory of socialism where the powerless are dominated by those in power. Young (2004) further suggests that exploitation perpetuates keeping those in power richer and the poor poorer as in capitalist societies, while oppression dehumanises people and in both instances people are denied their fundamental human rights. Lack of knowledge about rights also exposes people to poor services and ill-treatment.

This lack of knowledge about rights also has an impact on what people can expect from government. Prior to elections politicians normally promise jobs and many other things, but Nwafor (2012) indicates that there is an alarming rate of unemployment amongst youth while political leaders engage members of their own parties leaving behind those opposing parties. Poulo was not the only participant in this study to articulate these concerns. President (2M) of LESCO talked of corruption and inefficiency in government sectors:

The administration in the government sectors is fully corrupt, just look at the passport office, someone employed and is being paid to give you your passport will say you have to add another R500 just to have a copy of your passport and you will do that because you are desperate.

He suggested that in some cases:

A minister is given M100 million, at the end of the financial year he returns M70 million and says this is what is left but did not implement anything ... and that is bad administration.

Perceptions of poor governance have implications for how the youth interpret their own rights and responsibilities as citizens. From their perspective they had few role models, which reinforced their frustrations that as a generation these very same elders were not recognising their ideas or aspirations to govern more effectively. There was a belief that with honest, credible and transparent governance this situation could be turned round. One group member, Matsieng, indicated that:

There are a lot of minerals that could benefit the country and through good governance those could upgrade the country's economy. (Matsieng 6M)

Konyana, in the same group as Matsieng was also worried about Lesotho's situation and he felt that poor leadership could have an impact on the well-being of civilians. He narrated that:

The current situation [in Lesotho] will be worse as the top leaders are not transparent, 'we are as we are' [poor and helpless] and we do not know about our rights. We cannot even be creative because we have no support from our government.

The data from the photovoice sessions also confirmed the lack of knowledge about rights. The participants felt that this lack of education or knowledge resulted in exploitation and oppression from those in power. The LESCO members took it upon themselves to redress this gap in understanding by trying to educate residents at community level since, according to Nyerere (1977:43), "leaders find it much easier to tell the people than to listen to the people". The intervention by LESCO was based on the assumption that Community members were not informed of their democratic rights to lobby government through its Ministry of Local Government to construct roads, which in itself was a citizen right that their government had a responsibility to provide.

During elections citizens are often misled by politicians who persuade people to vote for them but afterwards they never return to hear the grievances and needs of their constituents.

Crossourd and Dunne (2015:56), in the context of Senegal, argue that the general populace were marginalised and “they were aware that having courted their votes during the election, politicians now seemed to have disappeared”.

The NYPL policy (1995:10) highlighted that there was insufficient education concerning individual rights: “neither civics nor democracy is taught at a stage early enough to prepare them in making rightful meaningful decisions in future”. Although the NYPL policy was offered as “a guiding instrument defining a course of action by young people and adults to bring about changes in the society in the area of democracy and civil duties” (Ibid:10), the responses from the young adults in these youth groups suggests that these limitations have not been fully addressed, some twenty years later. This suggests that the policy did not articulate clearly enough who, or how the youth, should be educated.

Matsieng (6M) suggested that education on patriotism could be a beneficial strategy to develop a stronger commitment towards the country’s development. In this way, they would be sensitised about their responsibilities towards their communities.

What can be done is ... I don’t know ... maybe us as young people; maybe it could be education that could be instilled in our nation for us to love our country.

However, as has been indicated in earlier studies the lack of formal education has meant that such care givers do not necessarily have sufficient understanding of the complexity of rights within contemporary society. Furthermore, the Constitution of Lesotho under Section 14(1) stipulates that:

Every person shall be entitled to, and (except with his own consent) shall not be hindered in his enjoyment of, freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information without interference ... (GOL 1993:3)

Yet it is not common that children ask their elders about such issues.

The HRRC (1999:1) highlights that: “Our children are not born with the skills for active involvement in a democratic society”. Therefore, it is important that they learn about such

matters from parents, community and other institutions. The UNICEF Canada Global Classroom Team (2009) emphasises the importance of educating children and young people about rights, acknowledging that it is the expectation of every society that its children grow up to become responsible citizens who contribute to the well-being of their communities. This can be achieved through education. UNICEF further stipulates that children's right to education is an important part of global citizenship education.

Blacky (4M) suggested that it is the responsibility of all care givers to educate young people about their rights. He stated that:

People who are responsible for us, parents, teachers, guardians have to teach us our rights; all elderly people have a responsibility to teach us. Even in soccer fields there are people there who teach us about rights.

6.4 Rights and democracy

Some participants introduced the concept of democracy in their discussion about rights. Since the advent of modern democracy in Lesotho has been strongly equated with the debate on rights (Ngozwana 2014), it is important to explore how these two concepts were understood by the youth groups.

Human rights and democracy are interdependent. Participants at The International Round Table on Democracy and Human Rights proposed that the two concepts of human rights and democracy are 'mutually constitutive' (UN 2013). Miller (2015) refers to them as values that are endorsed universally in liberal societies. The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (11th ed. 2004) defines a right as "a moral or legal entitlement to have or do something" and defines democracy as "a form of government in which people have a voice in the exercise of power". Jarvis (2008) simply explains democracy as a ruling of the people by the people. According to Cawthra et al. (2007), as a value, democracy implies freedom within a human being or in a society. From this statement it is deduced that people in a democratic dispensation have to enjoy their freedom and fundamental rights.

In Lesotho, the introduction of a parliamentary democracy emphasises the right of all people to vote for who governs them. This procedure was a departure from colonial rule, where

Basotho had no discernible rights to elect or deselect the colonial powers. It was also a departure from traditional democratic practices where the male population had rights to contribute to discussions at public gatherings organised by their chiefs who were chiefs by inheritance rather than election (Avoseh 2001). Ngozwana (2014) explains that in the Lesotho context, there has been misinformation about democracy among Basotho, and that they behave passively towards political democracy so that democratic principles of governance are not managed effectively, resulting in the public not challenging their politicians. Democracy, as freedom of expression and a human right not to be oppressed or abused, extends to the individual rights of children, according to the International Convention on Human Rights. It is this latter aspect which has not been well merged into the traditional cultural practices, which clearly do not support, for instance, children talking back to their parents even though they, legally, have this right. The overall comment is that democracy is not well understood either by the young or older generation in African contexts. But Avoseh (2001) argues that there was a traditional form of democracy which was organised by chiefs. Ngozwana (2014:10) further attests to that fact by citing Khaketla (1971), who stated that “chief was a chief because of the people; he remains chief as long as he protects the interest of the people ...”. Ngozwana views this as a traditional democratic way of life in which citizens exercised their moral rights, contributed to public meetings organised by the chief and purportedly lived harmoniously with their leaders.

But the concept of democracy is linked to a way of life that not everyone in Lesotho has access to. For instance, Matsieng from LESCO articulated that:

Democracy ... I think [it] is good, but for those who are already economically well off, if we have a middle class in this country then democracy can be acceptable. But for us, we are still poor, we don't eat democracy.

This suggests that democracy is more useful for those who have access to a certain degree of power. Democracy is related to the power of all the people and the idea of equal rights for all citizens (Torres 2004), but according to Miller (2015), there are some shortfalls in the way democracy is managed. Traditional representative democracies, for instance, limit citizens to the power of voting, while governance power is enjoyed only by politicians.

Poulo (10M) had perceptions of government abusing power and funds that reflected common frustrations of the democratic electoral and governance system, particularly in Africa. He indicated that:

After elections they come back to us, our government is a government of liars who do not fulfil promises they made during the campaign period.

Since this study deals with youth rights, it is important to note that LESCO had a different understanding of democracy which reflected their political education both informally and as part of their university subject area. They were able to relate rights to the concept of democracy in a way which was not the case with other groups. According to Chomsky (1994, 2006) as quoted by Endresen (2009), many political systems and ideologies claim to be 'democratic' but the word has become virtually meaningless in its everyday use. Endresen identified features of democracy as human dignity, political equality and freedom and also linked these three elements to individual rights. It is understood therefore that democracy itself is the political process that asserts the rights of individuals.

Furthermore, democracy, according to President (2M), was equated with a bottom up approach to governance, where decisions are made by the masses (people) to the minorities (rulers). However, he suggested that in Lesotho that was not the practice:

In Lesotho we adopted two different things which are working in parallel, we have democracy and we have the monarchy because we believe in those traditional chiefs and all the stuff, but we are also saying we have democracy.

But because of the way democracy is managed in Lesotho, he believed that the masses were not able to contribute to decision-making, but instead only those in power made decisions. He continued to state:

So the thing is, the chief will say I have power more than these ones [politicians], but in democracy we all say we are equal ... that is why we always have conflict and we spend a lot of time talking, but not about development, but about who has power.

There were indications that both parents and children were confused about the relationship between rights and democracy. For example, Wire (7M) from MSG elaborated:

Parents can give us rights but there are rules in our country, like democracy and that democracy rule tells you to go the other way [other than what your parents would want you to do].

The new rules of democracy give children the liberty to take parents to the police when they feel abused. So Wire (7M) argued that:

This democracy, when it is introduced it makes you forget about the rules you were taught about your parents. It comes with its own rules which go against the Sesotho culture. Parents used to discipline us through whipping, but these days if they do, you can take them to the police ... so with democracy it protects your rights.

For example it was commonly acceptable to use physical punishment when a child was scolded, but now with democracy such behaviour can be challenged, therefore Wire contended that:

It protects your rights ... So what do you say [now] about your culture, your rights, and your democracy.

In contemporary law a child can legally charge parents for abuse if an act of punishment is identified as physical force. As has been stated earlier, there is a generational issue on how punishment is now interpreted in Lesotho. . Discipline now has to be interpreted through some other form of punishment, an aspect which has been interpreted by parents as a colonially imposed rejection of culture.

President (2M) directly associated rights with democracy, stating that:

When we talk of rights we talk of democracy.

The UN (2013) confirms this view, as it argues that democracy cannot be defined without human rights. It was evident that the university level participants understood these concepts better and could interpret them more critically than those from the other two groups. The general understanding of participants in the LESCO group shows that they were aware that

rights emanate from democracy. However, the precise nature of what is an acceptable right was less clear. President (2M) purported that:

The practice of democracy itself is what gives us the rights that we have, but there is a question of who decides this is a right or not a right, you may think I have a right to do this ... someone [else] may say this is not a right.

This clash of discourses or values between what is understood to reflect culture and what is now seen as legal entitlement reveals the sensitive nature of this topic. This has implications for how youth organisations should be guided on how to address these tensions. It is expected in a democratic dispensation that rights of citizens are recognised.

As a concept, democracy implies freedom within a human being in a society. Democracy practiced in this manner includes dignity, justice and tolerance (Cawthra et al. 2007). These authors also describe democracy as a social process through which people strive to enhance their fundamental rights and freedoms. Most countries, including Lesotho, have incorporated those rights in their constitutional laws, but the extent to which Basotho understand those rights and freedoms needs further investigation. There is a general understanding that rights as a foreign concept is not understood by both parents and children, therefore this creates tensions.

6.5 Youth for recognition as responsible citizens

Youth in this study wanted to be acknowledged for the responsibilities they showed towards their communities and government. Dan (9M) from MSG explained that he disliked the lack of youth engagement in government and hoped this could be rectified. He felt that:

It could only be better if those old men and women in government could all be removed and have young people so that they could bring change.

He had hope that engaging them as young people could be an answer to the unsatisfactory governance:

... let the youth have a say in matters of importance in the government.

He also believed young people were capable of bringing about change and modernization.

Dan (9M) argued thus:

No, I think for one to gain the experience that is needed before engagement in new jobs they need to be included in government.

He felt that this practice could allow youth to take responsibility and they could learn from those already in the system. Youth in this group had a strong feeling that they wanted to be recognised by all sectors and that they were capable of making change. Wire (7M) for example, stated that:

Youth need to be included among older people so that we can understudy (learn from) them.

There were also concerns that government funding schemes did not take youth seriously. Moja (7F) from LCYM, who had a sister working with handicrafts as a means of making a living, sadly indicated:

My sister goes to that place ... where they get funding and she is [always] told the money is finished ... they don't give us money to start up our businesses.

Unlike in the LESCO group, where linking social capital networks contributed to their personal development goals, in this example Moja's sister did not have anyone who could negotiate for her to get the assistance she needed because there were no relationships with individuals who have power (Hawkins & Maurer 2010) in the donating organisation. Tempest (10M) supported her, saying:

They don't even meet us halfway at least.

The youth felt that certain responsibilities were not taken seriously by the general public, particularly in relation to protecting the environment from pollution or misuse of land:

This is a sign of lack of care and responsibility towards protecting the environment. (Mopsy 1F)

Poulo (10M) highlighted that if youth were allowed to exercise their responsibilities this energy could be used for public benefit:

Young people have initiative and can move this country forward.

He believed that politicians were only interested in enriching themselves through people's votes to elect them to power. He reiterated that:

They look at how they will benefit from being in power.

One of the obligations of responsible citizens is to ensure political participation and Avoseh (2001:480) maintains that "it requires citizens to be part of the democratic processes of arriving at decisions", which most of the time apply to the process of electing and removing a leader.

6.5 Chapter summary

In summarising this chapter it can be concluded that youth were aware of their citizenship rights and responsibilities, although some found it difficult to articulate the differences. They understood citizenship as a form of belonging, and as a legal status. There was also a distinctive notion of citizenship that was associated with place of origin, even within Lesotho, as defined for example by where the umbilical cord is buried. Participants in all three groups showed a commitment and sense of responsibility towards nation building. The majority of participants retained a traditional, communitarian notion of citizen responsibility. However, the university educated LESCO members had developed a stronger civic republicanist approach to citizenship responsibility as a result of their politicised awareness. In addition, although they did not exercise an opportunity towards cosmopolitan membership of citizenship organisations, there were signs that exposure to various media had influenced an interest in connecting Lesotho to the wider world. The concept of democracy and its connection with freedom, particularly in terms of children's rights, as supported by earlier

studies, continued to be a source of contention that needed further clarification for all ages. Significantly the youth felt that they had more to contribute than they were given credit for and many expressed a desire to be included in decision-making about their own lives and their potential to contribute to the lives of others in Lesotho. These observations and concerns showed that civic education in Lesotho is underdeveloped and the current youth policy does not sufficiently address the broader concerns of rights and responsibilities in a politically democratic context.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING SUMMARIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7 Introduction

This chapter presents the study conclusions and recommendations based on the research questions. The main purpose of this study was to investigate the extent to which youth in Lesotho understand their citizenship rights and responsibilities. Since there are few studies that have addressed how youth see themselves in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities, the focus explored the different ways in which citizenship can be demonstrated. It investigated the different identities that youth associated with themselves and their citizenship activities and how their membership of youth organisations influenced both identity and civic behaviour.

Finally, the chapter identifies implications and recommendations for the Lesotho youth policy with reference to aspects that need to be considered during the proposed policy review and inclusion of a civic education curriculum for young adults. An outline of the previous chapters follows, prior to a discussion of the implications of the study.

In order to achieve its objectives the study addressed the following research questions:

1. How do young adults see themselves in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities in contemporary Lesotho?
2. Where and how do they learn about these rights and responsibilities?
3. How do they manifest their identities in the youth groups?
4. What implications do the findings have for civic education programmes and government youth policy in Lesotho?

7.1 *Chapter one*

Chapter 1 provided the background to the study including a definition of youth and reference to global concerns about youth development. It highlighted a global concern that youth need the opportunity to learn about citizenship rights and responsibilities and to participate in decisions affecting their lives. It referred to the now 20 year old National Youth Policy of Lesotho (NYPL 1995), which indicated the concern that youth also need to take cognisance

of their cultural heritage and social expectations. The NYPL was compared with more recent policies from three other countries, namely Kenya, Uganda and South Africa, all of which emphasised that youth need to be empowered through education and opportunity to partake in national development. The NYPL further emphasised the role of youth organisations in facilitating this process.

The rationale for this study was that Lesotho's youth policy is now more than 20 years old. The NYPL (1995) publication was intended, at the time, as a blue print to provide coherence to national development efforts. The main aim of this policy was to serve as a guiding tool for youth in Lesotho, since they are considered an essential human resource whose contribution in developmental activities should be recognised. At the time of this study, the ministry was reviewing and updating the policy, hence its timeliness. My concern as a researcher was that there was a common perception in Lesotho that youth appear to claim their rights, but do not carry out their responsibilities. There are no clear-cut programmes in Lesotho that help youth to learn about these concepts except in their youth organisations. Moreover, the NYPL's main focus seemed to be on employment issues rather than civic education which was identified in the literature as an important tool to empower people to be responsible citizens towards their communities. There has been, to a limited extent, inclusion of life skills programmes in the formal education programmes in Lesotho, but there was evidence that the programme has not been well utilised because life skills were regarded as non-examinable (Thakaso 2010).

Youth organisations have an influence on how identities are expressed depending on the interest focus of these groups. The way in which youth understand their identities influences their behaviour and conduct towards their participation in development activities, but there was no evidence that such influences had been explored in the Lesotho context. The NYPL (1995) also acknowledges that youth in Lesotho are caught between cultural tensions and value systems for human rights, which are recognised internationally, but do not necessarily reflect traditional expectations and attitudes. It was deemed important to see the extent to which these tensions and concerns manifested themselves in contemporary society.

7.2 Chapters two and three

These chapters discussed citizenship and identity theories as the main lens for analysing the empirical data. In addition, social capital theory emerged as an important consideration during data analysis. Under the umbrella notion of citizenship, the concepts of communitarianism, civic republicanism and cosmopolitanism were discussed in relation to the study. Although citizenship is a legal and national status (Mahafza 2014), it is also explained as a form of learnt behaviour in relation to rights and responsibilities (Bagnall 2010; Zwart 2013). The way in which people carry out such behaviour can be categorised in the three ways outlined here.

Communitarian citizenship as reflected by Delanty (2000) advocates for the notion of community as something that stands for unity and as a cultural resource that ties people together. It emphasises social cohesion and unity among community members. Etzioni (2015) stipulates that communitarianism is constructed based on social bonds that are preserved through trust, unity and sharing. In the African context, Waghid (2014) adds a further dimension to notions of communal sharing and trust which is encapsulated in the word, *ubuntu*, roughly translated as humaneness (Sigger et al. 2010).

Civic republican citizenship places emphasis on citizens exercising their rights through civil society groups who interact directly with government or an organisation to address issues that affect the masses of people (Delanty, 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane 2004). It promotes the interaction of organised civil society to communicate with state and society on issues that concern citizens.

Cosmopolitan citizenship implies recognition of our global common humanity and a sense of solidarity with others. According to Mahafza (2014), the world has become a small globe as a result of modern technology that brought major changes to how human beings interact with the world around them. This change has resulted in spontaneous global interaction and communication between citizens despite their different locations. Cosmopolitan citizenship behaviour can be seen through international organisations, such as Greenpeace, which campaign for environmental rights.

Furthermore, since the way youth understand themselves and interpret who they are influences their citizenship behaviour, the notion of identity was examined drawing on the concepts of social identity, place identity and identity process.

Social identity refers to an individual's sense of belonging to a particular social group and the emotions that emanate from such a relationship. This concept allows an individual to define him or herself depending on the membership of the relevant group of belonging (Ashforth & Mael 1989). Tereschenko (2010) therefore refers to social categorisation which creates and identifies an individual within a certain society.

Place identity is concerned with incorporation of place into the larger concept of the self (Lappergard 2007). Place plays a major role in the formation of an individual's identity through their observation and interpretation of their physical environment. It is also defined as a substructure of social identity (Qazimi 2014).

Identity process as a concept explains that an individual engages in thinking and taking action about what will ultimately affect him or her (Qazimi 2014). Identities are formed as a result of interaction, for example, that of youth engaging with their peers.

Social capital emerged during data analysis as another theoretical aspect which related to identity building and civic behaviour. Social capital is commonly understood as a social value that reflects trust, sharing of resources and knowledge and reciprocity. There are three forms of social capital that are described in the literature. These are described as bonding (close family or community ties), bridging (making connections with wider networks) and linking (drawing on the connections and resources of external individuals and their networks) (Ferlander 2007; Hawkins & Maurer 2010).

7.3 Chapter four

This chapter described the data collection process. The study adopted an interpretive paradigm, using a qualitative comparative case study approach. A total of 33 youth members from three youth groups were involved. Each youth group participated in a focus group discussion and photovoice session. However, some focus group members were not available for the photovoice session. For example, six (6) members of LESCO attended either the

photovoice or the focus group. Among the MSG participants two (2) did not attend the photovoice session and only five (5) of the LCYM focus group members attended the photovoice session. Some follow up interviews were conducted with three (3) participations for triangulation and clarification purposes. Three (3) youth leaders and the Youth Development Officer from the ministry provided further opportunity for triangulation. Data was transcribed and analysed inductively for common themes and then deductively in relation to the theoretical concepts.

7.4 Chapters five and six

These chapters detailed the findings of the study. These findings are summarised according to the above mentioned research questions.

In answer to **Research Question one**: How do young adults see themselves in relation to their citizenship rights and responsibilities in contemporary Lesotho, the following themes emerged.

This question was addressed drawing on the three identity theories. Manifestation of identities depends on how individuals perceive themselves and see their role in society. They are able to appreciate themselves because of the identity process, which according to Lappegard (2007), influences their cognitive abilities about themselves. Place plays another role in impacting on an individual's identity, as it is central to identity (Tereschenko 2010). A sense of belonging to a particular society also has an impact on manifestation of an identity. It brings attachment and Myers and Twenge (2013) stipulate that it creates an understanding of the "we" concept. Generally, the youth saw themselves in a positive way as loving, caring people, based on the values of trust, respect and sharing that they had acquired from their upbringing. Their identities were manifested in various ways depending on their sense of place and relationship to their environment. The youth saw their citizenship identity status as both legal and social, so that citizenship was associated with their place of birth and access to legal documents as well as with how they interacted with society.

Knowledge of the participants about rights was limited, as they generally indicated that rights were a foreign phenomenon which had not been properly introduced in Lesotho. On the one hand, the youth understood their rights as citizens of Lesotho. For instance, Matsieng (6M) of

LESCO stated that as citizens they would get sponsorship from the state for their studies in universities and tertiary institutions for their education. This understanding concurred with Isin and Turner's (2007) explanation that because of an individual's legal status a citizen enjoys their social rights from the state. On the other hand, they indicated that there were some tensions between interpretations of rights and culture. Matsieng (6M) from LESCO acknowledged that culture suppressed their entitlement to some rights, while Konyana (6M) in the LCYM group felt that knowing about one's rights was important as it reduced oppression. Tempest (M10) from the same group argued that parents were not conversant with the notion of rights as this idea had never existed in the context of Lesotho, and therefore parents could not teach them about this concept. There was a sense, therefore, that intergenerational tensions meant that the youth felt they were not given all the entitlements that they deserved with respect to rights. Equally, some felt that they had to display multiple identities depending on their social environment. This meant that they displayed culturally and often gender defined behaviour that was expected at home, but when they were at school or amongst their peers their identities would change.

With respect to their self perceptions in relation to South Africa, there were two distinct contradictions. In one respect, as individuals, the youth were proud of their national identity, especially in the way they had been taught to respect one another. In another respect, as a collective, many were angry and resentful at the way South African's were perceived to treat them as individual Basotho and their country as an entity, which was described as a 'failed state' or 'poor village'. There was universal resentment of how Basotho youth felt about the way South Africans perceived the country as poor and backward. Despite their strong personal and national identities, participants generally felt they experienced a demeaning relationship with their counterparts in South Africa. This had an effect on their sense of national identity, which according to Canovan (1996), is a source of power that ensures cohesion of nationals. Instead of being proud of who they were, the young Basotho tended to become ashamed of their identity while in the neighbouring South Africa. Lesotho was associated with poverty, hills, horses, 'kupper heads' – a variety of labels that portrayed them as 'old fashioned'. Matsieng (6M) reported how he was humiliated when buying fashionable clothes and told he would not be comfortable wearing them in Lesotho as Basotho were assumed to be very poor. Nazo (10F) also attributed this belittling perception of Basotho to the fact that as a nation they were partly to blame because they were economically very dependent on South Africa.

There is a need therefore for citizenship education programmes that reflect Faour & Mausher's (2011) suggestion that discussion of people's multiple identities in international and global contexts should be included in developing understandings of the interrelatedness of people's rights and responsibilities as citizens.

Lesotho is a source of labour for South Africa in different sectors. As an enclave of South Africa, it has become vulnerable and cannot easily explore other opportunities outside South Africa. Thulos (4F) gave an example of those who changed the way they spoke while in South Africa to be accepted. This behaviour implies lack of self determination which impacts on an individual's identity. The resentment is confirmed by earlier studies, but those (Rosenberg 2001a; 2007) indicated that youth were embarrassed about their national identity. This study refutes that and suggests some Basotho youth were proud of their Basotho identity and happy to demonstrate their identity by wearing traditional clothing in South Africa. These identity conflicts have implications for how a civic education programme might address citizenship rights and responsibilities in Lesotho.

With respect to how they saw themselves in relation to their responsibilities, there were differences between the groups, but all of them were able to demonstrate a communitarian notion of responsibility which drew on the African concept of *ubuntu* regarding caring and commitment to encouraging others to have a strong sense of self. Many of the youth defined their individual responsibility to society through religious commitments and ambitions to achieve in society. Tempest (10M), for example, from the LCYM group illustrated a sense of moral responsibility when he explained how he volunteered to help small children with their school work. As members of their youth groups, however, the youth felt a strong sense of collective identity which impacted on how they interpreted their responsibilities towards other community members. This is discussed further under research question three.

As they talked about their identities it was noted that there were some tensions that produce identity contradictions. One example was given by President (2M) from LESCO, as he indicated that a problem among some Basotho was lack of loyalty and patriotism, now having been replaced with aspiration for money in order to be like their South African neighbours which has a stronger economy. The communitarian concern that the money economy has impacted on Basotho's culture of caring for each other is reflected in a study by Preece et al.

(2009), which indicates that there are ongoing tensions associated with modernisation in the country affecting how people see each other.

In response to **Research Question two**, where and how they learn their rights and responsibilities, it was revealed that the youth learnt from different sources.

It was evident that the concept of 'rights' which are based on the International Convention, were not taught to participants at home. Most of them were not very confident about defining their rights. It was regarded as a foreign concept in their culture and therefore there had been minimum discussion of these rights in the home or school. They defined rights as benefits which they enjoyed as human beings. Tempest (10M) and Princess (3F), both from LCYM, confirmed that since they had not been taught about these rights the concept was sometimes misinterpreted. Princess further admitted that due to this lack of knowledge they also did not associate rights with responsibilities.

Tempest (10M), President (2M) and Dan (10M) from LCYM, LESCO and MSG respectively, emphasised that parents did not know about this foreign concept and therefore they could not pass it on to their children. A general feeling was that they learnt about their rights outside the family setting. In their families they learnt about them only through observation, as one of them indicated that seeing your parents doing things for you is interpreted as your right. It is implied that they felt they only learnt about their rights when parents fulfilled their responsibilities towards them. For example, Mapsy (3F) and Dan (9M) in the MSG indicated that their rights were received in the form of benefits such as clothes, food and payments towards their education and that, by virtue of being human, they were entitled to receive rights. The lack of understanding about rights between parents and children caused tensions which, according to President (2M) from LESCO and Dan (9M) from MSG, emanated from the Basotho cultural tradition that 'a child is always a child' to the parents.

One participant felt they only learnt about their rights at tertiary level where it is presumably included in the curriculum. Princess (3F) argued that in lower levels of education they did not learn about their rights. Other more informal fora to learn about their rights were from their different youth organisations or the media. Radio and other types of media provided some education about rights. One of the findings was that due to the geographical structure of the country, there were still people in hard-to-reach areas who did not have access to any

information about rights. It was therefore not easy to educate citizens in those areas unless the infrastructure were to be improved.

There remained intergenerational tensions regarding rights in Lesotho, which are supported by recent studies (Ngozwana 2014). There is a strong indication that the absence of a formal and informal curriculum regarding citizen rights and responsibilities is hindering the opportunity to resolve those tensions. The fact that the 1995 youth policy also does not address these issues, rather focusing on employment concerns, suggests that the new policy needs to address this gap.

In relation to **Research Question three**, how do youth manifest their identities, rights and responsibilities through membership in their various groups, the following findings were identified.

The youth groups were a primary source of social cohesion and means through which the youth acted collectively to demonstrate their civic identities and responsibilities. Generally, the youth manifested their identities with respect to how they identified with the goals and purposes of each of the different youth groups that they belonged to. Through their membership they gained new insights and skills that enabled them to understand their roles in society. So, for instance, the LESCO group enhanced the youth's political identity and the LCYM group enhanced the youth's spiritual identity.

They also illustrated their collective identity in terms of social capital. Uslander (2002), Odora-Hoppers (2013), Tzanakis (2013) and Etzioni (2015) refer to trust and reciprocity as features of social capital. This implies that there are strong affiliations between social capital and communitarianism, particularly bonding social capital, which emphasises the role of trust and reciprocity in contributing to community cohesion and working together for a common good. Glaston (2004) argues that acts of moral responsibility help people to become responsible citizens who actively engage to make a difference in their communities. One of the collective activities of LCYM members for instance, was to regularly volunteer to clean and prepare meals for the elderly in the different villages and they felt happy about doing this. The IFRC (2011) confirms volunteering brings contentment to those who engage in it.

The different group memberships would influence the nature of their responsibilities, so that the LESCO group, for instance, adopted a more political sense of responsibility towards their communities, while the religious groups would take a humanitarian or caring approach and those who were members of a theatre group would use their drama skills to pass on educational messages to others. The different ways in which the youth demonstrated their responsibilities is categorised according to the three forms of citizenship that were outlined in Chapter 2.

Citizenship roles and responsibilities as communitarianism

There were three distinct features of communitarianism: caring, volunteering and collectiveness. Examples of this behaviour were evidenced among all the groups. These three features have some commonality, as they all express devotion to their communities. MSG group members revealed actions displaying an element of *ubuntu* which, according to Waghid (2014), denotes unity and sharing of values. By donating clothes to the vulnerable children, the youth illustrated a sign of caring for them, especially since the donation was made during the winter. Waghid identifies caring as a core feature of *ubuntu* in African culture. This is also understood to be a core feature of communitarianism, particularly towards the vulnerable (Okafar 1974). The act of *ubuntu* in this case was expressed through sharing the clothes with the recipients in a spirit of unity.

As mentioned above, communitarianism also assumes that community members work together in the spirit of volunteerism for the betterment of their communities (Etzioni 2015). All the youth participants in this study agreed that they had a responsibility to volunteer their time and skills to contribute to community needs. LESCO members started a vegetable garden in Bela-Bela in an effort to feed the elderly and they collectively worked with youth in that area to ensure sustainability of the communal garden. Collectiveness is a feature of volunteerism (Kumah-Abiwu & Ochwa-Echel 2013; Jasper & McCarry 2015). President (2M) highlighted that youth in the area should continue working in the garden so that everyone in the community could benefit. Another example of volunteerism was shown when the LESCO members joined the farmers in Mafeteng, although crops did not grow well, to help them work in the fields during the hoeing season. According to Delanty (2000), communitarianism refers to actively and voluntarily taking part in community issues, therefore, all groups carried out their communitarian responsibilities. This active participation is regarded as a principle of volunteerism, which also relates to the communitarian value of .

Innovations of Civic Participation (ICP) and Pravah (2009) regard volunteerism as the ability of people to engage in social action in all aspects of everyday life. UNESCO also views volunteerism as a powerful means of engaging people in development.

It was evident that youth do take communitarian responsibility seriously in spite of public perceptions. This reflected similar findings in Botswana in a study that was conducted some twelve years ago. However, there were indications that, compared to Botswana, where the focus was on enlightened self interest, in Lesotho many of the youth followed a traditional, *ubuntu* sense of collectiveness and commitment to their communities as a whole. This concept of citizenship is confirmed by Delanty (2000), who referred to citizenship as something that unites people, and Etzioni (2015), who argues that social bonds must be preserved because they are essential for the well-being and development of communities. The LCYM and MSG groups tended to focus on predominantly communitarian activities of helping people in the communities. The LESCO group, however, demonstrated additional motives for their work, which is interpreted in this study as illustrative of civic republican citizenship.

Citizenship responsibility as civic republicanism

Civic republicanism places emphasis on action through an organised society which interacts with the state on issues of concern. The group that most closely illustrated civic republican citizenship behaviour in this study was the LESCO group as an affiliate of a political party. Although this group also performed communitarian acts of caring and volunteerism, they did this with the added sense that they had a responsibility to politically sensitize their communities about their rights. Only LESCO illustrated a conscious connection between rights and responsibilities through their civic republican citizenship behaviour. Although the connection with rights was implicit in communitarian actions, such as donating clothes to children, it was not articulated as such by the youth themselves. Literature shows that one of the core aspects of civic republicanism is active engagement of citizens to allow constructive decision-making (Harber & Mncube 2012). As the LESCO youth interacted with the Tsikoane community members who were building a road and the Mafeteng farmers in their fields, they used the two activities to engage in constructive conversations about their rights as citizens. They conscientised villagers about their right to elect a government that would address their societal needs. Their level of education also contributed to their activities, as

they indicated that they wanted to bring political transformation to the communities they visited.

Ngozwana (2014) explains that civic republicanism links voluntary action with participatory democracy and the LESCO group indicated that they were awakening the community's awareness of their rights and motivation to engage with the available democratic processes in Lesotho governance. The findings reveal that only LESCO were politically oriented and had received some political education from the university through their subject specialism. Therefore, they were inclined to think beyond a communitarian understanding of citizenship. LESCO engages with political issues but not in a way that challenges the state. Culturally a Mosotho child brought up well does not question the elders as that is seen as disrespectful (Matsela 1990). Pitikoe (2016) indicates that through personal interaction with one's environment an individual perceives his or her identity so it maybe that they perceive themselves rightfully as Basotho children who are not expected to challenge their seniors. But also according to Sherrod (2003) a large number of young people fluidly explain qualities of citizenship as 'obeying the law' and 'helping others' but only a few would mention qualities such as challenging the *status quo*. He concludes that young people are knowledgeable about citizenship "but their ideas are too limited and unsophisticated to drive highly productive political participation" (Ibid. 2002). This may also explain why LESCO does not directly challenge the government. Lesotho youth may feel insignificant comparing themselves with youth in South Africa who have been able to challenge the government through the 1976 uprisings. In view of the political disarray in Lesotho it is important that youth are empowered through appropriate programmes to engage themselves with the state more rigorously on political issues that directly impact on the well-being of their communities and the nation at large.

Although Harber and Mncube (2012) and Osler and Starkey (2003) respectively provide examples of youth being increasingly engaged in civic republicanism and cosmopolitan citizenship, there were indications that youth in Lesotho were less well informed about the potential of this kind of citizenship for contributing to national development and challenging the negative features of their country such as corruption.

Citizenship responsibility as cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism encourages people to see the world as a global village. Oxfam (2006), for instance, suggests that to be part of the wider community a global citizen has to be aware of what goes on around the world and respect the diversity of other citizens. Under this heading, participants cited few examples of their responsibilities as cosmopolitan citizens. Exceptions were Hanyape (1M) and President (2M) from the LESCO group, who did indicate that they had taken responsibility to educate themselves about the wider world. President went further to illustrate that what happens in other parts of the world could have an influence on their region, arguing that it was imperative that they were knowledgeable about world issues. According to Oxfam (2006), cosmopolitan citizens are keen to know what goes on in the wider world with a view to playing a role in addressing international issues.

It is evident that there were indications of international awareness among some youth. For instance, a few showed that through interaction of diverse cultures in different scenarios, they were able to influence each other while at the same time there was an awareness of how some countries dominate others. Mahafza (2014) also noted that there was a growing trend of youth engaging with the global world to become part of what goes on around the world. Wire (7M) from MSG acknowledged that through international interaction there are mutual benefits that they receive, as people are exposed to ongoing developments such as modern technological devices. But he raised a concern that as a player in the Under 20 Lesotho national soccer team – *Bahlabani* – he noticed that players from South Africa, because of their country's economic status, dominated most teams from the African region. Literature by Mahafza (2014) also confirms Wire's concern, as he contends that some cultures dominate others.

In answer to **Research Question four:** What are the implications for civic education programmes and NYPL, this is largely addressed by reflections on the participants' discussions and their answers to the first three research questions, although there were some recommendations that came directly from the youth themselves. There appeared to be two main issues for civic education in Lesotho. One is the extent to which people obtained knowledge about citizenship as a responsibility that stretched beyond communitarianism, and the other is the extent to which they were able to learn about rights vis-à-vis local culture.

Civic education and knowledge

The findings revealed that youth are not content with their knowledge on civic education. They indicated that there is insufficient information dissemination about civic education, democracy, citizenship rights and responsibilities for citizens in Lesotho. This deficiency was reported to have implications for their understanding about their rights and responsibilities. This was partly seen as a result of how civic education is imparted to both youth and the older population.

Stetterson and Ray (2010) and Ngozwana (2014) indicate that due to lack of information about civic education at family and community level, higher education institutions could play a more deliberate part in providing relevant civic education programmes. Matsieng (6M) from LESCO suggested, with relevance to the above literature, that young people should be educated on patriotism and loyalty as a beneficial strategy to commit them towards community development. This would also help build young people's confidence about their national identity. Blacky (4M) from MSG suggested that parents, teachers, guardians and all elderly people should be in a position to educate them about their rights. His view is supported by HRRC (1999), which argues that it is the responsibility of communities, parents and other institutions to educate youth about their rights. Responsibility is an attitude that a person learns according to the influences of his or her environment (Preece & Mosweunyane 2004). This kind of learning was evident, for instance, among the LCYM members when they conducted singing of hymns in church during the Holy Mass.

Knowledge of rights versus culture

A general concern on the subject of rights and culture was that rights are a foreign and complex concept which has not been properly introduced to the Sesotho culture, hence the tensions experienced between youth and their parents. There was a concern raised by Tempest (10M) that parents did not learn about rights and they raised their children without that knowledge. Youth only learnt about them outside the family – in tertiary institutions, among peers and in youth organisations. Similarly, the relationship between the concepts of democracy and rights was poorly understood, creating further intergenerational tensions and lack of awareness about people's self determination and right to make demands on government. As a panacea, it was felt that there was a need to introduce programmes designed for both so that parents are able to relate to the modernity of today's youth.

Overall the study concludes that youth in Lesotho have retained a strong communitarian sense of responsibility to their fellow citizens which follow the traditional concept of *ubuntu* as outlined by Waghid (2014) among others. Although a civic republicanist approach to citizenship is underdeveloped among two of the case studies, there are signs that the more politically oriented and higher educated LESCO group had done this within a communitarian, afrocentric perspective of caring. For example, civic republicanism is combined with helping residents to build a road and using that interaction to educate the volunteers about their political rights. On the other hand, there are intergenerational differences concerning the concept of rights and how young adults may be encouraged to build on rather than reject traditional family values. Finally, there were strong indications that Basotho youth felt marginalised as an enclave of South Africa and undervalued, which had implications for their sense of identity as equal citizens in a globalised world.

These findings have implications for how youth programmes should be conducted in Lesotho in the future and how the youth policy might address the absence of civic education in schools and in youth organizations. This final section now makes recommendations for how the above concerns can be addressed.

7.5 Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Youth policy should focus on encouraging youth groups to discuss more openly the tensions between modern rights and traditional concepts of discipline and the connection to the concept of democracy.

Recommendation 2: Youth policy should encourage a greater awareness of civic republican and cosmopolitan notions of citizenship and how they can contribute to national development but drawing on an afrocentric communitarian value base.

Recommendation 3: Intergenerational tensions should be addressed through public phone-in programmes and perhaps through *pitsos* (meetings) and other fora where youth and parents can collectively discuss how they understand their rights and responsibilities in contemporary Lesotho.

Recommendation 4: Active efforts should be made to engage with youth in South Africa to enable a more tolerant and supportive relationship to grow between the two countries.

Recommendation 5: The potential new youth policy should encourage participation of youth in international fora where global citizenship programmes are practised, to facilitate greater understanding of diversity and how rights and responsibilities are addressed in different contexts.

Recommendation for further study: In view of the fact that this study only engaged with youth who were already members of youth organisations, a larger quantitative survey is required to see how many young adults are members of youth organizations. The findings of such a study could feed into youth policy with respect to how youth group membership might be encouraged or how an informal curriculum could be developed in a variety of contexts in order to nurture citizenship understanding.

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APPENDICES



6 June 2014

Mrs Mantsejwa Nthabiseng Thakaso 213568256
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mrs Thakaso

Protocol reference number: HSS/0485/014D

Project title: Exploration of the extent to which young adults understand their citizen rights and responsibilities in the Lesotho context: Implications for Civic Education

Full Approval – Expedited

This letter serves to notify you that your application in connection with the above has now been granted Full Approval

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol

Yours faithfully

Dr Shanuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Julia Pretorius
cc Academic Leader: Professor Pholoho Morojele
cc School Admin: Mr Thoba Mthembu

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

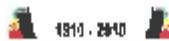
Dr Shanuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

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Telephone: +27 (0) 31 290 8887/8853/4567 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 280 4900 Email: ymbo@ukzn.ac.za / myname@ukzn.ac.za / colleen@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Functioning Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Ncedo School Pietermaritzburg Westville



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMATION LETTER/CONSENT FORM TO GATEKEEPERS

1. Study title and Researcher Details

Department: ADULT EDUCATION
Project title: THE EXTENT TO WHICH YOUNG ADULTS UNDERSTAND THEIR CITIZEN RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE LESOTHO CONTEXT: IMPLICATIONS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION
Principal investigator/s: PROF. JULIA PREECE

Introduction paragraph

We are inviting members of your organisation/community to take part in this educational study. We would like to request your permission to allow them to take part. Please read the following information carefully and discuss it with other community members if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to INVESTIGATE THE YOUTH UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS CITIZENS IN LESOTHO.

Your organisation/community has been chosen because WE BELIEVE MEMBERS IN THIS GROUP HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN THEIR ORGANISATION/CLUB AND THEIR COMMUNITY AS CITIZENS. THEREFORE THE STUDY INTENDS TO FIND OUT HOW THEY UNDERSTAND THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES TO THEIR ORGANISATION AND THE COUNTRY.

The study will take place between February/March 2014 and

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The final research report will be made available at the University of KwaZulu-Natal

The results of this study may also be presented at a conference and published in a journal. No real name or address will be used in any report or book, unless specifically requested by individuals involved.

Who has reviewed the study?

The University of KwaZulu Natal – Ethics Committee

Contact(s) for Further Information

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project please contact:

Professor Julia Preece: Professor of Adult Education at the Centre for Adult Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Education Building, Pietermaritzburg, Email: preecej@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you!

Name

Date

N.B. Please sign the attached slip if you consent to the involvement of your organisation.

I /We..... Consent to the involvement of my organization/community in relation to research project [xx].

I/We understand that no real name will be used in any public report, unless authorised by our/myself and that participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequences for their status at the university or in the community.

.....

Signature

.....

Date



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

To (Gatekeeper): Chairperson ABC Youth, Maama Constituency
Date : 13th January 2014

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: PhD student: ‘Mantsejoa Nthabiseng Thakaso: 213568256

The above named is enrolled as a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal on the Pietermaritzburg campus in South Africa.

The topic of his study is:

**The extent to which young adults understand their citizen rights and responsibilities in the
Lesotho context: implications for civic education**

In pursuit of this topic she wishes to collect data from your institution. Ethical procedures require that – unless the institution or individuals specifically request it - all research participants’ names will be anonymous. All individual data is confidential to the researcher and his/her supervisor. It will be kept in a safe place and destroyed after a maximum of five years.

A PhD is a highly worthwhile and labour intensive pursuit which should produce new understandings that will contribute to the knowledge base of the country concerned. The student is making a significant personal commitment to achieve this goal. However, since this particular student will be entering your institution’s premises to collect data, it is also a requirement that the student obtains permission from institutional ‘gatekeepers’ to enable him/her to continue with the study.

We very much hope you will be able to assist by providing the necessary permission and facilitate access to any individuals or documents that are required to complete the study.

If you need any further information I am happy to provide it.

Yours sincerely

Julia Preece
Professor of Adult Education
PhD Programme Coordinator



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

To (Gatekeeper): Roma Parish Priest – (Fr. T. Ntlai)
Date : 13th January 2014

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: PhD student: ‘Mantsejoa Nthabiseng Thakaso: 213568256

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Yours sincerely

Julia Preece
Professor of Adult Education
PhD Programme Coordinator



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

To (Gatekeeper): Mixed Social Group (MSG)
Date : 13th January 2014
Dear Sir/Madam
RE: PhD student: ‘Mantsejoa Nthabiseng Thakaso: 213568256

The above named is enrolled as a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal on the Pietermaritzburg campus in South Africa.

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Yours sincerely

Julia Preece
Professor of Adult Education
PhD Programme Coordinator

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

BIO DATA

- Age
 - Gender
 - Educational level
 - Place of origin (if from outside Roma)
 - Employment/study status (job, student of, unemployed)
1. How do you spend your day/how do you divide your time during the week?
 2. What do you do at weekends?
 3. What is the place you most like to be and why?
 4. Who are the people who are most important in your life and why?
 5. What are the things which most interest you in life?
 - a. What do you do about those interests?
 6. What are the things which most concern or worry you in life?
 - a. What do you do about those concerns or worries?
 7. Tell me about why you chose to join this youth group and what you do in the youth group
 - a. What do you like about being in this group?
 - b. How has it helped you become the person you are today?
 8. What other organisations/groups do you belong to?
 - a. What do you do in those organisations/groups?
 - b. Why did you decide to join that/those organisations/groups?
 9. What values were you brought up with by your family/home/school?
 - a. Were there any differences between the values taught by school and home?
 10. Which of those values do you still feel are important now and why?
 11. What do you most like about your country?
 12. What do you least like about your country?
 - a. What do you think should be done about these issues?
 13. What do you like most about yourself and why?
 - a. How do you feel about being a Mosotho citizen?
 - b. What are the advantages of either being a male or female?
 14. Where did you learn about your rights as a Mosotho citizen and what were you taught?
 - a. Give some examples of how you can use or claim your rights
 15. Where did you learn about your responsibilities as a Mosotho citizen and what were you taught?
 - a. Give some examples of how you can undertake those responsibilities
 16. Have you done any voluntary work in your community/school or family in the past year?
 - a. What kind of voluntary work was it and what made you decide to do it?
 17. Who is a citizen of Lesotho?
 - a. What does it mean to be a citizen of Lesotho?

b. How should one be taught about one's rights and responsibilities as a Mosotho?

18. What do you see yourself doing in five years time?
19. Explain how you define yourself as a citizen of Lesotho?
20. Do you think you have any rights as a citizen, if so what do those rights entail?
21. Are there any duties/responsibilities that bind you as a citizen?
22. Did you learn anything about rights and responsibilities and if so where did you learn about them?
23. What were you taught in relation to rights and responsibilities?
24. How can you explain your rights and responsibilities as a young Mosotho?
25. How do you identify yourself as a Mosotho?
26. Are you different from any other young person your age?
27. What is it that makes you different?
28. How would you describe yourself?
29. How do friends and family describe you as a person?
30. How do you demonstrate your identity as a Mosotho citizen?
31. You belong to a particular youth group and how do you think your membership in such a group helps build up your identity and citizenship?
32. What other programmes have you engaged in that helped you build up your identity as a Mosotho?
33. How do you think the government can contribute towards promoting citizenship responsibility among the youth in Lesotho?

QUESTIONNAIRE QUESTIONS FOR YOUTH LEADERS

BIO DATA

- Age
 - Gender
 - Educational level
 - Place of origin (if from outside Roma)
 - Leader of which group
1. What made you decide to become a leader in this group?
 2. What are the aims of this group?
 3. How often does it meet and what are the main activities?
 4. For how long do young people remain members of the group?
 5. Describe the kind of people who decide to join the group
 - a. How well educated are they?
 - b. What kind of things about the group might have motivated them to join?
 - c. Do the members have strong personal support systems or are they people looking for support from the group?
 6. Do the youth group members do any voluntary work in the locality?
 - a. If so, what kind of work and how did they learn about it?
 7. Were you given any training for your role as group leader?
 - a. If so what was the training and who provided it?
 8. Does the youth group ever receive any guidance from government about how to conduct its activities – if so, what?
 9. Where did you learn about citizen rights and responsibilities and what were you taught?
 10. Does your youth group ever discuss issues to do with rights and responsibilities?
 - a. If so, how do these discussions come about? (spontaneous, planned)
 11. Does your youth group ever discuss issues to do with the country and its development needs?
 - a. If so, how do these discussions come about (spontaneous, planned)
 12. What kind of youth leadership training would you like to see for youth groups such as this one?
 13. Any other comments you would like to make about your youth group and the members
 14. How does your group understand citizenship rights and responsibilities of youth?
 15. What are the objectives of your group towards youth development?
 16. What does the group do to promote educating youth about those two concepts?
 17. What activities does the group engage in to encourage you towards realizing their rights and responsibilities?
 18. Does the group receive any educational motivation from government on issues of active citizenship?
 19. How do you as a leader motivate your peers?

20. How do you think a person's identity can help promote his/her interaction with colleagues?
21. Any information that you think maybe of interest to the study.

QUESTIONNAIRE QUESTIONS FOR MINISTRY STAFF

BIO DATA

- Age
 - Gender
 - Educational Level
1. What is your position in the ministry?
 2. What guides the ministry in helping youth in Lesotho?
 3. How does the youth policy contribute to developing and training youth leaders in Lesotho?
 4. What are the responsibilities of the ministry/government towards youth development in Lesotho?
 5. In what ways would you like to see the youth policy updated?
 6. How does the ministry liaise with other stakeholders which design youth development programmes?
 7. What are the main concerns, in your opinion, that a Lesotho youth policy should be addressing in relation to the country's development needs?

PHOTO VOICE GUIDE

INSTRUCTIONS

- **INTRODUCE YOURSELF TO THE PARTICIPANTS**
 - **REVIEW THE ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO THE PARTICIPANTS**
 - **COMPLETE THE CONSENT FORM/S**
 - **FOLLOW ALL THE STEPS**
 - **RECORD THE RESPONSES USING A TAPE RECORDER**
-

STEPS

- a. Graphically present the camera use instructions to the youth
- b. Demonstrate the camera operation to the youth
- c. Allow chosen youth to take pictures of their activities
- d. After a week, collect the cameras to print and download the pictures
- e. Print the pictures in duplicate and label them
- f. Create different folders in the computer and label them accordingly
- g. Download the pictures onto the computer and file them in their respective folders
- h. Give each group their set of their pictures and give them a moment to discuss what has been captured on the pictures and the significance that the picture has to them as citizens of Lesotho.
- i. Record the discussions
- j. After the discussions, allow each group to keep their pictures as a momento