MALE HERDERS IN LESOTHO: LIFE HISTORY, IDENTITIES AND EDUCATIONAL AMBITIONS

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Selloane Florence Pitikoe, declare that:

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II.   This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

III.   This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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As the candidate's supervisor I have approved this thesis for submission.

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DEDICATION

"Do not judge me by my success, judge me by how many times I fell down and got back up again" - Nelson Mandela.

The writing of the thesis is in memory of my family members. I dedicate this study to my late parents and family members. My father, friend and mentor, Halimmoho Waters Pitikoe - I still have the memories of joy and your inspirational speech "knowledge is power *ngoanaka*" during my B.Ed graduation ceremony.

My mother,'Mamotsuoane Amelia Pitikoe, who despite her illiteracy and financial challenges, explored all available means of income generation to ensure that her children were educated. Through her, I am a true product of education fees generated from selling home-brew.

To my grandmother, 'Mapitikoe, who, despite being illiterate always aspired that I become a nurse one day - *Nkhono,* although my choice of career was not what you wanted, nonetheless you would have rejoiced and celebrated with me.

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To my son, Teboho 'Bobo' Noel Pitikoe who could not live long enough to see me through the un-predictable PhD journey.

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This study owes its completion to a wide array of individuals. However I have identified and acknowledged the key contributions which enabled the completion of my study.

affairs and singing lullaby songs to my grandson, Blessing; and my niece, Tiisetso 'Nti'
Pitikoe for her courageous phrase: *hotla loka* indeed it shall be well, 'Nti'.

ABSTRACT

Lack of access to education in developing countries has been attributed to the high levels of poverty (UNESCO, 2012a). Additionally, the ever-changing escalation of the HIV and AIDS pandemic coupled with orphanhood have become further educational barriers which impede education access and continuity. Unlike other African countries, Lesotho has higher reported literacy rates among females than males with a considerably greater number of boys than girls becoming victims of dropping out of school in search of employment mainly as miners in the neighbouring South Africa or as livestock herders. Herding as part of the culture of Basotho dates back to the 17th century and it has seemingly taken high priority because the situation whereby males look after the family livestock or are employed by a wealthy livestock owner to generate income, prohibits their access to and retention in education.

The study explored the educational needs and lifestyles of the adult herders in order to inform the national Non-Formal Education (NFE) policy. There is limited information about the herders' lifestyles and educational ambitions and this called for an investigation to obtain an indepth understanding of them in order to analyse what kind of curriculum would respond more appropriately to their lifestyles. Since it can be argued that a herder's identity is central to how he interacts with educational systems and the wider society, understanding their life experiences and how these have influenced the herders' multiple identities and ambitions can help to inform Lesotho's provision of non-formal education.

Positioned within the interpretive paradigm, the study adopted a qualitative design. The study was conducted in the three geographical regions of Lesotho, namely: the lowlands, the foothills and the highlands. Semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, transect walk and photovoice were utilised for data collection from a total of 30 herders. The NFE service providers were also interviewed for data triangulation. The data were transcribed and analysed manually using the pattern coding method.

Through the lenses of identity theory, subjectivity theory, African perspective, masculinities identity, Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and social capital, the study was able to examine how identities have been constructed among the male Basotho herders. The theories also provided a conceptual framework to explain how those identities have influenced the herders' educational ambitions. The identity theory further served as a tool through which to analyse how the male herders fitted within the overall Basotho culture. The African perspective revealed how the collective nature of African behaviour has influenced and shaped the herders' identities. The IK theory provided a means of explaining the different forms of knowledge the herders had acquired including how they used it for economic empowerment. The social capital theory provided an additional lens to the identity theory to show how the herder identities were influenced by interpersonal relationships.

The findings revealed that there remain some gaps in the Free Primary Education (FPE) provision in Lesotho in that, in spite of the introduction of FPE in 2000, Basotho males are still not fully catered for by the system in that they were either unable to attend or unable to complete formal schooling. The herders who were interviewed generally perceived herding to be a rite of passage for Basotho males and hence attached more value to livestock than to education. It was found that their informal numeracy learning as a core aspect of herding could be explained as a context specific social practice as articulated by Nirantar (2007) and Openjuru (2011) for instance. There were therefore implications for how literacy and numeracy teaching could be related more closely to their day to day numeracy practices.

It was found that the herders demonstrated two distinct identities: public and private. The public identity findings were categorised under the following aspects: culture; masculinity and 'othering'. The negative public perception of the herders influenced how they related to the society and to their ambitions to learn. Under private identity, the findings were categorised under the following: inner sense of self; freedom to be; social capital; and significant other. Regardless of the public resentment towards them, the findings revealed a strong sense of

cohesion among the herders which benefitted them, as among other things, a shared source of learning.

The study suggests there should be consultative curriculum review and design that includes the herders' perspectives on their learning needs. In order to accommodate the herders' lifestyles, the study recommends a flexible NFE alternative which extends beyond basic numeracy and literacy and takes learning outside the classroom setting. The study recommends NFE to further explore the value added by the significant other in supporting the provision of learning for the herders. The lifeskills programmes have to incorporate the inclusion of the herders and a positive societal perspective of herders. The study recommends the documentation of IK acquired from herding, to enable it to be widely shared and used as a learning resource, particularly for economic empowerment.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AU   African Union

BOS   Bureau of Statistics

DE   Distance Education

DfID   Department for International Development

ESSP   Education Sector Strategic Plan

EFA   Education For All

FPE   Free Primary Education

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

GOL   Government of Lesotho

GNDI   Gross National Disposable Income

HIV   Human Immuno-deficiency Virus

IK   Indigenous Knowledge

ICT   Information Communications Technology

JC (Form C) Junior Certificate

LANFE   Lesotho Association for Non-formal Education

LDTC   Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre

LHWP   Lesotho Highlands Water Development Project

MDGs   Millenium Development Goals

MoE   Ministry of Education

MoET   Ministry of Education and Training

MoH   Ministry of Health

MoHSW   Ministry of Health and Social Welfare

NAC   National Aids Commission

NEPAD   New Partnership for Africa's Development

NFCE   Non-formal and Continuing Education

NFE   Non-Formal Education

NGO   Non-governmental Organisation

ODL   Open and Distance Learning

OVC   Orphans and Vulnerable Children

PSLC   Primary School Leaving Certificate

RPCV   Returned Peace Corps Volunteer

RSA   Republic of South Africa

SACU   South African Customs Union

SADC   Southern African Development Community

SDGs   Sustainable Development Goals

SSA   Sub-Saharan Africa

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF   United Nations International Childrens' Educational Fund

UNESCO   United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UPE   Universal Primary Education

VCT   Voluntary Counselling and Testing

GLOSSARY OF SESOTHO TERMS

Babeisi   A legal animal identification document

Balimo   Ancestors

Balisana   Herders

Bobatsi   Indigenous vegetable

Bohali   Dowry

Kannete   In truth

Katiba   Hat

Khaitseli   Brother/Sister

Khopane   Thick black layer of dirt covering the skin

Lebollo   Initiation school

Lijelello   Relish

Lilotho   Folklores

Liphoofolo   Animals/livestock

Mafisa   Loaned animals

'Maleboti   Fried papa seasoned with salt or spices of one's choice

'Mampoli   The powerful and authoritative herder leader

Melamu   Walking/fighting sticks

Melia-nyeoe	Basotho hats
Meraka	Cattle posts
Meseme	Basotho traditional mats
Mohlehlo	Suet
Mojalefa	Heir
Mokhahla	A soft cow hide either worn as a blanket or used as a sleeping mat
Mosea	Special indigenous grass
Motebo	Cattle post house
Metebo	Cattle post houses
Motseng	At the village
Monyako	Entrance
Ntate	Father/male adult
Papa	Basotho staple food and source of carbohydrates
Papasane	Indigenous vegetable
Seshoai	Food for the cattle post herders

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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0   INTRODUCTION

What can the herders' life histories tell us about how best to provide non-formal education that enhances their economic empowerment? Previous research has indicated that they are highly ambitious to better their lives and to be more socio-economically independent (Preece, Lekhetho, Rantekoa & Makau, 2009; Pitikoe, 2012). However, a major concern is whether the current educational provision is able to cater for the needs of the herders. Is it sufficiently relevant to their lifestyles and knowledge levels to enable them to build on what they already know? A deeper approach is therefore needed to understand their lives and their livelihoods in order to establish what their education needs are.

This study was conducted with two groups of male adult herders with experience of cattle post life in Lesotho. There were 30 male herders in total, most of whom were at the time serving in the cattle posts and some of whom had prior experience of life at the cattle posts. Both groups were expected to have some experience in income generating activities. The groups were divided according to age: 18–30 years and 31–45 years. The first group was assumed to have gone through some form of education, which could have been Free Primary Education (FPE). The second group was less likely to have received Free Primary Education but may have received some form of education at some time in their lives. The herders were from the three geographical settings of Lesotho: the highlands, the foothills and the lowlands in order to see if there were differences that had been influenced by these geographical settings.

For triangulation purposes, I interviewed the Non-Formal Education Inspectorate: one staff member from the Lesotho Association for Non-Formal Association (LANFE) as the umbrella body coordinating the provision of NFE by the Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Lesotho; and one staff member of the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre (LDTC). These organisations were the pioneers of herd-boys' education provision in Lesotho where LANFE coordinates national civil society NFE provision to feed into LDTC's reporting. LDTC then

consolidates the reports which will later be submitted to the NFE Inspectorate to inform the NFE policy development and implementation in Lesotho though the Ministry of Education and Training.

The main focus of this study was on establishing a greater understanding of who the herders were, how they lived and how they wanted to live. This study drew on Indigenous Knowledge (IK) theory. IK is passed on from one generation to the other and its significance in people's lives will be explored in the thesis. The study also engaged with identity and subjectivity theories: to explore the "quality of the social construction of the self, the struggle and contest over identity" (Weiler, Yates & Middleton, 1999:46) as a means of understanding, in more depth, the herder identities and how these interface with their educational experiences and ambitions.

This chapter starts with the statement of the problem and research questions. It then presents the international policy context followed by the national policy context and the forms of education provisions in Lesotho, tracing the latter back from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial era. The chapter concludes by discussing the alternative forms of education in Lesotho with a focus on two outstanding institutions: the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre (LDTC), which dates back to 1974, followed by the Lesotho Non-Formal Education Association (LANFE). The chapter ends by providing a brief summary of each chapter in the thesis.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Poverty has been identified as the key factor disabling people's access to education (UNESCO, 2012a). In Lesotho, when a family becomes economically disadvantaged, the boy in the family becomes the first resort to support the family's financial needs. In the end, he will have to withdraw from his educational activities to look for employment. This situation is verified by findings from the unpublished study conducted by Pitikoe (2012) and those of Preece et al. (2009) which suggest that the low literacy rates among Basotho herders have

been perpetuated by culture and economic status (Preece et al., 2009). Culturally, in Lesotho, herding takes the first priority and as such prohibits Basotho males' access to and retention in education (The US Department of Labor, 2011; Ntho & Lesotho Council of NGOs, 2013; Gill, 1993; Nthunya, 1996; Mohasi, 2006; Ratau, 1988; Morojele, 2009). This is particularly so with those residing in the rural areas. The escalation of HIV and AIDS coupled with poverty and orphanhood have become further educational barriers affecting access and continuity in education because young boys and girls have had to seek various employment opportunities (UNESCO, 2012b).

However, a considerable number of Basotho boys, more than girls, become victims of dropping out of school in search of employment as herders or in the mines in South Africa (Morojele, 2012). In fulfilment of the herding role, the boys would be compelled to either look after the animals from their own family or be employed by a wealthy livestock owner to generate an income that would cater for the family needs. Another cultural aspect that has been outlined by Preece et al. (2009) as impeding boys' education is that, culturally, boys have to go through the traditional rite of passage at the initiation schools. After their initiation graduation, readmission into the mainstream education becomes a challenge.

Nonetheless, most Basotho herders do not want to stay herders because they have no land, are poorly catered for, have low social status, lack access to social services including education and health and they are not part of mainstream society. Their ambitions are to become more socio-economically independent (Preece et al., 2009; Pitikoe, 2012). These concerns therefore highlight a need for at least basic literacy and numeracy skills in order to be able to interact in the global village.

However, there is insufficient information to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the educational needs and ambitions of the herders to inform an NFE policy for herders. There is not much known about how to match the lifestyles of the herders in Lesotho with an appropriate and relevant curriculum. This information knowledge gap calls for a need to

establish a deeper understanding of who the herders are, how they live and how they want to live. Since it can be argued that a herder's identity is central to how he interacts with educational systems and wider society, a more in-depth understanding of their life experiences, and how these have influenced their multiple identities and ambitions, can help to inform Lesotho's non-formal education provision.

1.2   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study seeks to answer the following questions;

1. What are the educational life histories of adult male herders in Lesotho?
2. How are their multiple identities (subjectivities) as herders constructed and how do these constructed identities influence their educational needs?
3. How have the herders applied IK gained through their life histories to advance their livelihoods?
4. How could these life history experiences inform Lesotho's Non-Formal Education policy for adult herders in Lesotho?

In order to position the study within the international sphere, I begin with a discussion of the global context. This will enable me to present the global figures as well as the relevant international policy frameworks which lay the ground for the development of context specific policies.

1.3   INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: SUB SAHARAN AFRICA (SSA)

Sub-Saharan Africa is reportedly one of the worst off regions in the world on issues pertaining to literacy and learner retention. The adult literacy rate was estimated at 58.9% for adults aged 15 and above between 2005 and 2012. It is further argued that 69.2% of youth aged between 15 and 24 years and a significant 37.7% of children are reported to have dropped out of primary education between 2003 and 2012. On average, the percentage of the population reported to have reached at least secondary education was estimated at 22.9% for females and

32.9% for males during this time frame (UNDP, 2014). The average poverty head count status was estimated at 47.5% in 2012 (UNDP, 2012) and 35.3% in 2013 (UNDP, 2013) while in 2014 it had increased to 50.9% (UNDP, 2014).

Sub-Saharan Africa is identified as having the highest rate of children who are not attending school (Zeelen, van der Linden, Nampota, & Ngabirano, 2010). Some of the challenges that impede the children from attending school, according to Zeelen et al., are "the relevance and quality" of the education provided and "lack of parental involvement, and poverty" (Zeelen et al., 2010:1).

In response to these challenges, most countries have ratified a number of international conventions that advocate for and promote the concept of Education for All (EFA). Such conventions include the Education for All targets and Millennium Development Goals. In Africa, through the New Partnership for Africa's Development **(**NEPAD), individual countries also have to produce Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and National Development Plans. Amongst the goals of all these policies and plans are targets for literacy, free primary schooling, gender equality in education and poverty reduction. A more detailed discussion of EFA follows.

1.3.1   Education For All (EFA)

Education For All (EFA) was a global movement coordinated by UNESCO and involving 164 governments to provide quality basic education for children and adults. It had six goals that would ensure expansion of education with equal access for women and girls and improvement in adult literacy levels. During the 1990s, international discussions around educational equality issues gathered momentum. One aim was to refocus educational commitments to providing basic education away from an initial concentration on the quantification of the learners who had enrolled, to the quantification of the learners who had actually completed their education cycle in first grade (King & Buchert, 1999). In other words, more emphasis has been placed since then on the level of attainment, as opposed to mere enrolment statistics.

As a step forward towards the implementation of EFA, UNESCO coordinated a conference in Jomtien in 1990 to engage the 164 governments in discussions advocating for what came to be known as the Education for All (EFA) targets.

By 2000 it had become apparent that the dates for achieving literacy, gender and basic education target would not be met. They were therefore reaffirmed in Dakar in 2000, under the facilitation of UNESCO, re-committing countries to the provision of a universal education that would be compulsory, be of quality and be freely accessible to all children (Goldstein, 2004).

The new millennium period marked the transformation era where the international world was beginning to place more emphasis on the pivotal role played by education in achieving national development goals (Zajda, 2006). Through the EFA Declaration, a baseline information document was made available to advocate for the development and implementation of policies that guided the standards which the "basic education" (Goldstein, 2004:7) programmes needed to follow in relation to developing countries.

The Declaration sought to ensure the eradication of social injustice in education and strive towards just and equitable access for all. In order to level the ground in Lesotho for the implementation of the global commitment set forth by the EFA to ensure an equal opportunity access to education, tailored to suit the needs of the clientele, the perception of education for herders (a marginalised social group) as an empowerment enabler, so that they "can stand on their own feet", (Dyer, 2012:120) became apparent. The introduction of the re-affirmed EFA targets coincided with the Millennium Development Goals.

1.3.2 Millennium Development Goals (MDG)

The purpose of these goals was to commit all countries to developing mechanisms that would reduce the most pressing global development needs. The World Summit held in September 2005 came up with a list of eight development needs that were identified as of serious global concern, as follows:

i)   Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger;

ii)   Achievement of universal primary education;

iii) Promoting gender equality and women empowerment;

iv)   Reduction of child mortality;

v)   Improvement of maternal health;

vi)   Combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

vii) Ensuring environmental sustainability and

viii) Development of global partnership for development.

It was at this World Summit that the world leaders committed to the accomplishment of these goals by 2015 (UNESCO, 2006). It is notable that education was placed high on the list, as a commitment.

Hunt (2008) argues that while the role played by the EFA and the MDGs has significantly enhanced the development of universal and equal education access, there is nevertheless a high drop-out rate from schools, which is a strong indicator that the universal education access policy alone does not mean that the needs of all children are being met. In other words, the situation is more complex than simply providing universal access.

The MDGs focused on universal primary education but did not extend this particular target to adults. Therefore, this created a potential problem for former herders as well as adults generally. All the above issues point to the need for a study to establish an in-depth understanding of the herders' educational needs.

In Africa a further layer of policy agreements was reached through the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

1.3.3 New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

NEPAD is a peer review mechanism devised by the African Union (AU) to encourage and support national development plans in Africa. Lesotho is a signatory to NEPAD. All NEPAD countries signed up to the MDGs and EFA goals. A major drive in all countries has been widening access to primary education and reducing the number of out of school children (Government of Lesotho (GOL), 2000). However, since the MDGs did not address adult education, this aspect of schooling has been relatively neglected (Medel-Añonuevo, 2006). The year 2015 saw the finalisation of new global developments in the form of the Sustainable Development Goals which will hopefully provide a window of opportunity to expand and develop education targets for adults.

1.3.4 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The SDGs came into being following an agreement that was made during the 2012 conference held by the UN on 'Sustainable Development (Rio+20)' (Osborne, Cutter & Ullah, 2015:3). As was the case with the MDGs, the SDGs are universal and strive to accommodate the development needs of all countries and they have become effective from 2015 to supersede the MDGs. They have been developed to serve as a global guideline on "sustainable development" which provides space for exploring the role of IK in contributing to development. The end product of the conference and subsequent consultations was a list of seventeen global goals which have been identified as follows:

i) End poverty in all its forms everywhere.

ii) End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture.

iii) Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages.

iv) Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all.

v) Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.

vi) Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.

vii) Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all.

viii) Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.

ix) Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation.

x) Reduce inequality within and among countries.

xi) Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

xii) Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.

xiii) Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.

xiv) Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.

xv) Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.

xvi) Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.

xvii) Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development.

It is worth-noting that the principle behind the development of the SDGs was that "the goals are intended to be action-oriented, concise and easy to communicate, limited in number"

(Osborne et al., 2015:3). However the generated list of the global goals out-number those of the MDGs and also some of the MDGs feature in the SDGs. Out of the total of seventeen SDGs, goal iv provides a reference to lifelong learning while other SDGs continue to reinforce the need for poverty eradication in the context of sustainable development.

The global policy context laid a rich foundation and a strong leverage for the development of national policies that would be context specific. The following section will focus specifically on Lesotho.

1.4   NATIONAL CONTEXT

1.4.1   Geographical setting

Lesotho is a small, mountainous kingdom situated in the southern part of Africa and completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. Administratively, the country has ten districts in an estimated total area of about 30 355 Km^2 (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MoHSW), 2009). Approximately 80% of Lesotho's land is reportedly "above 1,800 metres" (GOL, 2012:13). Lesotho is divided into four major geographical zones namely, lowlands, foothills, highlands or the mountains, and the Senqu river valley.

The MoHSW (2009) reports that the highlands, are situated at 2,200 metres above sea level and covering most of the country, and mainly used for livestock grazing. The lowlands on the other hand cover only 10% of the country and are mainly used for agricultural purposes. Figure 1 below shows the map of Lesotho.
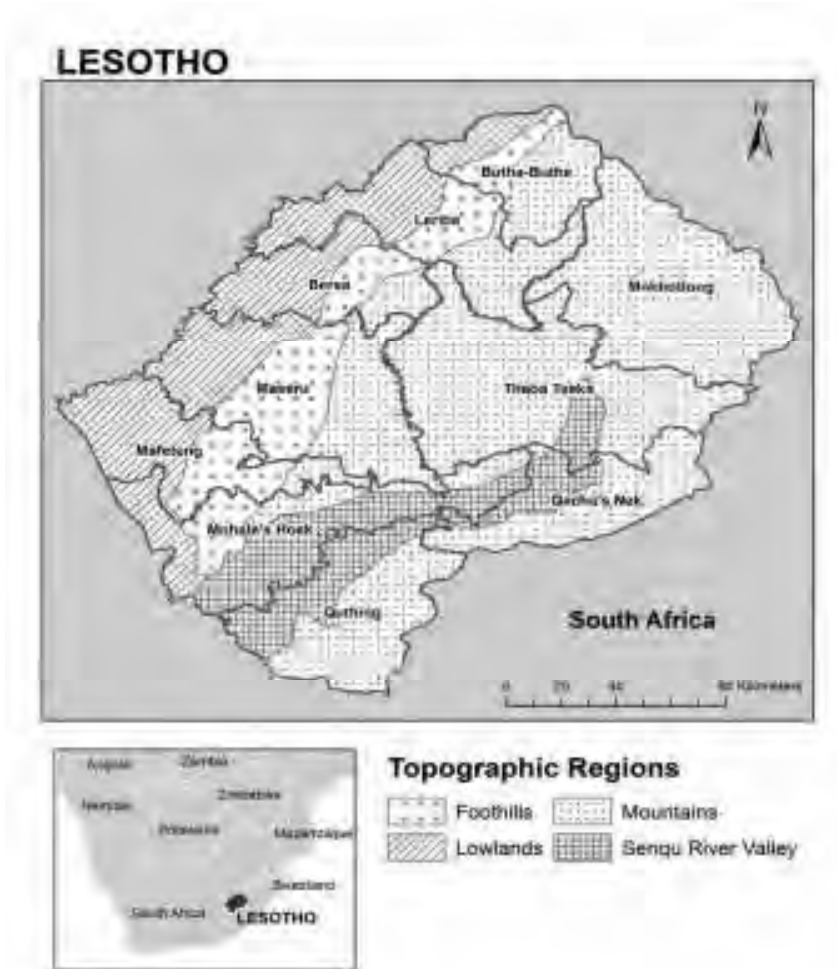
Figure 1: Map of Lesotho

Source: MoHSW (2009)

1.4.2   Climate

Lesotho is situated between 29°S and 27°S of the Equator. It lies within the temperate zone and enjoys a climate characterised by hot wet summers and cold dry winters.

According to the MoHSW (2009) the country has four seasons: summer from December to February, with January being the warmest month; autumn from March to May; winter from

June to August, with the temperatures dropping below zero degrees centigrade; and spring is experienced from September to November. Winter snowfalls are frequent in the highlands with rare cases in the lowlands. Rainfall amounts vary from 700 mm to 800 mm in most parts of the Lowlands, and most rain falls between the months of October and April.

In order to accommodate the weather changes, in summer, the cattle posts are moved further high up on the mountain tops where the grazing lands are fertile. In winter, the herders move down to where the animals can be more easily accessed in times of heavy snowfalls.

1.4.3 Population

The current population of Lesotho is estimated at over 2 million having had an annual growth rate estimated at 0.1% during 2000-2005 and an estimated increase of 0.7% during 2010-2015 (Ministry of Education and Training (MoET), 2005; Setoi, 2012; UNDP, 2014). UNDP (2014), estimates that the median age in Lesotho is 29.0. The percentage of the population recorded as aged below 23 years is 50%, while approximately 330 000 of the total population is reportedly made up of the age group 15–24 (Bureau of Statistics (BOS), 2010). An estimated 60% of the total population is reported to be residing in the western districts due to the availability of rich agricultural soils, accessible infrastructure and service provision (GOL, 2012). This policy document further asserts that 56% of Basotho are found in the lowlands while the population of the foothills, comprise 12.8%, with the remaining 30.5% shared between the highlands and the Senqu river valley ecological zones.

1.4.4   Poverty profile

Although Lesotho has a per capita income of around $1,000, the national poverty line recorded an average national poverty head count of 54% (58% in rural areas, 40% in urban areas) in the 2002/03 Household Income Survey. The World Bank International $1 a day poverty line figure produced a lower average national head count of 37% (41% in rural areas, 25% in urban areas (GOL, 2012:21).

The GOL (2012) reports that the most poverty impacted sector of the population is in the rural areas, with specific reference to the child headed, the elderly headed and the illiterate headed

households. Those with members working in the South African mines are better off because they send remittances back to Lesotho. In 2005, the Lesotho government introduced a pension for all citizens aged 70 years and above in an effort to bridge the poverty gap (Croome & Mapetla, 2007).

There has been a rapid decline, according to the Human Development Index (HDI) statistics, of the three key development areas of education, health and life expectancy. This is reflected in the GOL ranking recorded in 2004 and the UNDP ranking in 2014. Lesotho has recorded a drop in ranking from 120 out of 162 countries in 2001 (GOL, 2004), to the present ranking status of 162 out of 187 countries (UNDP, 2014). This can be attributed to the country's political instability and the continuing challenge to keep people in school since the introduction of FPE. A further decline in the HDI rank impacts heavily on the numbers of poverty related illnesses and a decline in the labour force, adversely affecting the national economy.

1.4.5 Economy

Lesotho is completely landlocked within the Republic of South Africa with no access to the sea for economic purposes. The landlocked nature and the limited natural resources have placed the country in a highly compromised position of economic dependency on the Republic of South Africa (MoHSW, 2009). However, Lesotho has formed regional partnerships which placed it in a better position to influence trade and monetary decisions:

> Lesotho is a member of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), the Common Monetary Area (CMA) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SACU and CMA are key influences on the trade, exchange rate and monetary policies of all member countries (GOL, 2012:13).

By virtue of its geographical position, Lesotho relies heavily on South Africa for trade purposes. It imports approximately 80% of commodities from South Africa while the latter buys only a quarter of Lesotho's exported goods.

In an effort to make ends meet, the adult males mostly seek alternative employment in the mining industry of the Republic of South Africa after spending some years as herders (GOL, 2012; United Nations (UN), 2012). The GOL (2012) further reports a rapid decline of the Basotho labour force in the South African mining industry which has escalated Lesotho's poverty status due to the reduction of the number of households who benefitted from the mining remittances. Herding has been part of Basotho culture for centuries and the value attached to herding in Lesotho is higher than that attached to education. It is perceived more as a rite of passage for Basotho males and it is passed down from one generation to the other (Mohasi, 2006).

The economic challenges of the country are also reflected in the people's state of health in the nation which has been severely affected by the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

1.4.6 Health

The government's National Vision 2020 document states:

> The Government of Lesotho recognises that HIV and AIDS is not only a health problem but a multi-sectoral development issue that has social, economic and cultural implications. Combating further spread of HIV and AIDS therefore continues to be one of the biggest challenges that face the country (GOL, 2000:vii).

Lesotho's morbidity and mortality trends have deteriorated which in turn have negatively impacted on the human resource capital, further contributing to the decline in "productivity, savings and growth" (GOL, 2012:132). Among the identified drivers, HIV and AIDS prevalence has been mentioned. Lesotho is among the countries reported as having been hard-hit by the HIV and AIDS pandemic. The adult prevalence rate is alarmingly high, estimated at 23.1% in 2012 amongst the 15-49 years old sector of the population (UNDP, 2014). This age group would normally be regarded as the most productive in the labour market. Another devastating impact of HIV is the large numbers of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) which was estimated at 220,000 in 2012 (UNDP, 2014). This has resulted in an increase in the number of child-headed households meaning that many children are unable to attend school.

According to the Ministry of Education and Training (2005) in the *Lesotho Education Sector Strategic Plan* (ESSP) *2005-2015*, the Education sector is reported to be among those that have felt the most impact of HIV and AIDS especially among the teachers. The positive impact of education on the improvement of health and mortality has been highlighted by the UNDP (2013) and education therefore is a recognised development need.

1.4.7   Education

The data presented by UNESCO (2009) on the planned age distribution of the primary education system of Lesotho stipulated that the age range for compulsory education is 6–12 years. Primary education level therefore lasts for seven years in Lesotho.

Lesotho is unusual in that more girls than boys attend school and therefore the adult literacy rate is higher among women than men (Ministry of Health (MoH), 2013; Morojele, 2009, 2011b). This phenomenon results from Basotho boys being taken out of school to look after the family livestock or to be hired by other farmers (Ntho & Lesotho Council of NGOs, 2013). Statistics, as shown in Table 1, reveal the proportion of males and females who enrol in school and those who are out of school in Lesotho. In addition, out of an estimated 89 learners, both males and females who enrol in primary school, 42 boys are reported to repeat a class as opposed to 21 girls in 2007 (UNESCO, 2009).

The data collected in 2009 demonstrate higher enrolment rates in primary level education amongst females as compared to their male counterparts, as indicated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: In-school and out-of-school children (Ages 6-12) in 2009

	ALL	MALE	FEMALE
In- school	401 000	200 100	200 900
Out-of-school	101 000	54 000	47 000

Source: Setoi (2012)

Comparatively, there are significantly lower numbers of in-school males compared with their female counterparts.

The following section discusses the policy plans for a way to counteract these imbalances. UNDP (2013:4) stresses the importance of policy development in that "a strong, proactive and responsible state develops policies for both public and private sectors".

1.4.8 National policy environment

In response to the international requirements, Lesotho developed a number of policy documents and strategic plans, as part of its strategy to attract international investment. These policies include the Constitution of Lesotho (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1993), Vision 2020 (GOL, 2000), the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GOL, 2004) and the Education Sector Strategic Plan (MoET, 2005).

The Kingdom of Lesotho National Constitution

> Lesotho shall endeavour to make education available to all and shall adopt policies aimed at securing that— (a) education is directed to the full development of the human personality and sense of dignity and strengthening the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; (b) primary education is compulsory and available to all (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1993:28).

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The Constitution of Lesotho is the umbrella legal document which lays the foundation for the development of other policies and strategic documents. In this document, Section 28(a) commits the country to creating an enabling environment for quality education through the development of relevant policies. Under 28(b) a further commitment is made to compulsory provision of primary education. Despite this commitment stated under (b), primary education provision in Lesotho is still not legally binding. Education provision has also been highlighted as a national priority in National Vision 2020.

National Vision 2020

National Vision 2020 states that:

> Education is central to national development …The country is committed to provision of an equitable basic education to all Basotho as a key development goal. Key challenges include: further improving access to education at all levels, and developing a curriculum that responds to the national development priorities, thus promoting entrepreneurial life, and technical and vocational skills (GOL, 2000:xii).

This commitment, as stated in Vision 2020 (GOL, 2000), highlights that education is considered one of the development priority areas in Lesotho. National Vision was developed through the engagement of various stakeholders and it commits Lesotho, among other concerns, to equitable access to education that extends beyond the basic literacy and numeracy needs of Basotho. This is foreseen in light of its intention to provide Basotho with skills that would enable them to explore the job market either as small entrepreneurs or formal employees and apply the technical expertise acquired through the education system.

Vision 2020 outlines seven key thematic areas of focus which form the backbone for its implementation, namely: "democracy, unity, education and training, economic growth, management of the environment and technology advancement" (GOL, 2000:4). Among the seven thematic areas, education has been placed as a high priority. This alludes to the recognition that Lesotho is among the African countries with high literacy rates, estimated at 75.8% (UNESCO, 2012b). However, the remaining 24.2% consist primarily of herders and

the question is, what strategies does Lesotho have in place to enhance the herders' education and development?

Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)

This is a national strategy paper developed through an engagement with various stakeholders from both local and international contexts and reviewed every three years. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper's (GOL, 2004) key focus areas were on the development of strategies that would enhance the socio-economic policies of Lesotho. This is reiterated in the PRSP's aim of describing Lesotho's struggle against poverty and laying out some information on the policies that Lesotho has put in place to address poverty.

In its revised strategy paper, the necessary actions are described by the GOL (2012) as "macroeconomic, structural and social in support of growth and poverty reduction, … [the] external financing needs and major sources of financing" (GOL, 2012:i). Another key focal area of this paper is its holistic approach to gender, where it does not look at it only from the female empowerment perspective, in isolation of males. Rather, it acknowledges that males are also disadvantaged in some aspects. The PRSP does not look at poverty as a stand-alone national priority, but rather as a factor that inter-relates with other key development issues. The PRSP recognises that poverty needs to be interpreted holistically and that it has to be understood from a variety of perspectives. Nevertheless, the close relationship between education and "jobs and income" (GOL, 2004:10) cannot be overemphasized. In other words, it is those Basotho who hold recognised qualifications who stand a better chance of being employed.

Lesotho National Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP)

> Basotho shall be a functionally literate society with well-grounded moral and ethical values; adequate social, scientific and technical knowledge and skills by the year 2020 (MoET, 2005:1).

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The ESSP 2005–2015 was developed in 2005 as a step towards furthering the three-fold mandate as stated in the National Constitution. The first mandate is holistic human development, the second one is ensuring compulsory primary education provision and the third mandate is to ensure an intensified education provision to those who have never accessed primary education.

The ESSP is mandated to attain nine objectives, stated by the Ministry of Education and Training (MoET 2005:1) as:

1. To improve access, efficiency and equity of education and training at all levels.

2. To improve the quality of education and training.

3. To ensure that curricula and materials are relevant to the needs of Lesotho, are consonant with the appropriate standards and gender responsive.

4. To ensure that both vocational-technical and non-formal education programs respond to the needs of industry and the communities in general.

5. To develop and implement a common system of regular collection and reporting of information on the current status and future demand and supply, and on priority educational areas in the country.

6. To progressively achieve the equivalence, harmonization and standardization of the education and training systems nationally, regionally and internationally.

7. To effectively participate in regional and international educational sector development initiatives.

8. To promote gender equality and ensure empowerment of disadvantaged groups.

9. To address the challenges posed by HIV and AIDS in education and training.

The ESSP draws from Vision 2020 under objectives 1-4 which highlight the need for improved access, quality and design of a need-based curriculum that includes "vocational and NFE" (GOL, 2000:1). All the departments under the MoET have to align their policies with the ESSP and advocate for their functionality in order to achieve the stated objectives.

However, the ESSP does not seem to have laid a solid ground to enable the functionality of MoET in promoting 'compulsory education for all' as there is literature stating that the herding job starts as early as three years, preventing the boys from attending school (Lefoka, 2007). The following section therefore discusses the history of Lesotho's education in order to show how herding and schooling have evolved side by side.

1.5 LESOTHO'S EDUCATION: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The following section aims to present an overview of Lesotho's Education system tracing back to the pre-Colonial era up to the modern education of the 21st Century. This history will help to explain the transitions that have occurred in the education system of Lesotho and show the level of inclusion and or exclusion of the herd boy community during the transition period.

1.5.1 Precolonial education /Traditional education

The traditional or indigenous education is also referred to as 'pre-colonial'. Busingye (2011:11), for instance, posits in a report that it is characterized by "[being] personal, oral, experiential, holistic, and conveyed in narrative or metaphorical language". Additionally, according to the report, this education relied heavily on the skills of the community who served as educators. Some of the report's observations singled out the initiation schools as playing a pivotal role in the provision of traditional education. They were informal in nature aiming to facilitate an institutionalised form of learning.

In summary, this education focused on human development, patriotism, home management as well as production. At the centre of it all was a focus on the human being as a whole to enable an individual to function in a way that fitted well into the society that he or she belonged to. Herders would have access to this form of education and this was a major influence on their identities as Basotho. Later on, upon an invitation by King Moshoeshoe I, the missionaries came to serve in Lesotho.

1.5.2   Arrival of the missionaries in Lesotho

The earliest departure from the traditional education of Basotho occurred after the arrival of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) in Thaba Bosiu in June of 1833. Their purpose was to convert Basotho to the 'modern' Christianity doctrine and bring about more 'civilised' ways of life. The missionary society shared with Basotho a wide variety of knowledge which included "literacy, building techniques … Christianity doctrine" Gill (1993:77). The new knowledge replaced the indigenous education system with a formal education system followed by an emergence of various types of formal learning institutions.

The 1860s saw another development with the arrival of the Roman Catholic discipline which introduced a paradigm shift in Lesotho's education system as it included an expansion of the formal schools. Being the first of its type, the Roman Catholic schooling was adopted as 'the' guiding baseline form of education in Lesotho. Education was later "left in the hands of missionaries" upon Lesotho's administration by the British government in 1868 (Gill, 1993:80).

This transformation resulted in Basotho being taught European values and lifestyles. Equally important is that, since the beginning of 1838, a growing number of Basotho were being converted. These Christian teachings brought about a dilemma to the nation; there was confusion regarding "traditional Sotho beliefs concerning what was good and just" (Gill, 1993:81). The customs and the relationships with chiefs were undermined and Basotho were converted to Christianity with foreign laws imposed on them to govern their lives and how they socialised. Wells (1994:28) refers to the devastating impact brought about by the arrival of the missionaries:

> The missionaries' aim of bringing Christianity and Civilisation to the Basotho also had many destructive effects. Their uncompromising attitudes to activities they considered 'pagan' greatly undermined the integrity of Sesotho culture and gave rise to new divisions where few had existed before. Nearly all aspects of Sesotho life were challenged, from the institution of *bohali* to *lebollo*, and the belief in *balimo*.

In addition, a formal school was built by Colonel Griffith under the Cape colonial rule in 1876 in Maseru (Ambrose, 1993). The formal school resulted in the rejection of the indigenous education system in favour of the modern system. These changes paved the way towards the implementation of the colonial education system in Lesotho.

1.5.3 Post-independence education

Missionary education did not bring about a significant contribution to Basotho's development as it disregarded the existing development philosophy of Basotho, which had emphasised an enforcement of the indigenous education that stressed a holistic approach to human development (Gill, 1993). Modern education focused on teaching Basotho the Western lifestyle leaving many Basotho incapacitated to embrace the collective nature of African traditional lifestyles as an approach to economic enhancement.

Not much more was done until the 21st century to ensure universal access to education by all in Lesotho (Gill, 1993). The ratification of the international frameworks and targets, EFA, NEPAD, MDG and FPE, supported an effective enhancement of the national development goals. The key focal area of these frameworks was on education, which was viewed as a vehicle towards promoting sustainable national development initiatives, equity and universality in the provision of education.

The policies were also committed to ensuring an extension of the educational provision to reach out to the poor and marginalised Basotho. From 1966 Lesotho was granted independence from the British and the country formed its own government which aspired to a universally accessible education system that would equip Basotho with skills applicable to achieving the national development goals. This aspiration brought about the introduction of Free Primary Education in January 2000 (Ministry of Education (MoE), 2001a; MoE, 2001b).

1.5.4 Formal education system

Lesotho's Ministry of Education and Training (MoET) is the sole custodian of this type of education. The mission statement of the Ministry aspires to the development of functional policy frameworks that would enhance access to functional literacy programmes for the betterment of Basotho to enable them to be a productive human resource (MoET, 2005).

This mission statement identifies two key concepts in human resource development: supply vs demand. That is, there has to be a human resource base that is well capacitated to meet the ever-growing needs of the underdeveloped country. It further seeks to ensure that education is accessed by all across all levels. The mode of offering conventional education is the classroom mode.

The need to promote universal access to education in Lesotho has been underscored by the Government of Lesotho. Therefore, various attempts and initiatives have been put in place through the conventional education system to provide opportunities for basic education as a step towards human resource development. One such example is the Free Primary Education (FPE) that was introduced in Lesotho in 2000 (MoET, 2008).

In response to the EFA and MDGs, FPE was introduced in most countries where formerly there were only fee-paying options. FPE in the international context is based on the premise of extending the continuation of education to the poorest and most marginalised groups of the population particularly those living in remote areas (Goldstein, 2004). The FPE will now be discussed in relation to the forms of provision that currently exist in Lesotho.

1.5.5 Lesotho's Free Primary Education (FPE)

Lesotho introduced Free Primary Education for all in 2000. The main goal of the FPE policy was to ensure that both boys and girls were afforded the same opportunity to access education that would provide them with the necessary life skills that would suit Lesotho's specific needs (Morojele, 2009; MoE, 2001b).

The implementation of the FPE policy, despite the positive results that it brought to Basotho, continues to experience its share of challenges regarding the availability of human resources, time and legal support for effective implementation. Firstly, the existing number of trained teachers is inadequate to meet the ever-increasing number of learners for a face to face mode of education. Secondly there are time constraints for the teachers to be able to take time off to fulfil their personal development needs in order to be better equipped with skills that would enable them to meet the increasing learner enrolment statistics (MoET, 2008).

Thirdly, schooling in Lesotho is not legally enforceable (Morojele, 2009). As a result, the livestock owners are not legally obliged to prioritise education of the herders over tending to their livestock. Those who missed out as children need compensatory education as adults.

In the current century, the country continues to be faced with a lot of pressure from the need for expanded educational and training opportunities for Basotho (MoET, 2008). Much is yet to be explored regarding the ability of the available educational institutions and facilities to accommodate increasing enrollments, and regarding the characteristics of the various learners including those with disabilities. Despite the shift in colonial and post-colonial times to formal and vocational education and part-time or distance learning, these resources remain difficult for the herders to access.

Through the FPE system, various attempts and initiatives were put in place to provide opportunities for basic education for adults as well as out-of-school youth, as a step towards human resource development. Such initiatives include the inception of the distance education programme which was intended to provide education beyond the four walls of the classroom and the inception of FPE in Lesotho. As a result of inadequate provision even after the inception of FPE, some of the male adults remained as illiterate herders or resorted to the mining industry in South Africa to provide for their families. This called for the provision of an alternative to formal primary education that could bridge the gap created by the challenges that have been indicated.

1.6   STRATEGIC INITIATIVES IN LESOTHO

This section looks at the strategic initiatives that have been developed in Lesotho to address the needs of the herders. The policies are presented in chronological order.

United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF, 2008)

This framework was mandated to eradicate poverty and ensure that the MDGs were attained in Lesotho. It also promoted the education of marginalised populations in Lesotho such as the herdboys, the domestic workers and the vulnerable children (UNDP, 2008).

Lesotho Education Act (2010)

The mandate of this Act was two-fold: to advocate for compulsory education at some time in the near future and to progressively ensure free education starting from six years (GOL, 2010).

HIV/AIDS Strategic Plan (2010–2012)

The major concern of the strategic plan was to promote access to education for the herdboys with particular focus on HIV/AIDS awareness. The strategic plan led to the establishment of *Monna Ka Khomo* through the financial support of the National AIDS Commission (National AIDS Commission (NAC), 2006).

Monna Ka Khomo Herdboys' Association Strategic Plan (2009)

Monna ka Khomo is mandated to build the capacity of the herders through the establishment of herders' associations who would then be trained as trainers to other herders. It also advocates for the establishment of a regulatory mechanism that would legally enforce education in Lesotho. It also empowers the herders with skills on HIV prevention, vandalism prevention, climate change and any other new information (*Monna Ka Khomo* Herdboys Association, 2009).

In an effort to counteract the challenges of education access and learner retention, different non-governmental organisations (NGOs) based in Lesotho with some support from the government have stepped in to provide learning opportunities through NFE to the disadvantaged groups including the herders in Lesotho (Setoi, 2012). This came in the form of non-formal basic education provision which is an equivalent to standards 1-10 and which targets both adults and out-of-school youth.

1.7   ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF EDUCATION PROVISION

1.7.1   Non-formal education

The concept of non-formal education (NFE) will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2; however, in this chapter I give an outline of NFE in relation to the national policy context.

Definition

Combs et al. (1973 in Preece, 2009:4) provided what has come to be a widely used definition of NFE where it is referred to as "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system … that is intended to serve identifiable clienteles and learning objectives". The purpose of NFE in Lesotho is to bridge the gap of illiteracy through the provision of out-of-school education as an alternative mode to address the needs of the disadvantaged groups in society (MoET, 2005). For Setoi (2012), NFE is a term used to cover a wide array of activities. He refers to NFE from the perspective of its results. He argues for its ability to generate functional and productive skills applicable in different spheres of life.

1.7.2   NFE provision in Lesotho

In Lesotho, NFE provision was and still is largely offered by NGOs (Setoi, 2012) and the government sponsored Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre (MoET, 2013, 2014).

The LDTC was established in 1974 (MoE, 1983, MoET, 2013, 2014). A summary of LDTC's four major objectives is presented in Nonyongo and Ngengebule (1998) as: provision of

correspondence education; community based business skills training; technical capacity building of NGOs; and basic education provision to out-of-school youth.

The Lesotho Association for Non-Formal Education (LANFE) was established in 1980 and has been seen as an umbrella body that helps in the overall coordination of capacity building activities that happen at the grassroots level and as a means of providing 'alternative' forms of NFE to the children and young Basotho who are not in attendance in the formal education system. The herdboys are reported to form the biggest portion of the out-of-school category (MoET, 2005). These functions of the LANFE are in line with the commitments of the PRSP (GOL, 2004), Vision 2020 (GOL, 2000) and the Education Sector Strategic Plan (MoET, 2005) whose main focus is on reducing social injustice in the provision of education and equipping Basotho with employability skills that would reduce the high rate of unemployment.

However, although there are now established learning posts aimed at enabling access to education by the herders, these resources are still often difficult for the herders to reach and the curriculum as outlined in the LDTC objectives is not always implemented (Preece et al., 2009).

The NFE provision encounters some challenges in implementing its provision. Some of the challenges include lack of effective coordination, and lack of political will**.**

Lack of effective coordination

While the NFE Inspectorate Office exists and "oversees and coordinates all NFE activities in the country" (MoET, 2005:89) within the MOET, it continues to face a major challenge of limited resources. It is staffed by one Officer and has one vehicle with no driver and yet it is responsible for the coordination activities country-wide.

Lack of political will

NFE is regarded as of lower status than that of formal education. It has therefore been imperative for Lesotho to draw up some policies that were intended to result in legally binding documents. Unfortunately the relevant policies have remained in a draft form for Non-Formal and Adult Education, and Open and Distance Education. The draft nature of these policies impedes their implementation as working documents. Pitikoe (2012:16) also emphasises the challenge brought by the "lack of implementation [as] impact[ing] on the advocacy for the implementation and recognition of educational activities beyond the classroom setting". Since open and distance education are NFE strategies used in Lesotho, the following section briefly explains how it has been understood and used in Lesotho.

1.7.3 Open and Distance Learning (ODL)

The Commonwealth of Learning (2000:2) argues that there is no universal definition of ODL instead it is defined based on the characteristics of distance education (DE) which are:

> Separation of the learner and the teacher in place and time … institutional accreditation … use of mixed-media courseware … two-way communication between the learner and the tutor… possibility of face-to-face meetings for tutorials … and use of industrialised processes ….

However, in Lesotho, ODL is referred to by linking it to the rationale behind DE – as a remedial education offered regardless of the physical and socio economic barriers (MoET, 2008:15). In line with this perspective, ODL is referred to as:

> approaches that focus on opening access to education and training provision, freeing learners from the constraints of time and place, and offering flexible learning opportunities to individuals and groups of learners.

In other words, ODL comes in as a flexible form of learning which allows the learners to engage in learning without the physical presence of an institution and a facilitator, and learning takes place at the time and space that is suitable to them.

ODL is an alternative method to address the challenges that the conventional education system is not best placed to respond to. Some of the major challenges have been identified in the

Lesotho Open and Distance Learning Final Draft Policy (MoET, 2008). These challenges are stated as threefold. Firstly there is an inequality in the provision of education in Lesotho; secondly, the socially disadvantaged groups often take 10 years to complete basic education instead of seven years either because they start and stop to resume at a later stage or they have to attend school on alternating days, particularly the boys. Thirdly, the existing curriculum comprises more of academic than practical content which does not provide many opportunities for navigating the job market.

Many schools, especially at the primary level, still have limited resources. In the light of this, non-formal education in Lesotho requires a more informed plan which is accompanied by adequate resources. Also, there is a need to finalise and adopt the NFE draft policy into a working document. This study hopes to provide some useful findings that will help to inform that draft policy.

1.8   MY POSITIONALITY

Some scholars have argued that researchers cannot undertake research from a purely objective position. They carry out the research process along with certain personal attributes such as "race, nationality, and gender which are fixed or culturally ascribed" (Chiseri-Strater, 1996:116). Mullins asserts that the researcher needs to be conscious of the existence of these attributes in his or her mind (Mullins, 1999). These attributes may potentially affect the process of research and it has therefore been argued that they need to be made known to the readers (Chiseri-Strater, 1996).

From the onset of my research journey, I engaged in a process of "reflexivity" (Burke, 2014:1). Throughout the research process, I was conscious of the biasness that may result from my positionality as a female Mosotho[1] and my rural upbringing. I grew up in the rural lowland village of Berea district. I have also consciously reflected on the influence of my

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[1] Mosotho – a citizen of Lesotho

employment with the US Peace Corps whose mission is the eradication of all forms of discrimination and equitable access to social justice.

My own life history includes the experience of my brother who became the first matriculant in the whole of the Ha Ntsuba area in Lekokoaneng which is made up of four villages. I also became the first diploma holder in the area. My family has been recognised in our village and the sourrounding communities as elite and educated. The entirety of my study; the assumptions and the lessons learned from my thesis have relied in part on how my life history and experiences have shaped my positionality as a researcher and my motivation to do the research. But my life history also, I hope, gives me insights into the stories told by the herders in a way that enriches the data analysis because I am familiar with the geography and circumstances which have affected their lives. My positionality is reflected on in more detail in Chapter 4 in relation to the study's methodology.

1.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has introduced the policy environment globally and at the national context. The former discussed the international context and frameworks which informed the development of the local education policies of the countries which have ratified them, Lesotho being one of them. Under the national context the discussion revolved around the existing national policies of Lesotho and the existing gaps towards the realisation of education as binding. A short narration was also given of the history of education in Lesotho, tracing it back from the traditional provision up to the modern day conventional system and highlighting the transformation introduced by the missionaries in the education system of Lesotho. Throughout the chapter it was emphasised that females in Lesotho are more educated than males; the reason being that culturally, it is regarded as more important for males to look after the animals than go to school.

In order to guide the remainder of this thesis, the section below provides a guided tour of how the chapters have been divided and the content that will be covered in each chapter.

1.10   DIVISION OF THE CHAPTERS

The thesis is divided into the following chapters in order to achieve the stated study objectives.

Chapter 1

This is the scene setting chapter which introduces the policy context both at the international and national levels.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 presents the literature review on the differences of herding in India and in Africa. It further presents the differences between Basotho herders, the Maasai and Botswana herders.

Chapter 3

This chapter discusses the theoretical frameworks that guided the study. The theory chapter covers the following: identity; subjectivity; African perspective on identity, issues relating to gender masculinities and indigenous knowledge. It also introduces the concept of social capital and its relationship to other forms of capital.

Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, I present the research methodology and design. This is a qualitative study which follows the narrative life history approach. The study applied the interpretivist research paradigm.

Chapter 5

In this chapter, I have summarised the narrative life histories of the herders who participated in my study. The main sub themes discussed under this chapter are as follows: the life history approach and Basotho herders' ambitions.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 analyses the findings which reflect patterns of public identity images from both the herders' and the education service providers' perspectives. The main sub-headings discussed under this chapter are: culture, masculinity and othering.

Chapter 7

The chapter analyses the findings on the patterns of more private identity positions, as articulated by the herders. The main themes discussed under this chapter are: inner sense of self, freedom to be and social capital.

Chapter 8

In this chapter, I present the findings on indigenous knowledge; how the herders acquire knowledge and how they use it for economic empowerment. It also identifies some of the herder recommendations for the kind of education they would like to pursue that would recognise their herding status.

Chapter 9

This chapter presents the study's conclusions and recommendations for NFE policy reform and for future studies.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I engage with the literature review that helped me understand the history of herding and the prevailing issues regarding access to education, in order to identify some best practice models to inform non-formal education in Lesotho and to identify gaps in the literature which my study hopes to fill. The literature review addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the educational life histories of adult male herders in Lesotho?
2. How are their multiple identities (subjectivities) as herders constructed and how do these constructed identities influence their educational needs?
3. How have the herders applied IK gained through their life histories to advance their livelihoods?
4. How could these life history experiences inform Lesotho's non-formal education policy for adult herders in Lesotho?

The outline of the chapter is as follows. It begins by reviewing the history of herding in India and Africa. The chapter then discusses the studies of Indian and African herders with a focus on the Maasai pastoralists, Batswana and Basotho herders. I then present an analysis of existing literature on the educational life histories of Basotho herders, commonly known as *balisana,* and their life ambitions.

The above sections are followed by a review of non-formal education which is currently the main form of educational provision for herders. Under the non-formal education section, I discuss the following topics: its definition, the history of its purpose, distance education, the NFE provision in Lesotho and the role of NFE in providing learning opportunities for the

herders. The chapter then discusses the concept of empowerment as it relates to Basotho herders.

The chapter starts with a review of literature on the history of herding both in India and Africa as a baseline to inform this study of herders in Lesotho.

2.1   HISTORY OF HERDING: INDIA AND AFRICA

Although, herding seems to be a common practice both in India and in Africa, studies that document the history of herding are relatively limited. In the following sections I discuss the literature on herders from these two continents. The descriptions of herding and pastoralism as embedded practices on these continents also highlight a concern for NFE provision that would cater for their lifestyles.

In Chapter 1, I mentioned that herding is not a new phenomenon. Literature from both international and local studies highlight how herding in Lesotho prevents males from attending school (e.g. US Labor Department, 2011; Lefoka 2007; Mahe, 2009; Makoa & Zwilling, 2005). Chapter 1 also talks about the need for education provision for the herders as an empowerment enabler which is affirmed in UNESCO (2010:76) under goal three of the Dakar Framework for Action as stated below:

> Dakar Framework for Action Goal 3: Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes.

Before I discuss the literature on herding I present the definitions of a herdboy and a pastoralist. The Collins English Dictionary (1994) defines a herdboy as someone who looks after the animals in an open veld and a herder as responsible for looking after the animals. Pastoralists are defined as livestock keepers living in remote and dry areas in search of pastures for the livestock (IFAD, 2008). In this study, the words herder, herdboy and pastoralist are used interchangeably because the nature of the job is similar. The following section briefly reviews pastoralism in India, as outlined by Dyer (2014).

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2.1.1 India

Dyer (2014) has produced a recent publication about the herders in India. Her study discusses two pastoral groups from India, namely the Rabaris and the Maldhari. Dyer's definition of pastoralists is as follows:

> Pastoralists are livestock keepers who adopt varying patterns of mobility to identify and exploit the natural resources on which their herds thrive. Movement is flexible and responsive to animal requirements, rather than a defining feature of a particular kind of 'nomad' which is erroneously suggested in the essentialising typology of nomadic, semi-nomadic, *transhumant*, [sic] etc. commonly used in education discourses (2010:267).

Dyer (2010)'s definition argues that pastoralism is a process that takes place systemically through movement patterns that seek pastures for the livestock. The 'nomadic' nature of the job is defined in terms of movement in search of pastureland, which places the wellbeing of the livestock at the core. According to Dyer, the history of the Rabaris dates back to 708 AD when there was an attempted invasion by Arabs against the Rabaris with the intention of pressurising the Buddhists and the Hindus to become Islamic converts. As a result of this invasion, the Rabaris migrated into Kachchh where they developed into two types of settlers: those who are in bigger Rabari groups and those who have subdivided into smaller (Dyer, 2010). While they live a mobile life, they do not practice a uniform life-style. Some in the smaller groups will be livestock owners while others practice a mixture of animal farming and crop farming. The key distinguishing features of the Rabaris from other community members are their dress code, their administration structure and their language. The other group that Dyer has included in her study is the Maldhari as discussed below.

The Maldhari are said to be a minority sub-group of the Ter transli which dates back to 1920. They are also herders who interestingly associate themselves very closely with their Hindu God, Lord Krishna. This group exchange their animal waste matter with the neighbouring communities for improvement of soil fertility and in turn gain access to the crop residues to feed their animals (Dyer, 2014).

Dyer,) highlights the existence of discrimination amongst the Indian pastoralists which emanates from the general perception of the pastoralists as being backward. She advocates for the adoption of a rights-based approach to education for its "legal and moral dimensions" (Dyer, 2010:267) which can assure an eradication of discriminatory practices towards the herders. In India for example, the adult pastoralists move along with their children and this migration results in the children losing access to education. When they return home, admission to schooling becomes difficult. Education is provided "through day [and] boarding schools" (Dyer, 2010:307) which raises a critical concern that the provision does not accommodate the needs and demands of the pastoralists.

2.1.2 Africa

In Africa, on the other hand, herding was introduced for commercial reasons, rather than for religious reasons. The significant difference between herding in India and Africa is that the Indian pastoralists live a mobile lifestyle while in Africa the movement is temporary because in winter the herders come back home with the animals. In the African context, the review of literature on herding practices explains that livestock herding was introduced to the continent 2000 years ago by the Hottentots who were originally from the North of Botswana. In some literature, the domesticated livestock were first discovered in 1488 among the Khoikhoi in Namaqualand, South Western Cape (Orton, Mitchell, Klein, Steele, & Horsburgh, 2013). There are different opinions about how the first animals were domesticated in Africa. One opinion is that the sheep were the first livestock brought into Africa (Sadr, 1998; Orton et al., 2013). Others suggest that both sheep and goats were the first animals that were domesticated in Africa by populations from the East which later led to the cross breeding of the African and the Asian breeds (Pleurdeau et al., 2012). Grillo (2014) links pottery closely to the arrival of livestock in Kenya where due to the mobile nature of the pastoralists, they used livestock to carry raw materials for pottery which served as a complimentary livelihood source for the mobile pastoralists during the dry seasons.

In most African countries, such as Nigeria, Botswana, Tanzania, Kenya and Lesotho, the literature states that the nature of herding practice is nomadic, similar to India's case, for the purpose of searching for pastures for the livestock (Ratau, 1988; Lawson et al., 2014; Seno & Tome, 2013; Schlee & Shongolo, 2014; Kubuitsile, 2012).

For Africans, there are two main ways through which herding is practiced. For instance, in the cases of Kenyans, Tanzanians and Basotho, herding is the male responsibility which they are initiated into at an early age and whose practice is learned from the wisdom of the elderly (Ratau, 1988; Kalavar, Buzinde, Melubo, & Simon, 2014). In Tanzania and Kenya, the families move as a whole from one place to another (Kalavar et al., 2014), while in Botswana the practice is slightly different. The herding practices by the Nigerian nomads and the Maasai are different from that of the Batswana (Botswana citizens) and Basotho because the latter herders do not roam around in search of pastures. The following section presents nomadic herding in Nigeria.

Herding in Nigeria

In the case of Nigeria, the nomads are estimated at 9.3 million of the total population. Their lifestyle is nomadic which involves movement with their livestock in search of pastures cited in Aderinoye, Ojokheta, and Olojede (2007). The Nigerian nomads have been classified into three main groups namely: the hunters/food gathers, itinerant fishermen and the pastoralists/herdmen. As a result of their lifestyle, the nomads' identity is closely linked to their socio-economic and cultural disavantages which includes lack of access to the basic life aminities, including basic education. Similar to the case of the pastoralists in India, the nomadic herding greatly impacts on access to education for the nomadic children which has resulted in 0.28% literacy among the nomads who have beneffitted from the formal education provision (Aderinoye et al., 2007).

Herding in East Africa

The Maasai are mainly found in the Eastern African countries of Kenya and Tanzania. Some scholars have carried out studies that established the challenges which the Maasai experience in their herding life (Seno & Tome, 2013; Schlee & Shongolo, 2014; Kalavar et al., 2014). One challenge has come about because the government of Kenya introduced a land tenure system in order to develop schools, and protect fauna and flora. This means that the land which had previously been used for pastoral faming has extensively diminished. According to Seno and Tome (2013:67):

> This process involves the creation of more schools, clinics and water-collection points, and villages that subsequently develop around them (Jacobs and Coppock, 1999). These sedentary settlements, combined with land such as like [sic] wildlife-protection areas and irrigated agriculture, decrease the mobility that is a necessary aspect of sustainable pastoralism. With these land-use changes, pastoralist mobility and access to important grazing areas have greatly decreased.

This strategic shift created a need to diversify from completely subsistence farming to an inclusive farming approach. In Tanzania, in response to the challenges brought about by the shift, more focus was diverted to tourism where Indigenous Knowledge was converted into income which has become one of the greatest tourist attractions in Tanzania. The Maasai have now embarked on catering for 'heritage tourism' which is defined as "traveling to experience the places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present" (Kalavar et al., 2014:54). The Maasai conduct their business from cultural *bomas*:

> The cultural *bomas* are typically pseudo Maasai villages that allow tourists a glimpse of Maasai life without intruding into private dwellings. Here, they perform traditional dances, sing specific songs, stage rite-of passage ceremonies, mock battle games, show how they make butter or draw blood from their cattle, and sell traditional handicrafts and ornaments to tourists (Kalavar et al., 2014:55).

In other words, while preserving some of the salient aspects of their personal lives, the Tanzanian Maasai take the opportunity to share part of the non-sensitive cultural values with the tourists as a source of income. A similar practice will be seen in the subsequent chapters of my study where Basotho herders have adopted these strategies to a limited extent. This practice according to Kalavar et al., has changed the Maasai's perspective of personal respect

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where in the past, age was a determinant for respect, but nowadays, money is the key determinant of respect.

Another recurring challenge mentioned amongst the Maasai, in view of the remote nature of their nomadic life, is lack of access to social services such as education and health (Lawson et al., 2014). These concerns are supported by Hearn (2011) who argues that the intellectual capability of the Maasai supersedes their lack of education.

In one study conducted by Hearn (2011) it was revealed that the Maasai had learned many lessons through interacting with their environment. In order to get much more information and to generate an interest in the Maasai about the topic studied, he gave the herders cameras and taught them how to use them to capture the issues that mattered most to their lives.

Hearn then uploaded the pictures onto a laptop and a communication that explained the importance of the picture to the Maasai, was added. Through this approach, the researchers were able to create a better understanding of how deeply ingrained the importance of animals in the Maasai culture is. Amazingly, one of the findings of this study was the high prevalence of deadly parasitic ticks, which the Maasai documented as harmful to their herds. When asked how they got the knowledge, the researcher found that it had been passed on from generation to generation. Despite their low level of literacy, the Maasai knew their herds very well and what ailments they suffered from.

The two important messages from this study were that, for the Maasai, the cattle were not just a mere commodity; and that the Maasai have adapted very well to modern circumstances and are knowledgeable about raising their herds under the harsh environmental conditions in which they live (Hearn, 2011). The research methodology adopted by Hearn provided insights into how I could conduct my study bearing in mind the possibility of the low literacy levels of the herders. For instance, from this story, it is evident that despite their low literacy level, the Maasai are highly knowledgeable, and appear to have a strong, positive identity in their context that helps them to cope in the difficult conditions they live in. They seem to use what

skills they acquire to solve the life problems they encounter. My study sought to find out to what extent the Basotho herders used similar forms of knowledge and whether their own identities were equally positive. The following section explores existing literature on the history of herding in Lesotho, prior to discussing what has been published in relation to Basotho herder life histories.

Herding in Botswana

For Batswana the land is compartmentalised by the chief "into three homes to accommodate the family's activities … a village home, plough fields (*masimo*) and the cattle post home (*morake*)" (Kubuitsile, 2012:23). However, recent studies reveal that the land tenure system in Botswana has changed from the traditional system where land was allocated by the chiefs. In 1968, this traditional system was replaced by the Tribal Land Act which placed the responsibility of allocating land into the hands of the Land Boards (Mosalagae & Mogotsi, 2013). Mosalagae and Mogotsi opine that the change has impacted on the livestock reproduction because, before 1968, more births were reported with the traditional system.

Molefhe and others also talk about how Batswana value livestock as an important livelihood asset to the rural economy and that they keep them in large numbers which are 'rarely sold' (Molefhe, 2013; Mosalagae & Mogotsi, 2013). Molefhe explains this by quoting a conversation he witnessed between a girl and an old man. The girl persuaded the old man to sell a cow and the response came out negatively as follows: "*Ka e tlhoka, ka tlhoka boroko, ka nna nayo ka nna ka bo tlhoka*" which translates as with or without a cow, one gets no sleep Molefhe (2013:7). The old man compares the similarities in sleeplessness where the worry of having livestock feels as bad as the worry of having none.

From these discussions, it becomes apparent that there is a high value attached to livestock in Africa. Livestock is a valuable asset for Batswana and cattle are kept in large numbers. Molefhe (2013) further states that, in Batswana culture, the number of livestock owned equates with wealth and this makes it very difficult for a family to sell an animal even if there

is a pressing family need. Batswana experienced challenges as a result of the changing land tenure system as was the case in India, Kenya and Tanzania. This shift affected the pasturelands in India, Kenya, Tanzania and Botswana.

Historically, livestock in the African context has also had a power status for the livestock owners, so much so, that those who had many livestock subjected those with fewer animals to violence. In the end, upon defeat, the minorities would commit suicide (Chu, Rivera, & Loftin, 2000). Elements of that violent lifestyle still prevail today. As will be seen in the findings of this study, bravery is still a desired characteristic to be nurtured among herders.

In addition to the way Batswana herding practices have been described, there have been studies on how Maasai herders operate in East Africa. These two herding practices relate most closely to those of Lesotho, although there are still some differences.

Herding in Lesotho

Livestock herding in Lesotho was first introduced by the Bushmen (*Baroa*) in the late Stone Age (Gill, 1993). The Bushmen were nomadic hunters who moved from one place to the other in search of game. Other settlers who owned cattle were the three Nguni-speaking groups of *Amazizi* later known as *Maphetla,* which translates as 'pioneers' who migrated from the Tugela area and settled in the lowlands of Maseru in the mid-17th century. Upon their arrival, the Ngunis established good relationships with *Baroa* due to a shared herding experience. *Maphetla* were joined by *Mapolane and Baphuthi* in the late 17th century.

In 1822, Lepoqo, the son of Mokhachane was inaugurated the King of Basotho at the age of 34 years and he was re-named Moshoeshoe I. During his reign Moshoeshoe I lived in Menkhoaneng in Butha-Buthe district. Ambrose (1993) states that in 1824, King Moshoeshoe I migrated to Thaba-Bosiu. On arrival in Thaba-Bosiu, King Moshoeshoe I discovered that the Bushmen had settled in the mountain of Qoaling, within a 5km radius from the current Maseru, the capital town of Lesotho. Ambrose further relates that King Moshoeshoe I entrusted the Bushmen with some of his cattle as a strategy to reinforce a more stable life.

However they migrated with his cattle to the Maloti Mountains of Lesotho without the King's consent.

Since the arrival of the Ngunis, most Basotho men have been initiated into the herding practice from a very young age and the role has since been passed on to the boys by their fathers. Contemporary Basotho men's life reportedly still revolves around this tradition. This is further alluded to by Wells (1994:24) who emphasised the significant role attached to livestock by Basotho as part of a lifelong tradition:

> Life for men, revolved around cattle-herding ... The central place of the cattle kraal in [the village] indicates the economic and symbolic importance of cattle in [Basotho culture] … Through the system of *mafisa,* the chief loaned cattle to his followers enabling less fortunate members of the village to marry and raise children.

The herding practice in Lesotho is similar to that of Batswana in that the herders (*balisana*) either commute daily from home to the grazing lands or relocate from the village homes (*motseng*) to the cattle post (*meraka or motebo*) where they may stay for some time (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005; Ratau, 1988; Nthunya, 1996). Due to the adverse climate in Lesotho, the *meraka* have been divided into summer and winter cattle posts where the former are located high up in the mountains and the latter are located closer to *motseng* for ease of access in cases of heavy winter snowfalls (Pitikoe, 2012).

Seemingly, Basotho culturally share a similar emotional attachment to livestock with the Batswana, particularly with cattle. While for Batswana cattle are equated to wealth, in Basotho culture cattle are associated with wealth *and* power. This is expressed by a common Sesotho proverb that equates cattle to a special God: a cow is the God with a watery nose (*khomo ke molimo o nko e metsi*). In other words, ownership of cattle resembles power and supernatural recognition closely related to God.

From the discussions presented above, there are similarities emerging from India and Africa in relation to the herders' lack of access to education. It will also be seen that Dyer's description of discrimination towards Indian pastoralists is reflected in the Basotho herders' own stories.

While it is acknowledged that herding is an old culture that has been practiced by Basotho for many decades (Mohasi, 2006), in my study I wanted to see whether there have been any changes since the introduction of free primary education and whether herding and educational experiences differ across the different geographical zones. The existing literature on the life histories of individual herders is generally not of an academic nature. It tends to be generally descriptive and not theorised. Nevertheless it provides a point of comparison with my own study for exploring who the herders are and how they identify themselves.

2.2   HERDERS' LIFE HISTORIES AND AMBITIONS

The majority of the literature reveals the life histories of Basotho herders told in the form of individual stories. Some typical examples are by Rayner (2010); Makoa and Zwilling (2005); and Mahe (2009). This section presents stories about Mojalefa Makepe, Motlalepula Salemane, Julius Matsoso, and Thabo Makoa. They are discussed particularly in relation to how their experiences shaped their identities. These stories cover the starting age at which each of these herders assumed their herding role, the challenges that they came across while doing their job and their coping mechanisms, how they identify themselves and their educational backgrounds.

These stories reflect the backgrounds of many Basotho males. Rayner (2010) documented stories of three herders: Mojalefa who started looking after the animals at a very young age; Motlalepula who dropped out of high school; and Matsoso a former herder, helping other herders to learn.

Makoa and Zwilling (2005) construct a collaborative story, in which Zwilling, an expatriate who had befriended a former herder Thabo Makoa documents on paper the herder's narration.

The story of Thabo Makoa shows how, in spite of lack of schooling, he took an opportunity, with the assistance of the expatriate, to further his studies until he attained a vocational education and ended up being an instructor in one of the vocational training institutes of Lesotho. This exposure further opened doors for him to visit the expatriate abroad.

Rayner (2010) highlights that the nature of herding means that young males are deprived of education about life skills and sexually transmitted diseases even though they are likely to engage in sexual practices from as early as 12 or 14. However, access to data on the herders regarding their Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) attendance is not easy because the patients are not categorised by their profession.

In the second story, Rayner (2010) presents Motlalepula Mohapinyane as a 16 year old teenager who hails from Thaba Bosiu Ha Khoabane in Maseru.

Motlalepula has been looking after his family's livestock since 2007. This new responsibility followed his dropping out of school in Form B, the equivalent of Grade 8 in South Africa. His knowledge about HIV and AIDS and Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) was very limited. Despite the fact that he confirmed that he had attended one HIV and AIDS awareness campaign at the clinic, the opportunity to get tested has not presented itself. He had developed a notion that the non-herding adults were placed in a better position for access to social services: "I haven't had time to go because of the animals, and my father will not allow me to leave the herd" (Rayner, 2010:1).

Thabo and Motlalepula did not have the same background in life. Thabo had assumed his late father's provider role, as is expected in Basotho culture by virtue of being a male in his family. He was required to assume this role at the very tender age of three years at the expense of his basic right of access to education. Motlalepula on the other hand talked about the bias of Lesotho's service provision. In his view, non-herding adults are given preference over herding children when it comes to access to social services including education. The story of Motlalepula not only opens one's eyes to the need for boys to be educated, it also emphasises the need for a curriculum that includes recognition of their lifestyles and of the educational content that would most benefit them, irrespective of their age.

Different writers identify that, from the life stories of the herders, there are at least two main literacy levels amongst the herders: one of complete illiteracy and one of dropping out of

school with some literacy (Rayner, 2010; Makoa & Zwilling, 2005; Mahe, 2009). The literature also reveals that most of them had very difficult beginnings in education (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005; Mahe, 2009). Irrespective of their literacy levels, the herders highlighted that they do have ambitions in life. This reflects in the third documented story which was written by Mahe (2009) about Julius Matsoso Majoro who was aged 32 at the time of publication.

The highlight of Matsoso's story is that he was a former herder who had become a teacher in one of the NFE night schools. Julius' experience as a former herder developed an undying compassion in him for the herders and he emphasises the ill-treatment that he experienced from the livestock owners during his herding days. He went on to express the compassion he felt when he realized as an adult that some of the herders lacked both literacy and numeracy skills, the latter being crucial for monitoring the livestock (Mahe, 2009). Stories like Julius's inform the basis of this research study as they illustrate the ambitions and concerns of the herders to move to higher levels in their lives.

By virtue of being male, the herders in the stories shared the fantasies they had and how they admired 'girls'. The older ones started talking about marriage and particularly the kind of girl they planned to marry and how they would like to raise their children (Ratau, 1988; Makoa & Zwilling, 2005; Pitikoe, 2012). For the most part, in these studies, they would like to marry someone who is educated and possibly has a recognised profession. They also would like their children to attain some form of education so that they did not end up looking after the animals for their entire lives.

Nevertheless, some of the herders still preferred that their sons must have some herding exposure and keep a few animals before getting married, while of course attaining some education (Pitikoe, 2012). The nature of these ambitions and the duality of their interest in herding and education would benefit from closer scrutiny in order to make suitable recommendations for adult learners, including young adults.

Some of the herders would like to work in the South African mines as they believe that they could get a lot of money to start their families. The literature also revealed that some herders like to engage in small projects such as poultry, for instance keeping broilers for income generation (Pitikoe, 2012). What is lacking in these studies though is a theoretical analysis of how the herder identities have developed in the Lesotho context or a detailed discussion of the different kinds of income generating activities that the herders engage in or aspire to engage in, using the indigenous knowledge that they had acquired from their herding experience. Instead, the readers are simply made aware that one of their dreams is to own assets such as big houses and cars (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005).

The herders' life histories present a strong sense of resentment of the treatment they are subjected to by the public. For instance, Thabo presents his experience as a hired herder through a critical reflection on the emotional and physical abuse he endured from his boss. This unveils the challenges that the herders experience in relation to their public identities that did not make it easy for them to fit into the normal education system. My assumption in this study is that a more in-depth analysis of the herders' identities would reveal how these challenges of 'fitting in' could be addressed.

In Lesotho, high rates of illiteracy are found among the herders, because families often prioritise herding over education due to poverty. Such was the case of Thabo Makoa. When he was only six years, his mother had to find a livestock owner who could hire him so that his earnings could provide food for his home. This was done regardless of the fact that he had never been away from his mother nor spent a long day out without any food. As a result of the education system in Lesotho not being legally binding, Thabo started working before he had ever been to school. This means his social role as a male to provide for his family was prioritised over his educational entitlement.

The parents and the livestock owners have a choice to either take the boy out of school to look after the animals or to let him not attend school completely. In Lesotho, most of the herders

who have an opportunity to attend school have benefitted from the other possible system (*ho chenchisa)* where the herders attend classes on alternate days (Ratau, 1988). A herd boy would go to school on Mondays and skip Tuesday to attend to the cattle, giving another herder a chance to also attend classes. Upon arrival from school, the herder would go out herding and the obligation would be for this herder to orient the other herder who would be attending classes, on what had been taught that day. This routine continues for the entirety of the year. The system has its own challenges, such as inconsistent attendance coupled with lack of study time. The herders often perform poorly and most of them drop out of school (Ratau, 1988). These Lesotho stories suggest that the non-formal education policy of Lesotho would benefit from a closer understanding of the needs and circumstances of the herders for curriculum development purposes. Setoi (2012) argues for the need for Lesotho's NFE system to take a more holistic approach towards its learners so that they can be efficient and effective members of the society.

My study seeks to have a better understanding of the herders, through examining their life histories, to find out how these experiences have shaped their identities and their future ambitions in order to tailor non-formal education provision more appropriately. The following section will discuss the concept of non-formal education as an alternative form of education offered beyond the four walls of the classroom.

2.3   NON-FORMAL EDUCATION (NFE)

Many scholars assert that education provision is categorised into three main forms namely: formal – the classroom type of education which usually has a fixed and linear curriculum; informal education – lifelong learning that happens through various life encounters; and non-formal – education outside the classroom setting which is more likely to have a tailor made curriculum for targeted groups of learners (Verduin & Clark, 1991; Rogers, 2014; Sevdalis & Skoumios, 2014; Ziegler, Paulus, & Woodside, 2014).

NFE provision is offered as a modification of the formal education system in terms of curriculum and mode of access. One of the widely accepted definitions of NFE is by Coombs et al., (1973 in Sevdalis & Skoumios, 2014:14) who define it as:

> Any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children.

NFE generally is likely to be less structured than formal schooling. The emphasis for non-formal provision is not only on making education universally available but on its ability to extend the curriculum into job creation activities and development (Rogers, 2004).

UNESCO later elaborated on the above definition by contextualising it within the human rights context. According to UNESCO (2006 in Preece, 2009:3), NFE is:

> based on an integrated approach that takes into account all the factors influencing the opportunities and life chances of different population groups, and the role played by education systems themselves in the process of social inclusion and cohesion … [it is] learning embedded in planned, organised and sustained education activities that are outside formal education institution [sic] responding to education needs for all persons of all ages. The purpose of NFE is to provide alternative learning opportunities for those who do not have access to formal schooling or need specific life skills and knowledge to overcome different obstacles. Non-formal learning is also intentional from the learner's point of view, as opposed to incidental or random types of learning.

Preece (2009:4) highlights the core aspects of NFE as follows:

- Flexibility in one or more ways – delivery and curriculum

- Targets particular groups for particular purposes

- Can be designed to achieve a range of context specific outcomes beyond the statutory provision

- The flexibility of NFE enables providers and implementer to progress at the pace of communities and there are many different providers of NFE

- There is likely to be more emphasis on using locally available resources and

- There is more emphasis on involving the community.

Carron and Carr-Hill (1991) identify four types of NFE. Firstly, *paranormal education* – which provides the learners with a remedial education through evening or distance learning classes – similar to the type offered by LDTC; secondly, *popular education* – a grassroots initiative targeting the marginalised groups in a similar way to LANFE's provision in Lesotho; thirdly, *education for personal development* – market oriented and varying based on personal training needs; and fourthly, *education for professional development.* Carron and Carr-Hill (1991:21) describe these forms of education as; "relatively autonomous" from one another in that they:

- Respond to different educational needs,

- Serve different clientele,

- Are organised by different educational agencies, and, above all,

- Have different relationships with the formal educational system.

However, the emphasis of NFE is on meeting the pressing needs of the learners (Israel, 2000; Sevdalis & Skoumios, 2014; Yanchar & Hawkley, 2014). Since NFE is the most likely provision available for adult herders, this section highlights some of the complexities associated with NFE provision.

2.3.1 History of NFE's purpose

NFE is seen as a remedial redress within the education family to meet the ever-growing educational needs of the masses (Rogers, 2004). According to Rogers, the discussion on the history and purpose of NFE can be traced back to the way policy 'frameworks' were originally put in place for defining the educational needs of out-of-school children, youths and adults.

One such is the 'Framework of Deficit' which forms the basis for discussion on development strategies for developing countries. This framework argues that the reason why

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underdeveloped countries are in their current state is internal rather than external. One of the highlighted reasons is their uneducated and unskilled human resource. This situation is so intense that it has trapped the people living in underdeveloped countries. In order for these countries to be developed, according to the framework, there is a need to strengthen them in two main areas: economy and skills building. Skills-building forms the basis of the modernisation approach for development (Rogers, 2004). Education and training are therefore seen as vehicles that can drive the development process forward.

Rogers' modernisation approach, besides highlighting the improved techniques and skills needed for development, also emphasises how increasing poverty levels amongst underdeveloped countries have resulted in the escalating number of the unemployed human resource. Hence people are unable to participate in development activities and are unable to make informed decisions in their own countries.

Discussions on NFE in general commenced in about 1968 when it was seen as a powerful development vehicle to address the modernisation agenda as a means to end the unmet learning needs gap, of the poor rural people. The focus was on how NFE could provide a particular kind of learning environment near to work places, could have a curriculum that was responsive to the learning needs of the learners and which would give them practical skills to address real life situations (Bock & Papagiannis, 1983; Rogers, 2004). The focus in Rogers was also on the economic value and benefits that NFE could provide for its clientele.

It was seen as a realistic schooling alternative, as a way of providing new skills to the rural communities, which allowed for open enrollment, and as an effective use of limited resources. However, NFE is not without its critics and it not simple to define. Preece (2009:4) identifies some of the criticisms as:

- Poor quality and monitoring
- The problem of harmonising a qualification framework between the two systems

- Government arguments that there is no rationale for NFE when UPE is in place

- Lack of clear policy to guide NFE

- Negative social attitudes to NFE

- The tension between formalising NFE and then losing the very qualities of flexibility and local responsiveness the non-formal provision caters for.

In spite of these concerns about quality, the story of Thabo Makoa in Lesotho reiterates the need for NFE very well. He started his job before he even set his foot in a classroom. Since he was still very young, he could not be sent to the cattle posts and had to look after a flock of sheep. One of his responsibilities was to count the sheep every evening when they entered the kraal. Unfortunately, he had never been to school and could not use the numbers to count the sheep. Thabo nevertheless reiterates the enormous knowledge that herders acquire from looking after the animals: "The life of the shepherds teaches you many things, it teaches you how to manage" (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005:8). Thus he had to devise ways of knowing his flock without physically counting them: "I can't count them, but I know with my eyes when one is not there. I know each one of them" (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005:12).

Thabo Makoa further explained how he devised some means to do his job well by learning basic numeracy informally. In his case, when the sheep came back from the veld he collected as many stones as he could. Then for each sheep that entered the kraal, he dropped a stone. After all the sheep have entered the kraal he would collect the stones and keep them safely. The next evening he retrieved his stones and started that process all over again. If, after all the sheep had entered the kraal, he still had some stones in his hand he would recount. If he still got the same result them he would know that the remaining stones represented the missing sheep.

Similar stories of informal learning are reported by Pitikoe (2012). If the herders had been able to access NFE, this informal learning could have been supplemented with more universal forms of literacy and numeracy. One way of improving the universality of education is

through distance education, a form of NFE which has become popular around the world. Since Lesotho provides NFE through a mixture of distance and face-to-face education it is worth looking briefly at some literature definitions of distance education before describing the Lesotho context.

2.3.1   Distance learning/education

This section reviews the historical background of distance education (DE) and how different scholars define it. DE originates in Australia dating back to the 1900s with the establishment of correspondence schools (Krätli, 2001; Castañeda, 2005). Castañeda opines that these were followed by other developments such as the use of the radio as another method to impart learning. It is also worth-noting that there has been an ongoing evolution in the field of DE.

Definition

Different scholars define DE differently. Some reflect on the negative connotation of the word 'distance' in that it already implies separation and autonomy from the onset, without prior emotional preparedness on the part of the learner (Bayne, Gallagher, & Lamb, 2014). Some perceive it as a situation or method that allows teaching and learning to take place (Portway & Lane, 1994). Others define it as a collection of various study forms at all levels (Benson, 2004). A significant few, such as Garrison and Shale (1987), define it from the learner support perspective with emphasis on establishing a two-way educational communication between the learners and the instructors.

While these scholars have varied perspectives in their definitions, one thing that stands out for DE is the separation of the learner in space and time. This has been outlined in one of the first definitions of DE which came from Dohmen (1967). This definition looked at DE from its key features: the use of media to cover long distance, division of labour, self-study, learning material, learner supervision as well as student counselling. Dohmen's definition is as follows:

> [DE] *(Fernstudium)* is a systematically organized form of self-study in which student counselling, the presentation of learning material and the securing and supervising of

students' success is carried out by a team of teachers, each of whom has responsibilities. It is made possible at a distance by means of media which can cover long distances (Dohmen, 1967:9).

What the definition implies is that the learner has an obligation to take control of the learning process without relying on the face-to-face contact with the teacher. The role of the teacher in this definition is seen more in terms of providing counselling support, learning materials and supervision rather than direct instruction. Later developments in the definition of DE have placed more emphasis on the teacher/learner separation and are concerned with material quality as a teaching tool to ensure the effectiveness of the acquisition of learning by the distant learner (Menconi, 2003; Chanthai, 2008; Andronic, 2014; Castañeda, 2005).

DE is characterised by the use of different media or telecommunication methods to facilitate the learning process over a wider coverage (Garrison & Shale, 1987; Oladejo, 2014). The world has turned into a global village through the use of such technology. My study focuses on *balisana,* most of whom are in possession of cellular phones despite their low level of literacy. It has been argued that there is potential in exploring the use of these 'mobile' devices on a broader scope that extends beyond just communication, to include delivery of learning materials for the herders, as Vázquez-Cano (2014:1507) states:

> The most important feature of new mobile phone technologies in the area of Education occurs when, due to their portable natures and their abilities to promote additional learning methods, learning continues beyond the classroom.

Some of the benefits of the distance learning mode are that it helps the learner to continue learning without being restricted by those barriers that bar their participation in formal education and it further opens doors for the learners to choose and negotiate the content to study, the time they want to study and where they would prefer to learn from (Bock & Papagiannis, 1983; Richard, 2000). Chanthai (2008:1) sums up the adaptability of DE as a learning method that opens more access doors for the learners in the world of today, as follows:

Education has considerably increased beyond the traditional classroom setting. Advancements in computer technology and public access to the internet have been used to support any shortcoming of the traditional classroom setting. Due to the value of distance learning, many learning institutions have adopted it as the next logical step in the educational delivery systems.

From this statement it therefore goes without saying that given the nature of herding and the lifestyle of the herders, DE has potential as a remedial measure that could counteract the short-comings of the formal education system for ease of access to *balisana* in Lesotho.

Thabo, for instance ultimately secured employment with the family of his biographer Zwilling, helping them as a gardener. Through the interaction that he had with this family, Thabo ended up enrolling in correspondence courses and attained a Form C certificate. This certificate opened doors for him to enroll with the Leloaleng Technical Institute. Upon graduation, he secured a job at the Mount Tabor High School. Stories like Thabo's are testimony that he did have his own inner ambitions regarding education. Despite the many years of herding, Thabo was able and willing to exploit the opportunity that would enhance his life. But without the significant support of the Zwilling family this would have been unachievable. This study sought to find out whether significant others played a role in the herders' own life stories, ambitions and achievements with a view to considering whether such significant others are a form of support that might be needed for NFE provision for the herders.

One of the most recently developed evolutions in the field of DE is Open and Distance Learning (ODL) which uses a combination of face-to-face and distance methods while DE is offered purely as a distance learning method. Oladejo (2014:278) first defines DE as follows:

DE and training result from the technological separation of teacher and learner, which frees the student from the necessity of travelling to a fixed place, at a fixed time, to meet a fixed person, in order to be trained.

In this definition, learning does not rely on the physical presence of the learner and the instructor in the same room. Instead technology can be used to mediate the content delivery to

accommodate the distance in space and time between the learner and the tutor. Oladejo, however, posits that ODL can be offered through four modes. First as the single mode: where planning and allocation of resources are solely committed to DE provision. Second is the dual mode: which combines both the face-to-face and the distance approaches. Third is the mixed mode: which merges the conventional with the distance learning approach, and fourth is the consortia mode: which involves an effective allocation and use of resources through the formation of a consortium by different autonomous institutions who share the same vision and goals.

The following section explores some examples of NFE provision for herders in different parts of Africa which might help to inform NFE policy in Lesotho.

2.3.2   NFE and the provision of educational opportunities for herders

The reviewed literature on studies carried out by other authors on herders' NFE experiences and daily lifestyles, have highlighted the need for the curriculum to be related to the learning needs of the herders. These issues are supported in recent case studies of early school leavers from Uganda, Lesotho and Sudan (Krätli, 2001; Zeelen et al., 2010; GOL, 2000; Nyabanyaba, 2008).

Krätli (2001) presents some case studies of the Nigerian and Ethiopian herdboys' education that not only focused on promotion of basic numeracy and literacy, but also extended to empowering the herders with new skills and knowledge that would enable them to do their job better. The case study discussions argue that a high learner enrolment was due to the fact that the content addressed their immediate learning needs. In Nigeria, for instance, the standard curriculum was modified so that it made connections with the nomads' background. For example, Elementary Science was modified to include animal management and agricultural science.

The approach was designed on the premise that the herders were more fascinated with learning the skills and knowledge that would result in empowering them to improve their livestock production rather than merely focusing on basic numeracy and literacy skills.

In Ethiopia, Krätli (2001) emphasises that the programme played a significant role in bringing about change to the lives of the nomadic pastoralists. It was perceived as a vehicle that could bring about change in the beliefs and attitudes upheld by the Maasai community and that could also introduce new forms of knowledge. Emphasis was on integrating traditional methods and practices with modern ones. The Maasai herders were trained and upon acquisition of the various skills that were applicable to their herding life, they integrated into their communities and served as change agents who facilitated positive improvements in their communities.

Looking at how these two programmes were designed, there were two elements that were common to both. Firstly, they were designed so that they would add a significant value to the work that the herders were already engaged in. Secondly, they were designed to empower the herders and generate a significant interest to learn and sustain the newly acquired learning. In these studies, emphasis was on the need for the curriculum to look at alternative livestock projects and income generation skills to promote a learning environment that could possibly enable the herders to be more economically empowered. It is therefore worth discussing the concept of empowerment further in relation to the Basotho herders.

2.4   THE CONCEPT OF EMPOWERMENT AS IT RELATES TO BASOTHO

HERDERS

Debates on empowerment as a concept are on the rise. It is worth-mentioning that an understanding of empowerment can vary depending on the angle from which it is looked at. Some scholars emphasise the complex nature of empowerment which makes it difficult to define due to its "many facets" (Pacho, 2012:xxii). Pacho defines empowerment as: "a

psychological state, a sense of competence, control, and entitlement that allows people to pursue concrete activities aimed at becoming more powerful".

The definition above looks at empowerment from the cognitive point of view where the competent state of mind facilitates empowerment so that the individual is enabled to control and carry out meaningful activities for self-empowerment.

However, UNESCO's (2013:14) more encompassing definition of empowerment looks at it from the education perspective. The definition is as follows:

> Empowerment is a process of supporting people to become more aware of power relationships and systems and understand that just and fair balances of power contribute to more rewarding relationships, mutual understanding and increased solidarity. Empowerment also means being better equipped to take control of your life, including education.

In this definition, UNESCO emphasises that empowerment is a long term process focusing on supporting individuals in the establishment of healthy support systems that promote the equitable distribution of power and the control of life and education. Additionally, emphasis on the crucial need for an enabling environment is made in order to enhance empowerment.

According to UNESCO, culture can act as a barrier for empowerment; so does lack of education, among other barriers. Dyer echoes UNESCO (2013) by stating that people empowerment is about absolute control and power sharing (Dyer, 2014). Dyer further argues that empowerment is about the expansion of existing opportunities that can be enjoyed by individuals as members of a society. Therefore, for empowerment to be fully implemented, the need for capacity building is underscored.

In relation to the herders, empowerment is also linked to the black economic empowerment concept. This concept was established during the post-apartheid era in South Africa with the purpose of bridging the economy gap between the White people and Black people. The premise behind the concept was to allow Black people to register their companies for

consideration to apply for government tenders and improve their economic well-being (Acemoglu, Gelb & Robinsons, 2007). This concept places strong emphasis on equity and the decentralisation of the resources from the rich members of the society to the disadvantaged, but potentially able, black members of the society (Gqubule & Brown, 2001).

In the context of Lesotho, the herders are disadvantaged but are potentially able, and therefore suffer similar discrimination within their own country as do the black population of South Africa. Issues of equity and decentralisation of resources therefore are, it could be argued, similar for Basotho. Empowerment also includes being empowered with societal knowledge such as HIV prevention. By virtue of their employment, the herders are out in the wilderness, lonely, uninformed and illiterate with very scarce resources to obtain information on social issues. This places them in the vulnerable position of easily being infected by HIV (Pitikoe, 2012; NAC, 2006; *Monna ka Khomo* Herdboys Association, 2009). This study seeks to explore the education and lifestyle experiences of Basotho in more depth in order to address some of these issues.

The role of NFE for Lesotho's herders, it has been argued, needs to focus on the provision of the necessary skills, resources and responsibilities to start and manage their own income generating projects (Preece et al., 2009). The projects have to be aimed at transforming their lives from a marginalised state into a financially secure state. While the government of Lesotho has recently incorporated vocational training skills in the LDTC programmes, the challenge is the lack of financial support from the Ministry to take these skills to higher levels (Pitikoe, 2012). The LDTC and LANFE, as stated in Chapter 1, are the main sources of distance education in Lesotho. However, their efforts to provide education for economic empowerment for the herders have so far been limited (Preece et al., 2009; Preece, Croome, Ntene, & Ngozwana, 2011).

In the context of this study, the literature on herder stories has not explored in detail the knowledge gained from their previous experiences and the potential impact of their life stories

on their context-specific identity as a contribution to their educational needs for economic empowerment. The focus of this study is on herder identities. Their identities as Basotho herders present a challenge to providers as to how to cater for herders in relation to how they identify the value of education and also how they relate to the wider Basotho society.

My study also sought to establish how the herding community accesses Indigenous Knowledge. This will be discussed in Chapter 3, with a view to exploring how to make recommendations for a potential learning curriculum that connects to where the herders are coming from in terms of their sense of self; the potential identity conflicts and contradictions in the Lesotho context; how to capitalise on what they already know; and how to make education contribute more effectively to their ambitions and to their economic empowerment as adults.

2.5   CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have examined how the literature discussions have answered the research questions of my study in order to identify the gaps that will pave the way for the findings chapters. The first question is about Basotho herders' educational life histories. The literature discussion reveals a general lack of access to formal education by the herders. From the literature, there were two levels of literacy that were discovered among *balisana*: complete illiteracy and school drop-outs - despite the fact that basic numeracy comes in as an important element of herding that enables the herders to monitor their livestock effectively. However, the literature has not addressed how the herders may be supported in their efforts to obtain NFE.

The second question is on the construction of herders' identities and subjectivities and the impact which these two concepts have on learning. The literature discussions reveal that there is a general sense of resentment that the herders are subjected to by Basotho. Another issue that was identified from the literature discussion was the way the herders value education coupled with the way they relate to the wider society which could possibly have an

implication for service provision amongst the herders. However, the assumption of my study is that there is more to learn about the herders' identity and how they interact. The existing literature has not theorised how the identities of Basotho herders have been formed and have developed over time.

The third question looks at how the acquired IK from herding is being used to empower the herders economically. The literature findings reveal that there is indeed a significant amount of IK which the herders acquire during herding. The literature also revealed that there has been an inclusion of vocational education for the herders by the LDTC. However, the financial support to this initiative has always been a barrier to effective implementation of the herders' vocational education. The literature has also not explored in depth how the acquired knowledge from their herding experience has influenced the herders' identity and contributed to their educational needs and economic empowerment. Neither has the literature identified their aspirations on the income generating activities that they would like to engage in, using the IK which they have acquired from their herding experience.

The implications for NFE discussed in the literature include the need to develop programmes that meet the needs of the herders and suit the herders' lifestyles. Reference was made to the herders' NFE programmes that were designed in Nigeria and Ethopia where the focus extended beyond basic numeracy and literacy into adding value to the herding life as well as empowering the herders. The extent to which such programme designs could be relevant for a Lesotho programme will be explored subsequent to discussion of this study's findings.

Chapter 3 covers the theoretical frameworks guiding my study. The discussion revolves around the following theories: identity, subjectivity, African perspective, gender masculinity and IK. I also discuss the four capital theories that emerged from the data analysis process: social, human, cultural and economic capital theories. These theories are a resource to enable me to theorise and understand the herders' stories in more depth.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAME-WORK

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework that guided my study. My study has used theories of identity and subjectivity and the concept of Indigenous Knowledge. I also discuss the four theories of capital: human, social, cultural and economic. These capital theories were not initially part of my theoretical framework but emerged during the data analysis process.

Subjectivity is included because it is a more complex way of looking at identity in terms of power relations and the role of society in 'gendering' human beings (Alsop, Fitzsimons, & Lennon, 2002). It focuses on the influence that the internal discourses - beliefs, expressions and behaviour (Metzinger, 2010) - have on an individual's sense of self and possibly multiple and contradictory identities.

The chapter also presents a discussion on gender with a particular focus on masculinity. The hegemonic nature of masculinity becomes central to the discussion especially in relation to power and dominance as argued in Morojele (2009, 2011a, 2011b), Alsop et al., (2002), and Bowl, Robert, Leany , Ferguson, and Gage, (2012).

The distinctive notion of 'collectiveness' among Africans is discussed in relation to how it influences the shaping of identity amongst the Africans as posited by Lekoko and Modise (2011), Carson (2009), and Kumah-Abiwu and Ochwa-Echel (2013). Finally, I discuss literature that theorises Indigenous Knowledge. Under IK the discussion includes definitions by different scholars, its characteristics, and the use of indigenous plants and herbs for medicinal and nutritional purposes in Africa (Busingye, 2011; Nyiraruhimbi, 2012; Ngozwana, 2014). I also look at the value attached to the indigenous plants and herbs in the African context, followed by critiques of the IK theory and its relevance to the study.

The theories used in this study create an opportunity to obtain a deeper understanding of the herders' multiple identities; how they perceive themselves as Basotho herders and males in

Basotho culture and how they are perceived by wider society. I now move on to discuss identity theory.

3.1   IDENTITY THEORY: HISTORY AND DEFINITIONS

There are different theoretical perspectives about identity and subjectivity. From the works of William James and other pragmatists, identity was recognised as a concept. In their view they define the identity concept as comprising two key elements namely the 'I' and the 'Me'. The ''I'' defines the personal perspective through which individuals see themselves while the "Me" informs the learning about the self, according to how others see the self (Tennant, 2012:6). The 'I' becomes the knower and the 'Me' becomes the object.

Identity as a term emerged from the works of Sheldon Stryker who defines identity as the "internalized designation" (Burke & Stets, 2009:25) of the self. The modern day articulation of identity theory results from the works of Stryker in 1968 who explored the concept of identity as a sociological theory (Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Today the theory is used by academics to broadly recognise the existing relationships between a multi-layered notion of identity and the social structure in which it exists and functions (Burke, 1991; Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Turner, 1978).

3.1.1   Definition of identity

Gee (2001:99) defines identity as: "being recognized as a certain kind of person, in a given context". This means identity can be influenced by how the individual interacts within an environment which that individual is in and which is associated with a certain label. For instance one may be labelled a terrorist, freedom fighter etc. depending on the interaction one has with the group.

Sorell and Montgomery (2009) view identity from the perspective of Erikson's theory which traces identity from its development stage. Sorell and Montgomery talk about the

contradictions that the self engages in during identity construction and the role played by trust and dependability of the desired other in influencing the shaping of identity.

Keba (2010:13) defines identity from Charles Taylor's individualist perspective. The argument suggests that the debate on identity has "not [been] given an adequate philosophical explication". Keba argues that Taylor's perception of identity as a dialogical self, as an interpretation that involves the society and not only the individual, best describes the construction of identity. Identity is thus defined as:

> To know who I am is a species of knowing where I stand. My identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which I can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what is or ought to be done, or what I endorse or oppose. In other words, it is the horizon within which I am capable of taking a stand (Keba, 2010:14).

From this definition, it can be surmised that the construction of identity is multi-layered. The way individuals identify themselves is motivated by the psycho-social attributes and values of the self. In these situations the self-perception becomes the most dominant influence on how an individual expresses thoughts, intentions, actions and beliefs in everyday life. This definition relates to the herders in that they operate within a framework that endorses their multiple identities as male Basotho and as members of the herding community.

There is still a disagreement amongst the identity theorists regarding how to analyse people's social attributes in relation to behavioural expectations. Some examples include viewing them as identities (Burke, 1991), as effects on identities (Thoits, 1991), or as social structural features that inspire identity commitment (Stryker & Serpe, 1982).

The general consensus reached on the key characteristics of identity theory, is that identity is shaped by socialisation that is linked to the nature and importance of the individual's societal role (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Different academic scholars define identity in terms of the self-images which are perceived on the bases of where an individual is and where the

individual wants to go in future with life (Lappegard, 2007; Tennant, 2012). The following section explores these self-images further.

3.1.2 Self-identity

Watson defines self-identity by citing Giddens' reference to "continuity (across time and space) as interpreted reflexively by the agent" (Watson, 2008:125). This means self-identity is a dynamic process modified over time and space. In the preceding section on identity definition, I highlighted that Keba (2010) claims that identity is a result of the dialogue between the self and the society in the construction of identity.

According to Keba (2010:16) individuals tend to identify themselves based on their social engagements in the real world and those engagements are "colouring the self in ideas and ideals". This perspective is captured by other scholars who suggest that self-identity is an innate perception which is created by the self, consciously about the self to the self, but which may not necessarily be accurate (Metzinger, 2010; Bowl et al., 2012; Weiler et al., 1999).

Keba opines that the self has to be accounted for based on the realities of the nature of the self where the self is defined looking at the traits and values that it possesses. This notion is echoed by highlighting the role of the self in identity construction, as to "bestow self-consciousness" (De Munck, 2013:182). McHugh (2002:210 in De Munck, 2013:181) sums up the role of the self as follows:

> Considering the self as part of a system ... allows investigation of the relation of cultural and social forces to selves in ways that are rich, intricate, and illuminating. These perspectives challenge us to explore the relation of self-other boundaries to cultural ideologies and political and economic systems not in abstract and general terms, but in reference to the particulars of relationship and experience within which subjectivities are forged.

In other words, the self is inextricably bound up with how the different parts of the self are constructed through their interaction with society, but the different layers of interaction ultimately result in multiple identities. In relation to this summary, Makoa and Zwilling

(2005) make reference to the story of Thabo Makoa, a young man aged nineteen who began to look for part-time or piece jobs to earn a living after many years as a herd boy. This was despite his difficult up-bringing in the context of poverty and denial of educational opportunities. This story ultimately reveals how Thabo Makoa ends up describing himself as more capable than how society had regarded him during his herding days.

The pioneers of the identity theory view identities from the role perspective. In their view, the role holds the pivotal position in the construction and definition of identity (Burke, 1980; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Burke & Stets, 2009). Although the above literature suggests that the self-image is not necessarily accurate for the herders, their self-image may be the only one that gives them any sense of dignity. Of course, there are several self-images for the herders. The ensuing chapters will reveal that there were several layers of self-identity among the herders, some of which reflected their role in different societal contexts, but there were also more private realities of the self which the herders identified with on an individual level.

3.1.3   Role identity

In Burke and Stets' (2009:114) view, "a role is defined as a set of expectations tied to a social position that guides people's attitudes and behavior". In other words, the role is dynamic and socially constructed as it is closely linked to the specific social position. Hogg and Williams (2000) define role identity as a product of how the self is identified in terms of the role of the self and its membership in the social context.

For instance, an individual can occupy a social position of a parent, a pastor, a councillor etc. Note has to be made that some social positions may be defined based on unique personal interests in the society such as a soccer player, a dancer, a singer etc. Note also has to be made of the close link created between the role and the social position in the definition of the role. For instance, by virtue of being a parent one takes on guardianship and mentorship roles.

Simultaneously, with the definition of roles comes the establishment of boundaries where issues of exclusion and inclusion come in and those boundaries contribute to the 'fluid'

networking among those positioned within the same role (Hirst & Humphrey, 2013). An example is the herding position which closely ties in with the roles of looking after the animals and protecting the animals from the predators. The environment under which herding is carried out excludes the wider society but facilitates inclusion amongst the herders to networking within the herding community.

3.1.4   Social identity

Different scholars define social identity in relation to group membership (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Burke & Stets, 2009; Brown, 2000). Ashforth and Mael highlight the importance of oneness in creating "belongingness" (Ashforth and Mael, 1989:21) in social identity. This analysis looks at identity from three categories: group, race and nationality - each of which reflects strong cohesion and a sense of belonging. In the Lesotho context a shepherd may define himself as: a Mosotho herder; the shepherd from the Maluti Mountains; or a cattle post herder. In all three definitions, this herder shares a strong bond with his group.

Burke and Stets (2009) describe identity based on how it is made up and how it functions. The preceding sections identified three categories of identity as: person, role and social identity. Table 2 below summarises the common features and differences between the three categories of identity. The self reflects person identity where the unique self is the means for defining person identity. The social positions relate to role identity where the social position is the means of definition for the role identity. Social identity is where the social group becomes the means of defining social identity.

In terms of self-reference, the person identity refers to the self in terms of 'me' where in my study the 'me' refers to the public identity of the herders – the question being how do others see me as a Mosotho herder which closely ties the herder identity to their herding role. The 'we' on the other hand defines the herders collectively – where the norms and values bind them as members of their herder community.

Table 2: Defining features of person, role and social identities

Features	Person Identity	Role Identity	Social Identity
Bases	Individual self concept	Expectations tied to social positions	Social group
Definition	Meanings that define person as a unique individual	Meanings tied to a role	Meanings tied to a social group
Cognitive representation of Identity	Identity standard	Identity standard	Prototype
Activation of identity	Salience	Salience	Accessibility and fit
Behaviour	Independent of others	Complementary to others	Similar to others
Self-reference	Me	Me as role	We
Verification outcome	Authenticity	Self-efficacy	Self-worth

(Source: Burke and Stets, 2009:129)

Social support

Social relationships are an important feature of family and community. DuBois et al. (2002) posit that positive relationships promote a strong positive regard that strengthens the level of adjustment into a socially desirable identity in any particular context. The literature on identity and social support; points to the family and peers as the most important forms of social support; (Para, 2008) where the family members' roles are to build the person's self-esteem and act as role models for the individual.

On the other hand, peer support opens up a variety of opportunities that influence the desired attitudes related to the identity formation process (Para, 2008). For instance, in the African culture, male children are inculcated with the responsibility to support their families, role-modeling their fathers, brothers, uncles or their significant male others. But, of course, social support can also become social pressure to conform in the form of social institutions. Sorell and Montgomery (2009:101) argue that:

> …parents, peers, intimate partners, and other members of a person's social milieu are not only individual participants in developmental processes, but also are carriers of powerful societal and cultural messages. Cultural institutions, structures, and rules are transmitted to and adopted or internalized by individuals through their participation in social relationships.

Unfortunately, for some, this impacts on their opportunity to access education. For instance, poor families with a male child would rather identify rich livestock owners to hire the boy irrespective of age, so that the earnings can be used to support the family members (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005). Nevertheless, identity is dynamic and contextual (Zingsheim, 2008; Hornsey, 2008; Korte, 2007) and is also influenced by the physical environment that one occupies.

Environment

Lappegard (2007) argues that the physical environment plays a role in shaping identity and the self-perception. When an individual gets attached to a certain place, the self is identified with that place. For example, Makoa and Zwilling (2005) explain how the herders spend most of their time in the lonely, isolated mountain areas, looking after the animals and how the hostility of the environment equips them with skills to design dangerous weapons for security.

Place

When an individual gets attached to a certain place, s/he identifies self with the place. Some people identify themselves by the countries they come from, or by the city, village or mountain. Some identify themselves with their workplaces, such as school, or hospital (Lappegard, 2007). People develop feelings of attachment to the places that they are familiar

with, either because they belong to those places or have a special relationship with such places (Altman & Low, 1992; Lappegard, 2007). A place is defined as "a geographical space that has acquired meaning as a result of a person's interaction with the space" (Lappegard, 2007:3)

Similarly, the relationship between identity and place emanates from an individual's holistic interaction with the surrounding environment which results in shaping personal identity. The social context also influences self identity construction. While it may be true that, generally, the herders behave the same, there is a certain context-specific behaviour that may differ: lowland herding may differ from highland herding as the two contexts may require different coping mechanisms and their levels of access to services may also differ. Therefore, the social context affects what and how people think and act.

Earlier on in this chapter, I mentioned that the study is guided by identity and subjectivity theories. It is therefore important to identify the features of each of these theories and link them to the study.

3.2   SUBJECTIVITY THEORY

> Where does my sense of self come from? Was it made for me, or did it arise spontaneously? How is it conditioned by the media I consume, the society I inhabit, the politics I suffer and the desires that inspire me? … Do I really know myself? (Mansfield, 2000:1).

Some identity theorists (such as Burke & Stets, 2009) only talk about identity. However the notion of subjectivity is often used in relation to identity from the poststructuralist perspective that focuses on issues of power and agency in relation to identity formation, particularly by feminists such as Butler (1990). This section makes a distinction between identity and subjectivity. It also highlights the role played by culture in the construction of subjectivity.

As noted earlier, the study is guided by subjectivity, identity and gender theories with emphasis on masculinity. Different scholars have looked at subjectivity in different ways. For some it refers to psychological and emotional aspects of an individual while some look at it

from its collective nature of multiple identities which influence the way individuals learn how to relate to the world (Weedon, 1987; Ortner, 2004). On the other hand, Winter (2011:53) views subjectivity in terms of the subject's relational sense of self. He looks at subjectivity as a "question of how we can be or become a subject of action and responsibility" as a result of our interactions with others.

Subjectivity theorists talk about the role of power in how people construct their multiple selves in contexts and this is the main difference between the identity and subjectivity theories. Chandler asserts on the notion of power by positioning his argument on Bourdieu's habitus theory. He posits that power influences the construction of subjectivity as a force that unconsciously drives agents to adjust automatically to the needs of the situation or the context they are in:

> The power of the past constitutes the essential element of habitus. [Habitus is] The dispositions learned both through bodily practice and through social categories [which] allow agents to act without any strict conscious plan or calculation and to adjust, automatically, to the needs of the situation (Chandler, 2013:471).

A useful summary of subjectivity is defined by Mansfield (2000:3) as:

> An abstract or general principle that defines our separation into distinct selves and that encourages us to imagine that, or simply helps us to understand why our interior lives inevitably seem to involve other people, either as objects of need, desire and interest or as necessary sharers of common experience.

It will be seen that the herders' common experience of herding plays a distinctive part in their formulation of their distinct selves.

The concept of discursive field has also been discussed as another way to help in providing a better understanding of the existing "relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power" (Weedon, 1987:35). Language as an element of culture also plays a role in the construction of subjectivity. De Cock (2015:11), for example, asserts that the use of personal "pronouns and passive constructions" influence subjectivity. For instance in Sesotho

(and many African languages) when you ask someone how they are, the reply is often 'we', not 'I' – (*re teng, si khona, rea phela, siya phila* etc)

Culture influences the construction of identity in that it can change the usual "meaning making" and influence the learning and construct of subject identity (Merriam & Ntseane, 2008:194). Nonetheless, culture is influenced by the social context within which the self is situated (Mansfield, 2000; Ortner, 2004). Mansfield (2001:vi) posits that "subjectivity is a cultural theory in process. Whether the subject is political or personal, our ideas and experience of being someone …have been shaped by theory".

Werbner (2002) refers to the notion of postcolonial subjectivities, which adds a further dimension to the literature on subjectivities. This perspective reflects how globalisation and African contexts impinge on subjectivities in terms of power and discourse (through external influences) and how men in particular act out identities and the notion of the collective as a strong form of identity in African cultures.

Subjectivity, however, is an ambiguous concept which is looked at from different levels, as is evident from the above definitions. The concept of subjectivity focuses on the individual self as the subject and the level of consciousness about the self (Metzinger, 2010). But in African contexts it can be argued that the individual self is defined more as a collective concept.

3.3.   THE AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE IN RELATION TO IDENTITY

The song 'African' was sung by the Jamaican singer, Peter Tosh in 1976. In his lyrics, Tosh highlights the collectivism of the African's identity as being peculiar to the African (Lekoko & Modise, 2011). Instead of identifying themselves as unique individuals, the "we" concept is what unites Africans: hence the Ubuntu concept in South Africa as a collective notion of humanism (Caraccido & Mungai, 2009).

Another South African artist, Babzi Mlangeni, reinforces this notion in one of his songs entitled *motho ke motho ka batho bang* which translates as "a person is a person through other

people". This is a common Sotho and Tswana proverb in southern Africa. In South Africa, the same sentiments are reflected in the Zulu proverb *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* which also emphasises the collective nature of the Africans. This I/we concept is also discussed in relation to African traditions for learning (Lekoko & Modise, 2011).

Nyamnjoh (2002) talks about the collective African nature from the perspective of a child's up-bringing. Here the child is perceived as a communal property where the community contributes to the upbringing of the child and later shares the successes and challenges of that child. He also talks about how this communal up-bringing contributes to the construction of the multiple identities of the African child.

Nyamnjoh cites a proverb from Cameroon that reiterates this African subjectivity perspective "*a child is one person's, only in the womb*" (2002:114). This proverb means that a parent can only claim the sole ownership and control of their child before birth. Once the child is born, the African perspective is that the child has to serve the interest of the parents and the society at large at the expense of, or suppression of, his/her own interest. Merriam and Ntseane (2008:187) reaffirm that the African culture includes in this collective identity "…ideas of respect for human life, mutual help, generosity, cooperation, respect for older people … emphasis on awareness of others, promoting cooperation".

Lekoko and Modise (2011) cite significant scholars who advocate the use of traditional education for Africans (for example, Preece, 2009; Teffo, 2000). These scholars argue that this education is context specific and adds an important value to the morals and beliefs of Africans. In support of this notion, Preece (2009 in Lekoko & Modise, 2011:39) reiterates:

> …such traditional education was 'characterised by the goal to produce useful members of society — educating for good character, health and knowledge about the community's history and beliefs'.

Important as the traditional institutions have been, as vehicles for shaping the African identity through good morals and values, they have also instilled gendered subjectivities in their societies.

3.4   MASCULINITY IDENTITY

Connel (2002:10) defines gender as follows:

> It is the structure of social relations that centers on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies in social process. Therefore patterns of gender may differ strikingly from one cultural context to another, but are still gender

This definition highlights the role played by the social relationships in defining the accepted practices for both men and women which are socially constructed according to their physiology. The definition suggests that gender roles are not standard; instead they are socially constructed according to cultural contexts. Connell (2002) also notes how the sexual differences between men and women inform the social divisions of labour between men and women.

The home and the school play a role in defining masculinity and femininity. Mac an Ghaill (1994:10) refers to them as institutions reinforcing "reflections of dominance and subordination" between men and women. This is particularly relevant in a patriarchal society such as Lesotho.

Mac an Ghaill (1994:2), in the context of the UK, argues that it is through schools that the state places apparatuses that reinforce the "production of sex/gender subjectivities". The family forms the basis for learning the social gender roles which are fine-tuned and learned further in schools and perpetuate future division of labour in the workplace, as stated in Mac an Ghaill. For example, where males joined the workforce as "independent individuals of reason, women were confined by their 'nature' to the domestic arena as the 'dependents' of men" (Leathwood, 2013:135). This argument places a clear distinction between the two

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worlds: home, which is private; and waged work as the public arena within which men seem fit to interact (McDowell, 1999).

Men and women learn their social gender roles or power and dominance, based on gender or birth order from families and schools and this applies in all cultures (Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Morojele, 2011a). Morojele (2009:689) makes an argument that for males in Lesotho, the socially instituted expectation "based on birth order assumes that masculinity is an inherent quality". Morojele (2011b) asserts how the patriarchal hierarchy shapes access to education in Lesotho and associated issues of power and dominance. Culturally, Basotho males, irrespective of their low literacy levels, enjoy positions of power and decision-making both in the family and in the society. Later on in the process of life, this perception has a bearing on the construction of the male identity which extends to the manner in which they conduct themselves within the school setting.

Makoa and Zwilling (2005:53) describe an example of gender power relations in action among herders. One of the activities that the herders enjoy is chasing girls to make their love proposal. Their attempts are not always successful because of their poor hygiene: "Girls don't speak to us because they say the shepherds do not wash, so they are dirty and they stink". For this reason the herders resort to aggressive behaviour and force the girls to speak to them or even kiss them by force.

Morojele (2011a:678) states another instance of the use of power by the boys on girls where being a 'real man' among Basotho is closely associated with a particular way of behaving. As a result, boys are compelled to conform to these "hegemonic masculinities" at the expense of subjecting girls to both emotional and physical violence for fear of the repercussions that come with non-conformity.

Basotho have identified some proverbs that allude to masculinity being associated with toughness. One such identity is expressed through a common Sesotho proverb which translates as 'a male child is food for the vultures' (*ngoan'e motona ke kabeloa manong*). This

proverb signifies the toughness of the journey of life for a male who should be able to cope with life without complaining.

Social construction through discourses and power relations is an important medium in teaching children about themselves and about the socially accepted ways to develop relationships. Much of these lessons are acquired through observing the actions of those around them and the reward system that is allocated to the different socially appropriate behaviours (Francis & Skelton, 2005). Social constructions of masculinity influence how males feel about themselves. They are likely to conform to the perceived socially acceptable behaviours defining masculinity and avoid those that are socially inappropriate.

Francis and Skelton (2005:127) mention how the "gendered traits" influence masculinity identity in that caring is associated with a feminine attribute while aggression is attributed to masculinity. This is demonstrated in the cultural upbringing of a Mosotho boy where older men, whenever they felt like whipping someone, go to the veld, tell the herdboy (*seqatana majoana)* and the boy is required to respond: *Hase lleloe.* This is a way of associating masculinity with being tough. The literal translation means someone who sits on stones cannot be emphathised with or cried for.

The male dominance ideology informs how children are socialised. This process later influences the behaviour traits, thinking processes and feelings in children (Levant, 2011). Morojele (2009) talks about gender identity as masculinity in the context of Lesotho, but there appear to be no studies which specifically explore identity theory in relation to herders, particularly in the context of its relevance to non-formal education for herders. A deeper understanding of their masculinity identities will also assist in identifying their learning needs in the Basotho context.

3.4.1 Relevance of identity and subjectivity theories

These different perspectives on identity theory provide a lens in this study for explaining how the identities of the male herders in Lesotho are formed and how those formed identities

influence their educational ambitions. In this study, identity theory provides the tools for analysing how male herders in Lesotho express themselves, value themselves and perceive themselves and where they fit into Basotho culture.

The main focus of the study is to find out how the herders' multiple identities of being male are managed and what that entails, and also how they manage the negative images of themselves in different ways, which impact on their attitudes to school, their adult life, the ambitions they have about their lives and those of their children. The study addresses the educational needs of adult male herders who have had limited or no schooling.

There is evidence from the literature reviewed that herders have access to and rely on Indigenous Knowledge for their survival and well-being. Because of this, the study pays particular attention to how herders acquire and make use of their Indigenous Knowledge and for this reason the following section discusses how Indigenous Knowledge has been theorised, so that the nature of the herders' knowledge can be understood appropriately.

3.5   INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE THEORY

In some studies, Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is sometimes referred to as Traditional Knowledge. However, throughout this study I will use Indigenous Knowledge for consistency. Scholars define IK differently (Smit & Masoga, 2012; King, 1999; Emery, 2000; Nakata & Langston, 2005; Nyiraruhimbi, 2012). The common key issues that form the definition of IK are that it is traditional, informal and developed over time. However, the life histories of the herders, as documented in Chapter 2 by Rayner (2010), Makoa and Zwilling (2005), and Mahe (2009), indicate a relationship between IK, identity and gender as a central feature of their lives.

IK is also understood to be defined within a specific social context and specific to the local environment and communities (Nyiraruhimbi, 2012). Nevertheless, Emery (2000) raises a very strong argument in favour of recognising such knowledge. This argument forms the basis for linking IK with wisdom and experience building and to a specific culture of a specific

society. Since it is culture bound, the inclusion or participation of the locals and their indigenous knowledge systems in the design of programmes that address their educational needs is of paramount importance.

The various scholarly definitions presented above highlight four characteristics of IK as a body of knowledge; its oral nature; being passed on from one generation to the other; and its culture-bound or native origin (Odora Hoppers, 2002; Akullo et al., 2007). However, Akullo et al., also highlight its dynamic aspect and that embracing new developments and change allows modifications from time to time.

Odora Hoppers (2002) defines IK in more detail by disaggregating the phrase into two words and attempts to define them separately. Odora Hoppers alludes firstly to knowledge as a resource acquired through a universal inheritance. This means, knowledge does not stay with one person, instead, it is passed on to others, hence the Sesotho proverb *bohlale habo ahele ntlong ele 'ngoe* which literally translates as 'wisdom does not stay in one household'. In other words, wisdom is passed on from one generation to the other. Secondly, literature in Odora Hoopers (2002:8) defines the word indigenous as the "root [or] something natural or innate". This discussion reiterates that IK is key to underpinning culture.

Complex as the concept may seem, following the different perspectives of the various scholars, Nyiraruhimbi (2012) provides a summary of the concept in a schematic form in Figure 2.

In Figure 2 below, IK is divided into three categories namely: *local memory, local practice and local science.* Local memory refers to the type of abstract knowledge that has been memorised through the process of socialisation. Under this category fall the folklores, or *lilotho* in Sesotho. These are traditions, customs and songs which have two common features: being oral; and being passed on from one generation to the other. Memory plays a significant role in this type of knowledge (Nyiraruhimbi, 2012).

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Nyiraruhimbi talks about how the second category, local practice, is unconsciously accumulated over time through using minimal resources applied through "trial and error" (2012:7). An example of such knowledge could be the arts and crafts activities which are common features of the Basotho herders practiced over time using the limited natural resources available at their cattle posts. Local science, as the third category, refers to knowledge that is developed consciously, using technology, with the aim of improving the lives of the people for whom it is intended. Examples of this type of knowledge could be decomposition of kraal manure, compost making and crop rotation as some of the innovations aimed at improving the crop yields for traditional farmers.

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                        ┌──────────────────┐
                        │    Indigenous    │
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              ┌──────────────────┼──────────────────┐
    ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
    │   Local memory   │ │  Local practice  │ │   Local science  │
    └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
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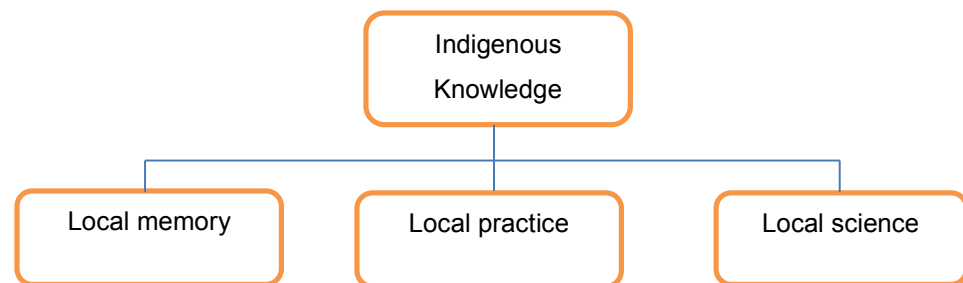
Figure 2: Different forms of IK- Source: Nyiraruhimbi 2012 adapted from Opoku 2007

Odora Hoppers (2002) alludes to the fact that IK is transferrable and forms a pivotal component in strengthening the local culture of a community or a group. This transferable knowledge includes the use of herbs, wearing of clothing, performance in the arts, songs, poetry and poems. If the knowledge is well harnessed, it becomes a resourceful tool to inform the policy makers in Lesotho to get a more in-depth look at the past, particularly drawing on the pre-colonial era, for them to develop policies that incorporate the cultural values and norms of Basotho to meet the needs of the male herders in Lesotho.

The study seeks to find out the educational ambitions of the herders in the light of their identities and collective IK experiences. One of their educational ambitions is likely to reflect

economic empowerment as identified in Pitikoe (2012). Given the environment in which the herders operate, they have limited access to certain natural resources.

3.6.1   The use of Indigenous Knowledge for the herders for economic empowerment

IK is still being practiced even in today's world. The World Bank (1998) report alludes to the significant role that IK can play in enhancing the economic empowerment of the owners of such knowledge. One such example could be forms of local science where the local communities could be introduced to various hybrid seeds of the traditional herbs to grow in order to generate income without depleting the wild plants. Another example could be the use of local memory where, instead of being orally recited, the folklores could be documented and easily shared with tourists.

Odora Hoopers (2002:3) suggests that there are initiatives that are being implemented which "encourage the appropriation of traditional knowledge for commercial use". In Lesotho for instance, the herders use their local science and their locally practiced skills that they have acquired to cut, shape and decorate the walking sticks (*melamu)* for sale to the tourists. These walking sticks are smeared with suet (*mohlehlo)* so that they are shining and attractive to the buyer (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005).

They also harvest grass and use local practice to make the Basotho hats (*melia-nyeoe*) sold to tourists and other Basotho. The herders become familiar with the special stones that they use to light a fire instead of using matches. Although these stones are not easy to find, they can sell them to the tourists and make money (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005).

Makoa and Zwilling outline another example of how the herders used local science. If they run out of matches, they can always go to the next cattle post and ask for assistance (*ho okha mollo)*. Here they will be given a burning piece of wood which will be contained in dry grass and then covered with green grass to keep it alive and burning. The principle is that one should walk very slowly back to his cattle post to prevent the oxygen from blowing over the dry material and causing a flame.

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The dogs at the cattle posts are given special training by the herders. They apply local practice by giving the dogs raw meat so that they learn to bite people; and there are special sounds made by the herders to train the dogs to attack when they hear them (Pitikoe, 2012). These are some of the skills that can be used, for example, to train other people's dogs and get paid for it. My study sought to explore whether the herders still applied, or had even extended, these local practices and sciences and to what extent they served as income generating resources.

3.6.2 Limitations of IK theory

There is a Sesotho proverb *haho tjaka tlhoka koli* which loosely translates as 'there is no one who is perfectly beautiful, every coin has two sides, so does any story or theory'. Akullo et al. (2007) attest to the truth of this proverb by arguing that, despite the strengths that have been presented by other scholars, IK theory does have some limitations. One of the limitations of IK as a theory is its oral nature.

This knowledge is mainly acquired through oral heritage, hence there are no written records that could be shared and or replicated widely. It is also culture and context specific, which means only the locals in a particular area have the privilege of access to a specific form of knowledge. So, irrespective of how valuable the knowledge is, it is not easily transferable to other cultures.

Also those individuals who possess the knowledge may deliberately decide not to share what they know with others and so the legacy dies with them. The knowledge is also said to be not easy to prove due to its lack of compliance with standard measurements.. This problem arises because of the limited research done to either nullify or prove it. These critiques emphasise the need for further research to be carried out and the need for recording in order for the information to be easily accessed and used as a future reference.

3.6.3   Relevance of IK theory to the study

Since my study is concerned with issues of capacity building for the herders, IK theory is relevant as it focuses on their existing knowledge, owned and inherited locally (Akullo et al., 2007). In order for learning to occur, the learner has to build on existing knowledge in such a way that the new learning can be readily applicable to solve the pressing needs of the learner.

Odora Hoppers (2002) argues for the need to incorporate IK in teaching and learning programmes. However what is important is that the educational institutions have to inquire critically about the best approaches that people have been using to teach, learn and apply the acquired learning and about the previously used methods of incorporating IK in learning and teaching.

The final theoretical perspective is social capital theory and its relationship to other forms of capital. This theory is explained here because it became evident that the herders' life stories needed an additional theoretical lens that would go beyond the identity theories to analyse their lives.

3.6   SOCIAL CAPITAL – HISTORY AND DEFINITION

The idea of social capital originated in the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002). Bourdieu's interest was in how societal class relationships reproduce themselves and the retention of dominance among classes (Gauntlett, 2011). Bourdieu (1985) defines social capital in terms of the totality of the resources owned by a network of people which could have either come together formally of informally:

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1985: 51).

Bourdieu also emphasises two important things enjoyed by such a network. First, the greater the number in a network, the bigger the volume of resources available for the members. Secondly, the equal sharing of the accrued profits from the resources is what binds the

network together. Moodley (2009) talks about how the possession of resources becomes an enabler in establishing relationships.

Social capital is concerned with relationships and social interactions built around trust and reciprocity. The concept has been used in a variety of contexts, to explore the relationship between social contacts and individual productivity in a social setting (World Bank, 1999; McIntyre, 2012; Thomas, 2002; Ferlander, 2007). Some studies talk about the role of social capital as a social glue binding societies together (McIntyre, 2012; Thomas, 2002; Morrice, 2007). Ferlander talks about how social capital has recently gained popularity in a number of disciplines.

Social capital as a concept is not a new phenomenon. In addition to Bourdieu's use of the term, it also builds on Durkheim's ideas about group membership (Portes, 1998; Ferlander, 2007). Portes highlights how non-financial resources can act as sources of power and influence through social capital. Ferlander posits that in social capital, the social relationships can also be turned into future investments for the members. Chapter 7 discusses the importance of social capital amongst Basotho as a society and also amongst the herder community. It is appropriate, therefore, to discuss the different elements of social capital in more depth here.

3.7.1   Elements of social capital

The concept of social capital is composed of three elements which Ferlander (2007) identifies and further describes the meaning of each element as follows. The first element is the social networks which form the core business of the process that shapes the behaviour traits of the members. This is followed by the combination of the second and the third elements: norms of reciprocity and trust which inform the establishment of values and attitudes (Ferlander, 2007). Ferlander summarises these aspects of social capital by highlighting the importance of networks, the norms and the trust in creating a harmonised coordination amongst the members.

3.7.2 Forms of social capital

The three forms of social capital are bonding social capital, bridging social capital and linking social capital. The characteristics of bonding social capital are reflected in the similarity of the networks in terms of the demographic factors and belongingness (Ferlander, 2007; Morrice, 2007; Thomas, 2002). Bonding social capital is also reflected by strong bonding ties, social support and homogeneous reciprocity and it is also vital for 'getting by' (Thomas, 2002; Ferlander, 2007). Bridging social capital empowers the network members to establish wider networks with external groups with heterogeneous characteristics enabling access to information and resources for network members. This form of social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead' (Ferlander, 2007; Morrice, 2007). For the herders, the fact that they are isolated from the mainstream suggests that for them to 'get ahead' they need more access to bridging social capital. Linking social capital closely links with bridging social capital in that it extends beyond the individual level into the institutional level. It is concerned with establishment of the "heterophilous" (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010:1780) networks with institutions and those in power, and the ability of those in power to use the connections that they have to assist with information sharing and resources. A summary of the distinctions between bonding and bridging social capital is presented by Putnam (2000:22-23 in Thomas, 2002:118) as follows:

> Bonding capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity ... Bridging networks, by contrast, are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion. ... Moreover, bridging social capital can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves. ... Bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue.

The literature mostly discusses these three forms of social capital as mainly differentiated by two aspects: the direction of the ties and the level of formality (Thomas, 2002; Ferlander, 2007; Morrice, 2007). Vertical ties represent hierarchical networks such as in linking social capital. Horizontal ties reflect bonding networks while bridging social capital can include both

horizontal and vertical ties. The bonding networks of social capital are the most informal, while linking networks are the most formal.

Chapter 2 emphasised the cohesion and a sense of belonging among Basotho herders which can be understood as bonding social capital. The fact that herding is mostly carried out in the highlands which are hard to reach areas, reinforces this high need for social support amongst Basotho herders because they understand each other's needs.

The literature also presents the importance of social relationships in enhancing learning. For instance, Collin, Sintonen, Paloniemi, and Auvinen (2011:302), argue that in a social network, learning occurs daily through "shared practices and situational negotiations" among the members. This notion is supported by Field (2006:5) who discusses the link between bonding social capital and informal learning as follows:

> This influence of social capital on learning can be double-edged, in that some types of connection – frequently close personal bonding ties – tend to favour informal pooling of knowledge and know-how, while more heterogeneous connections tend to foster positive engagement with the education and training system.

Figure 3 below summarises the relationship between learning and bridging and linking social capital. In Figure 3, the social aspect opens doors to acquisition of cultural norms and values of the group. Informal learning in terms of cultural norms and skills becomes a power source to extend and establish heterogeneous networks with other groups. The extended network base becomes an added opportunity for further access to informal and social learning opportunities. In the herders' case it may also provide access to non-formal learning opportunities.
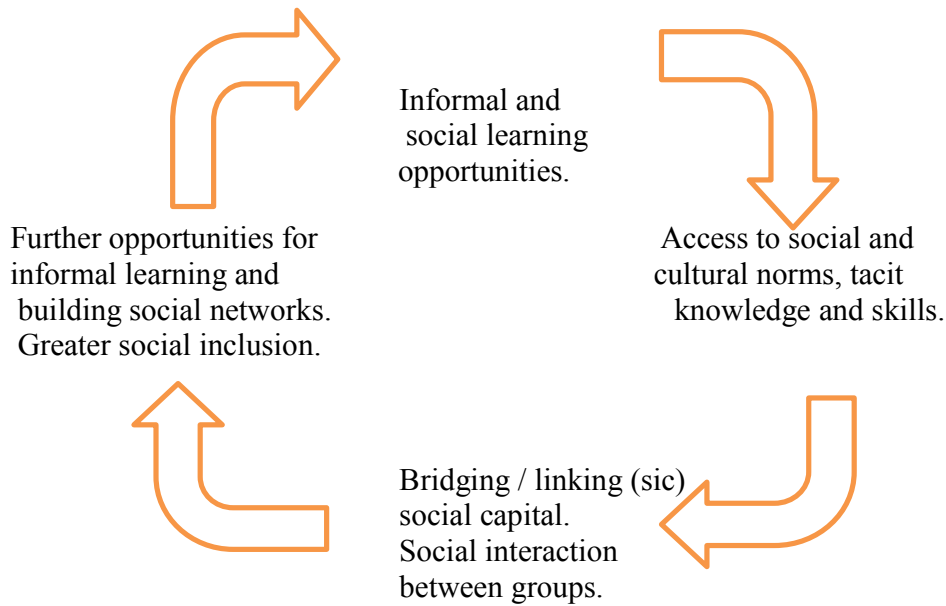
Figure 3: Relationship between learning and the development of bridging and linking social capital: Source: Morrice (2007).

The previous sub-section defined social capital in terms of a collection of social networks which serves as an individual's resource. Bourdieu (1985:51) however argues that for an individual the "volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent ... depends on the size of the networks" and in turn depends on a combination of networks established through resources of economic capital and cultural capital. Bourdieu further argues that institutional qualifications conferred in recognition of cultural capital can be converted from cultural capital into economic capital value. He also argues for the importance of a particular form of *habitus* to overcome situations where agents with human capital are unable to acquire their needed academic qualification due to their lack of *habitus* – "the sets of values and ways of thinking which form a bridge between subjective agency and objective position" (Morrice, 2007:161). The herders often lack access to the *habitus* and cultural capital of other Basotho, which in turn prevents them from having the opportunity to acquire formal qualifications. The lack of qualification in turn means they may be seen as lacking human capital skills beyond their herding knowledge.

3.7 HUMAN CAPITAL – ITS RELEVANCE TO EDUCATION

The Human Capital theory emanates from the work of Nobel Laureates (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008). These scholars argue that the bigger the volume of skills and knowledge that individuals acquire (human capital) the more this equates to an increase in their economic capital. Olaniyan and Okemakinde (2008:157) argue that education "can be used to develop the human resources necessary for economic and social transformation".

In the preceding section on social capital, the emphasis was on social relationships as a social investment for members. The human capital perspective, however, argues that education is an investment that can be used to attain economic capital. This notion is echoed by Olaniyan and Okemakinde who assert that education is a capacity building mechanism for increasing people's effectiveness and productivity. DfID (1999) looks at human capital from the household level where the amount and quality of human labour equates to human capital as an asset for achieving sustainable livelihoods. The findings that relate to the notion of human capital are presented in Chapter 7.

In Lesotho the herding role seems to take precedence over education particularly among the males. As a result more females in Lesotho benefit from the formal education provision while the males look after the animals. These gender disparities and social injustice of poor access to education place the herders among the marginalised groups in Basotho society. Olaniyan and Okemakinde (2008) however argue that for education to make a significant contribution to the growth of the economy it has to be designed so that it "liberates, stimulates and informs the individual and teach[es] him how and why to make demands upon himself" (2008:481).

Although human capital in the form of skills and knowledge is important, cultural capital is also perceived as playing an important role in the field of education as a resource that facilitates acquisition of academic qualifications.

3.8   CULTURAL CAPITAL – ITS RELEVANCE TO EDUCATION

Earlier on in this chapter under the social capital section, I mentioned that one of Bourdieu's interests was relationships and how people reproduce and maintain their dominant status. Cultural capital as a concept emerged as a result of his work on social class which was interested in the schooling performance of poor and rich students (Bourdieu, 1985; Ra, 2011:20). This perspective places cultural capital as "the most valuable in relation to education: Cultural capital is the most relevant to one's academic success in school".

Bourdieu (1985) talks about the three forms of cultural capital: first, the embodied state in the form of memories that people hold and portray through style; second, the objectified state through cultural objects and artifacts learned and passed on from one generation to the other; and third, the institutionalised state in the form of educational qualifications. Earlier on in this chapter, I discussed local memory in relation to IK which closely links to Bourdieu's second notion of cultural capital, where the norms and values of the herders become a generational inheritance. In addition, some of the cultural artifacts learned and passed on through herding such as the mock stick fight and the grey blanket, can be seen as cultural capital and in terms of IK as local practice. However, these forms of herder based cultural capital do not necessarily have exchange value in wider Basotho society. The more formal qualifications that people acquire vary, based on the strength and volume of the economic capital that they possess.

3.9   ECONOMIC CAPITAL

Economic capital, also known as the financial capital concept, stems from a person's wealth, status, livelihood, or financial well-being. It is concerned with the financial resources available to people for the betterment of their lives (DfID, 1999). Ra (2011) echoes this notion by citing other scholars such as Orr (2003) and Paulsen and St. John (2002) in affirming the convertible nature of economic capital into disposable cash.

Note has been made by DfID (1999:15) that from a livelihood perspective, economic capital can mean "the availability of cash or equivalent that enables people to adopt" different livelihood strategies to cope with their shocks and stresses. In other words, economic capital does not require cash alone. Similarly, Ra (2011) opines that economic capital does not only refer to annual accrued cash, it also reflects the assets available in the family. For the Basotho herders, economic capital is often embedded in their livestock and the by-products such as wool and mohair. All these forms of capital became a useful additional lens through which to explore the herder life histories.

3.10   CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed the theoretical frameworks guiding my study. The importance of the environment in influencing the construction of identity has been identified. Equally important is the recognition of the influence of the herding environment and the herders' lifestyles in the construction of identity. It is also important to highlight the social interactions that influence the learning of one's identity. The family and the social bonds emergent in culture play a role in the construction of the subject.

It is surmised from this review that the deeply held historical social construction perception of the self by the herders will have impacted on the way they identify themselves. This notion has guided me to understand the root causes of the herders' self-identity. Another aspect brought up by subjectivity theorists is the issue of power relations and how discourse and language contribute to the construction of multiple identities. This study has sought to find out how power relations and the language attached to herder identities has also influenced how the herders have been labelled by society and how they have identified themselves.

Deeper understanding of their identities and the discourses and power relations that inform those identities will provide insights into how the learning provision should be provided and what should be taught at NFE level. The ensuing chapters discuss the findings in the light of the literature review and theoretical frameworks.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.0   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the research methodology used in my study which explores how the research participants' multiple identities or subjectivities as herders have been learnt and constructed and how their present sense of self influenced their future goals.

In conducting this study, I have focused on the (formal and informal) educational life histories of the adult male herders and how their experiences impacted on what they wanted to learn and how they have sought to acquire such learning. In relation to that, the study also identified how the Indigenous Knowledge (IK) that the male herders possessed had been acquired and the extent to which they had it or used it. Analysis of these experiences helped to uncover how the herders had developed their own understandings of themselves and their ambitions.

The primary participants of my study were thirty herders representing the three geographical locations of the highlands, lowlands and foothills in Lesotho. I also interviewed the Non-Formal Education (NFE) Inspectorate representing the policy making institution, to explore how the policies were being interpreted in relation to FPE in Lesotho.

Chapter 1 highlighted, among other figures, the high illiteracy statistics among male Basotho and the high drop-out rate from school among the herders. The reason for these figures can be attributed to i) the migrant nature of their herding job and ii) the limited geographical coverage of the non-formal learning posts (places offering NFE for herders) in Lesotho.

My study answers four main questions. Firstly, it sought to find out what the learning life histories of the adult male herders in Lesotho were. Secondly, it explored how their multiple identities as herders were learned and constructed over time by the herders, the communities and those who employed them and how those identities influence the herders' educational needs. The emphasis here was on the influence brought about by culture, gender and power relations. Thirdly, the study sought to establish how the adult male herders' life histories and

their subjectivities informed an understanding of their ambitions and achievements; for instance their use of IK as a source of income generation. Fourthly, the study sought to link an increased understanding of the male adult herders in Lesotho to the role which this understanding could play in informing the NFE policy of Lesotho. This chapter begins with an outline of the research design.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design as my tool of reference (Degu & Yigsaw, 2006), comprised different components, namely, the paradigm, design, style or approach, methods, sampling and data analysis.

4.1.1 Research paradigm

This discussion on the word paradigm outlines its three major components, namely, **ontology**, **epistemology** and **axiology.** *Ontology* refers to the researcher's sense of self while *epistemology* focuses on what counts as knowledge according to the researcher, and *axiology* refers to the values attributed to the researcher's world (Wright, 2010; TerreBlanche & Durrheim, 1999). According to TerreBlanche and Durrheim the word paradigm is of Greek origin *paradeima* which refers to a certain pattern of ideas, values and assumptions which the study follows and which a researcher can use in defining the nature of the study based on those three dimensions. The paradigm represents my world view as perceived through the upheld knowledge and understanding I have about the world.

The paradigm is defined differently by many scholars with the main focus on its structure and role in research. Chilisa and Preece (2005:21) synthesise these perspectives as follows:

> The word paradigm denotes the researcher's worldview (ways of thinking about and seeing the world), conceptual framework or theoretical orientation that informs the choice of the research problem investigated, the framing of the research objectives, research designs, instruments for collecting data, data analysis and reporting of the research findings.

The definition above suggests that a paradigm comprises the commonly and deeply held beliefs, the researcher's values and assumptions; hence the above mentioned components of the paradigm are largely influenced by the subjective nature of the researcher's belief system.

Gephart (2004) identifies three main categories of paradigm, namely, *positivism*, *interpretivism* and *critical post modernism*. My study followed the interpretivist paradigm and a brief explanation of this follows.

The interpretivist paradigm

The origin of interpretivism has been traced back to the phenomenology philosophy of Edmund Husserl and the hermeneutics philosophy of Wilhem Dilthey (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). Chilisa and Preece perceive the interpretivist paradigm through both the phenomenology and hermeneutics theories. In this paragraph, I present their summary definitions of these two concepts. Their stand is that:

> Phenomenologists, use human thinking, perceiving and other mental and physiological acts, and spirituality … Hermeneutics involves a reading and interpretation of some kind of human text (Chilisa & Preece, 2005:8).

From the summary above it can be argued that, for one to understand and describe human experience, it is imperative to engage with the human being processes in totality. Chilisa and Preece argue that the definition of hermeneutics requires an understanding of the social context around the understudied phenomenon. In my study I wanted to understand the herders' social context in the veld, and get a full understanding of their experiences from their perspectives.

Some of the critiques of this paradigm are its i) lack of a scientific rigor and ii) inability to come to terms with the one common understanding of how knowledge is constructed (Demetrion, 2005:214). Nevertheless, in this study, the interpretative paradigm helped me "to illuminate the internal representations….and social interaction as situated contexts of" the

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herders' life histories (Demetrion, 2005:210). The most appropriate research style for the interpretive paradigm is a qualitative one, which will be outlined below.

4.1.2   Qualitative style

This is a qualitative study which Gephart (2004:254) identifies as a "multimethod research that uses an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter" usually carried out in the phenomenon's natural environment. I conducted my study at the cattle posts while the herders, as my phenomenon, were carrying out their normal herding responsibilities.

Gephart (2004) further states that qualitative research focuses on examining experience and the construction of its social meaning. This focus and the narrative nature of qualitative research, as stated in Orton et al., (2013); Rakotsoane and Rakotsoane (2007); Trahar (2006); and Gephart (2004), helped me to explore and interpret the meaning the herders gave to their lives and understand how their identities had been constructed.

Some of the highlighted strengths of the qualitative style include the following: It is based on the assumption that there is no one truth; rather, that truth is based on multiple realities, and the world is influenced by the personal interactions and perceptions that an individual has on the surrounding environment. The descriptive nature of qualitative research helped me construct meanings from the educational life histories and the learning ambitions of the herders.

Life history and narrative research

Arthur, Waring, Coe, and Hedges (2012) differentiate between the life story as an oral history and as a life history. On the one hand, oral histories are described as narrative interviews or conversations. They are stories that focus on the significant aspects in one's life. It is through the narration of our individual stories that people are able to share those untold uncomfortable moments that others can easily relate to. Stories are important memorabilia and a rich source

of learning and sharing about people's lives. The National Peace Corps Association (2014:23) highlights the importance of stories as follows:

> Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to mal-align, but stories can also be used to empower and humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity.

Life histories, on the other hand, are a narration of a personal "account" of events that happened chronologically over time and space in an individual's life (Arthur et al., 2012:324). The origin of life history as a research method dates back to the twentieth century from the collection of autobiographies that were used to document the lives of American Indian chiefs. Following this, many scholars and sociologists adopted this approach as a research strategy (Goodson & Sikes, 2001).

Some scholars commend the life histories approach because it is a way of getting to the personal and real life experiences (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Arthur et al., 2012). Others argue for its ability to record an individual's story of their development and capture the ability of that individual to adapt to their changing socio-economic environment (Rule & John, 2011; Arthur et al., 2012). In this study the recording of life histories enabled me to record a combination of personal life experiences and individual adaptations to changing socio-economic circumstances.

Life histories refer to personal histories in the form of conversations that are documented based on the person's life and constructed over time. Reid and West (2015:6) argue that:

> We are all 'storied', to an extent, by powerful and normalising myths: to think and feel in particular ways, and oftentimes to construct our experience in a manner acceptable to the gaze, and forge more of an authentic, self-authored account … our narratives may be riddled, for worse rather than better, with family and cultural myths that bind and constrain; and which imprison us rather than provide the means to live a more fulfilled life.

Stories therefore have a social and cultural perspective (Trahar, 2006, 2008; Smith & Sparkes 2008). This means that the myths surrounding us and that people hold about us, play a very

important role in the construction of our identities so that we usually endeavour to fit in within those prescribed accounts of our lives. In the process, those cultural aspects can also have a constraining influence on what we can do with our lives. The herders' stories provide examples of how they see the 'gaze' of wider Basotho society, but also reveal another gaze of their herding colleagues. Their storied cultural myths or narratives bind and constrain what they do in different ways.

The findings on the herder descriptions of their life histories (Chapter 5) were constructed by myself as the researcher from various forms of data sources (as stated in Arthur et al., 2012) from which I collected the personal histories from the herders about their herding and other experiences and their educational ambitions. This resulted in a rich source of data which captured what Dhunpath and Samuel (2009:viii) explain as the "insights of the [herders'] lived experiences". These histories were then contextualised and filtered through the theoretical frameworks of my study in subsequent chapters.

In my study, the narrative approach gave the herders an opportunity to express their personal experiences in their own words. The approach allowed me "to see different and sometimes contradictory layers of meaning … and to understand more about individual and social change" (Reid & West, 2015:97).

My study aimed to establish a more in-depth understanding of the herders' life-world from their subjective experiences as individuals. I therefore encouraged them to focus on the significant learning experiences or significant influences on their learning and knowledge construction. This understanding was established primarily through interviews with the herders within their natural environment. Individual stories of their herding and educational experience were documented alongside their educational ambitions. I used the photovoice and the transect walk to supplement the interviews in order to get a deeper understanding of the herder contexts.

4.2   POPULATION

My study participants comprised primarily the male Basotho herders, or *balisana,* as they are commonly known in Lesotho. The characteristics of the herders conformed to the specifications of the phenomenon under study as reflected in Polit and Hungler (1999). The phenomenon investigated in this project is the male Basotho herders. Brewer (2000) highlights the importance of triangulation in research as another form of validating the field data. In my study I therefore also interviewed the NFE Inspectorate and the NFE service providers to triangulate my findings.

4.2.1.   Sampling procedure and sample selection

The cattle post livestock owners or the community leaders did not participate in the selection of the herders for my study. This was to avoid what Honji in the SAQMEQ survey report (2011:2) describes as "selection bias" from the owners who might have had a particular interest either to stop or allow the herders to participate in the study. In sampling the herders, care was taken that, firstly, the participants' characteristics were in line with the objectives of my study to ensure the validity of the collected data (Rakotsoane & Rakotsoane, 2007). Secondly, the selection considered cost effectiveness, ease of access and manageable procedural demands which are the pre-requisites for selecting a good sample for a project (Ekaju, 2011).

I took into account the time frame of my doctoral study and ensured that, given the financial constraints under which the study was conducted, care was applied to making maximum use of the available time and resources to support the field work. I also had to consider the seasonal shifting nature of herding and cattle post locations to ensure that I was able to reach them while they were nearer to the communities and before the harsh winter conditions set in.

My study is qualitative in nature and in order to explore my theoretical perspective in-depth, I adopted a purposive or theoretical sample rather than a representative one. The following paragraphs discuss the sample selection in more detail.

My study employed snowball and purposive sampling techniques. I used snowball sampling to identify the herders. Through the partnership that I established with the *Monna ka Khomo* Herdboys Association as a civil society organisation which had connections with the participants, I was able to identify the key informants who were members of the herders associations. These key informants helped me to identify and locate other herders with similar characteristics.

My sample comprised a group of thirty herders and former herders. The two groups of herders were selected based on the following particular characteristics. Group one comprised herders who were currently serving in their herding role. Group two comprised herders who were no longer looking after the animals and had gained some form of social and economic empowerment either through education or through the implementation of the Indigenous Knowledge skills that they had acquired.

Their accessibility to Lesotho's FPE programme was also a factor taken into consideration. That is, the younger age group (group one) was likely to have benefitted from FPE (available since 2000), while the older group (group two) would possibly not have. The sample of the herders was representative of the three main physical divisions of Lesotho as follows:

1. Lowlands – 10 herders (5 of whom were no longer looking after animals)
2. Foothills – 8 herders (7 of them were still herding)
3. Highlands – 13 herders (all of them were still herding)

The initial plan was to distribute the number of the participants equally in the three geographical areas. However, three reasons justify the deviations in the numbers. Firstly, during the data collection process I observed that there were no cattle posts in the lowlands, hence there was a need to increase the numbers of the participants in the highlands. Secondly, the richness of the data collected and the time spent in the highlands justified the increase in numbers. Thirdly, the highlands herders seemed more open to participate in the study and

have their voice heard because the remoteness of their location meant that opportunities of being heard were rare.

The foothills herders were a mix of cattle post herders and village herders due to the proximity of the cattle post to the community. The data collection in the foothills took place in October when the animals were confined to a zone of grazing land which is closer to the village while the other zones were closed for rotational grazing reasons.

Different geographical locations provided a variation in the lifestyles of the people living in these three locations. The lowlands are characterised by arable land where the majority of the population engage in crop farming activities. The foothills and the highlands on the other hand are mostly the mountainous area which is good pasture land for animals. The people in these areas are mainly engaged in animal husbandry with minimal crop husbandry and hence have cattle posts categorised into both summer and winter cattle posts. As opposed to the lowland region, natural resources are also found in abundance in these areas in varying forms: trees, plants and medicinal herbs and a few wild animals, which could be a good source of income generation for the herders.

The eligibility criteria for selecting participants

The eligibility criteria highlight the characteristics that the study participants had to have been in possession of in order for them to have been included in this study (Polit & Hungler, 1999). For the purposes of this study, the criteria for the herder participants were as follows:

1. Age – 18 –30 (group one) and 31-45(group two)
2. Sex – male
3. Cattle post life background (for both current and former herders)
4. Half of them were considered based on their experience of NFE programmes intended for the herders in Lesotho

Earlier on in this section I mentioned that the NFE service providers participated in the study for triangulation purposes in relation to what provision was currently available and who participated. I therefore interviewed one (1) NFE inspector and two (2) NFE providers – one from the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre (LDTC) and one from the Lesotho Association for Non-Formal Education (LANFE). Since my motive for their participation was to serve a specific purpose, I employed purposive sampling in identifying the staff members from LANFE and LDTC. This purposive sampling technique helped me to identify those officers who were actively involved in the provision of NFE targeting the herders. They brought into my study the richest data that added a significant value in answering my research questions as highlighted in Cohen and Manion (1989). Generally stated, the participants and other data sources were identified in such a way that they would add some purposeful insights to the problem being investigated.

The assumption here was that the providers had different perspectives from the herders regarding the nature of any NFE provision that had been made available and would be able to provide important background information regarding NFE policy decisions that had affected the NFE services. In Lesotho, it is crucial to observe protocol both at community level and official level. In observing this protocol, I met with the senior officials of both LANFE and LDTC to present my intent to seek their participation in the study. Following this presentation, I was directed to the implementers who were actively engaged with service provision at the grassroots level and I set up appointments.

The eligibility criteria for the service providers was their experience in coordinating and or facilitating programmes aimed at empowering the herders with basic numeracy and literacy programmes and or some form of income generation skills. For LDTC and LANFE the participants were hand-picked by the senior officials based on the level of experience of the staff members in relation to my study objectives. While for the NFE inspectorate, it was a given, as the office had only one member of staff.

4.3   LIMITATIONS

In my study I experienced both political and structural limitations which in a way impacted on the planned time frame for completion of the data collection. Firstly, the scheduling of the interviews with the service providers was greatly affected by the political instability that took place in Lesotho in 2014. As a result, the interviews were delayed until later after the General Assembly Elections of February 2015.

The poll results inaugurated the new government which called for introductory meetings between the Ministers and the various departments. As a result, on numerous occasions, the appointments had to be rescheduled. To mitigate the challenge, I had to modify the interview guides for the providers and the inspector into a shorter version while ensuring that they still covered the most salient areas of the study and leaving room for further probing where the need arose. I also had to leave a copy of the shortened version with the participants while I kept a longer one with the probes. This approach helped because their worry was that the interviews would be time consuming.

LANFE had also introduced some restructuring following the retirement of the then Executive Director which created another challenge of having to reintroduce the study to the new Executive Director.

4.4   GAINING ACCESS TO THE PARTICIPANTS

Before embarking on the data collection at the field level, it was crucial to develop a checklist of the activities that needed to be undertaken in order to guide the inception of the project to help in the monitoring of the process against the time frame. The key points in the time frame started from the proposal development, inclusive of the presentation and approval of the proposal by the university review team, ethical clearance, data collection, analysis, report writing and the final report submission. For the purposes of this study a detailed data collection plan outlining the ground-work activities for the empirical data collection phase, was developed.

4.4.1 Approval and access

I presented my proposal to the ethical clearance committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal as part of the University protocol for conducting research. I received ethical clearance to continue with my study in February 2014. Among the ethical considerations stipulated by the committee was the need to follow proper protocols for access to the participants and to develop data collection instruments that were non-threatening for my participants. The need for trust and communication was also highlighted in the university's ethical protocol for securing the participants.

In response to the requirements of the ethical clearance committee, I developed the research instruments: firstly, an interview protocol which is a set of rules or instructions that was followed in the administration and the implementation of the tool to ensure consistency. This was followed by the development of two interview guides for the two separate audiences who participated in my study with a list of questions or issues for the interview, including the informed consent form. The questions and consent form were translated into Sesotho for the herders since this was their first and sometimes their only language.

Ekaju (2011) emphasises the need for researchers to critically analyse the process of community entry in doing research. In my study, care was taken regarding the need to liaise with the appropriate gate-keeping authorities to level the ground for the data collection process. The process was multi-faceted and included communication with *Monna ka Khomo* herdboys association as an NGO responsible for the herders, and the relevant government. The last category of gatekeepers was at the grass-root level through the community leadership structures.

Firstly, I organised a meeting with *Monna Ka Khomo* Herdboys Association in its capacity as the only formally recognised organisation advocating for the rights of the herders in Lesotho. I presented my intent and sought their support in the identification of the participants and the consent was granted. *Monna ka Khomo* was very pleased that somehow the voices of the

herders would be heard and that there was someone interested in replicating their advocacy work. In their own words they said:

> You know what 'M'e [Madam] we really appreciate that you want to conduct a study among these [the herders] guys. We have been advocating for the education to be legally binding in Lesotho so that they can also have an opportunity to attend school but the progress is very slow.

Secondly, I set up introductory meeting appointments and meetings with the senior management of the respective organisations who had been identified in the study for triangulation purposes to seek the consent for their staff members to participate in my study and to nominate staff members who would meet the selection requirements. The service providers whom I met were the office of the NFE Inspectorate, the LDTC and LANFE. All three consented to participate in the study and nominated relevant staff members to be interviewed.

Thirdly, I arranged meetings with the chiefs and the livestock owners as the key entry points and the gate-keepers of the information at the community level. The purpose of this activity was to set the tone for the study and seek their consent. The outcome of which was a detailed schedule of dates, times and places for data collection.

I had heard many stories about how unruly the herders could be, especially on a face to face encounter with females. While of course my instincts kept telling me that what really mattered was the approach - making them feel appreciated and treated with humanity and respect - a part of me was conscious that I needed to be extra careful for my own safety and security around the herders and for the success of my data collection. Therefore, for safety and security reasons, I initially solicited the support of a male work colleague as a companion and protector so that he could be available if I needed his support. However, it will be seen later that this did not materialise.

4.5   DATA COLLECTION

The data collection process started in April 2014 and ended in March 2015. In the preceding section, I highlighted the use of the key informants as a strategy that helped me to understand the issues of the herders. It was through the same strategy that I was able to identify the cattle posts that were within reach to conduct my study without compromising the purpose and objectives of my study. Gephart (2004) identifies face to face interviews as one data collection method. My study employed unstructured and semi-structured interviews which were administered through a face to face method. I also collected data through photovoice and transect walk.

Chilisa and Preece (2005) assert that the findings of good research come from individualised rather than generalised responses. This notion informed the choice and use of interviews which are categorised among the central data collection methods as stated in Arthur et al. (2012). Arthur et al. caution that in choosing this method, the researcher has to be familiar with the advantages and disadvantages of the tool beforehand. I selected the interview method because it enabled me to ask probing questions of my respondents, with the opportunity to ask for clarification or elaboration if required.

4.5.1   Interviews

Herders

The herders came from the three geographical locations of Lesotho, namely, the highlands, the lowlands and the foothills. The tool was pilot tested in the lowlands and amended accordingly. I designed unstructured interview guides for the herders with a total of nine questions.

The interviews were conducted while the herders were on duty in order for me to, as Orb, Eisenhauer, and Wynaden (2001:94) state, "listen to [their] voice or observe them in their natural environments". This gave me an opportunity to observe the social interaction amongst the herders, their sense of belonging within the herder group and the roles carried out by the

herders while herding as Reid and West (2015) state. This approach further enabled me to informally observe some of the salient 'unsaid norms' that came with the herding activity.

Service providers

There were three service providers who participated in my study coming from the following offices: the NFE Inspectorate, LDTC and LANFE. I designed semi structured interview guides for this group with a total of thirteen questions. The service providers' perspective provided information on the alternative learning opportunities that were currently available for the herders other than the conventional education system used in Lesotho. These interviews also afforded an opportunity for further probing of the responses. Ekaju (2011:100) emphasises the credibility of data generated from "interactive interviews". This technique provided an opportunity to get the herders' perceptions of their own life histories, and their educational ambitions, as well as validating the data collected from the herders with that of the service providers. The face to face method also gave me an opportunity to observe and document the emerging non-verbal cues that added a valuable source of information in my qualitative study. These nonverbal cues helped me probe further in order to understand the inner feelings as well as the deeply held beliefs, values and perceptions that the participants had on the subject under study.

Employing face to face interviews in my study enabled me to structure the questions in such a way that I could gather data about the specific aspects that took place in the lives of the herders. However the questions did leave flexibility for further probing of the participants which was done within the confines of the research questions. The responses were audio-recorded using a digital tape recorder, then transcribed verbatim and coded. (The coding process is discussed later in section 4.7).

In each of the two cases, the interviews aimed at allowing the respondents the freedom to express their personal views about the reality of the problem as they experienced it within their local context. Additional informal conversations and observations with the herders, for

example during transect walk and photovoice discussions, enabled me to probe further on some of the incidents that the herders mentioned during the interview, while at the same time enabling them to participate freely in the conversation.

4.5.2. Photovoice

Photovoice as a research tool came into play in 1995 through the innovation of Wang and colleagues (Palibroda, Krieg, Murdock, & Havelock, 2009). Photovoice is a Participatory Action Research method tool that can facilitate community change with the focus on three key areas: strengths and concerns, promoting a dialogue on critical issues, and informing the policy makers (Wang, 2006; Ritchie, 2009; Wang, 1999; Adams et al., 2012; Palibroda et al., 2009).

The goals of the photovoice method, therefore, are three-fold. First it provides a record of issues of concerns and community strengths. Second, it opens doors for a critical dialogue about issues of importance to the respondents. Third the information gathered has the potential to inform policy change and/or decision making (Wang, 1999; Adams et al., 2012).

Each of the thirty herders who participated in my study was requested to provide a photo of something that mattered most in their lives. The initial plan was to purchase the disposable cameras and leave them with the herders to allow them to take pictures that were to be discussed at a later date. However, due to financial constraints the plan deviated and I used my Blackberry phone and my digital camera. Following the interviews in each of the three geographical regions, the herders were gathered together and given a crash course on how to use the devices.

After the training, each herder was allowed to take a sample picture which was deleted until the correct sharpness was achieved. This tool generated a lot of interest for two reasons: firstly, the herders had not held a digital camera or an i-phone before and, secondly, for the sample, they were allowed to take their own pictures which were later processed and handed to them.

Each herder was allowed to take a picture of the things that mattered most in their herding experience, for instance, their houses, the important things they had learnt through herding, the commonly used herbs, etc. Each picture was then numbered against the name of the herder. The majority of the herders were very happy when they received their 'sample' pictures. While some commented that it was the first picture taken in their lives, some said they never knew how they looked until they saw themselves in the picture.

In order to inform the life history approach, the respondents got an opportunity to discuss what was captured on the picture and the discussion was recorded. The photos were also downloaded on my computer in folders with the names of the herders for future reference.

Some of the pictures presented included their universal identity– the 'grey blanket' which will be presented in Chapter 6. While the assumption and the common experience is of a dirty blanket, the herders are slowly changing this negative image by perceiving the blanket to be a resource for income generation. Other pictures included the herding terrain in Figure 4 and a *motebo* in Figure 5.

A picture of the researcher taken by a herder during the transect walk in the highlands to portray the steep and rugged nature of the herding terrain which made access to social services, including education and primary health-care, a huge challenge for the herders.

Figure 4: Cattle post terrain

A picture of *a motebo* taken by a herder. The size and height of the house were stated as key regarding cattle post life as a rite of passage. The herders argued that the size and the height was not comfortable. They also stated that if snow fell, the risk of the roof falling inside the house was very high.

Figure 5: A picture of a motebo *cattle post house*

The interview process and the photovoice seemed to facilitate a better understanding of the purpose of the study among the herders. More importantly the tools built a closer relationship between me and the herders. Once the photovoice discussions were completed, a different day was set for the transect walk. It was emphased that it had to be conducted with people who were familiar with the place and that the route did not necessarily have to be linear.

4.5.3. Transect walk

The Transect walk is among the Participatory Rural Appraisal's (PRA) resources of visual tools data collection. PRA was developed in the 1970s in response to the need to shift away from "Western top-down…development" (Campbell, 2002:20) strategies to an approach that was engaging and empowering the local communities with sustainable skills in solving their own problems, as cited in Shar, Kambou and Monahan (1999), Mompati and Prinsen (2000) and Campbell (2002). The World Bank (n.d:1) defines the transect walk as a guided tour which gives a visual and narrative presentation of the local resources "along a given transect".

When used in descriptive research, the transect walk can help the researcher to probe into the historical background of how local resources are used and distributed from the perspective of community members and on how they foresee the future of their land use. This would include,

for instance; the natural vegetation, farming activities, schools and the residential area (Fauna & flora, 2013).

In this study I conducted three transect walks – one per geographical region. In each of the transect walks I was in the company of one herder who was very familiar with the place being toured.

In linking the transect walk to the rest of the techniques – interviews and the photovoice - I explained that the purpose of the transect walk was to see the reality of what had been discussed about the herding environment during the interviews and to be more familiar with their work places. CARE (2002) identifies the transect walk as one of the potential ice-breaking tools to kick-start a research process. However, in my case, being female, care had to be taken of my safety and security around the herders. This therefore called for establishing a more solid rapport with them before going out into the isolated environment known to them alone.

In each of the three transect walks the herders as a group nominated one of them who had either been around the place longer than the others or was eloquent and willing to share knowledge and information particularly about the environment and the resources that were available for use by the herders. Before beginning the walk, I asked the larger group of herders to provide input on the route ensuring that the direction that we would be taking with their peers would enable us to cover and or see: i) as much as possible of their herding land; ii) the main resources and or interesting things that they would like to be known by the outside world; and iii) that the route would be walkable and safe for both of us. Here I did not want to put our lives in danger and secondly, the foothills and the highlands are known notoriously for initiation school sites. Therefore, assuming that most of the herders had gone through that rite of passage, I had to protect my male colleague as well, in case he would be attacked for infiltrating their secret locations.

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The walks started from the lowest point to the highest where we could see most of the resources such as nearby cattle posts, grazing areas, dams, forest trees, just to mention a few examples. During the walk, I paused and probed on anything emerging that might have not been discussed prior to the tour. I drew a sketch of the route we took, reported the conversation in my field journal and also audio recorded it.

At the end of each route, the herders would reconvene as a larger group. I advised that we gathered around a flat area near some small stones to discuss the route. I asked the herders to use the available natural resources to create a pictorial representation of the route using the tour guide as the lead facilitator or presenter. The reason I used the natural resources was to cater for the low literacy level of the participants and also to bring it into their context – most of them used stones and animal droppings to learn numeracy. This activity usually generated a lot of discussions and input which revealed how much they knew about their area.

A brief overview of the routes

1) The lowland route was in the company of Matukeng, an adult male who was an ex-miner. It started approximately 100m above the Caledon River and extended upwards towards the main North 1 route covering approximately 1km. Different types of small and large livestock together with the herders were visible along the route.

The items located during the walk included the Caledon River which forms the boundary between Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa. The river is mainly used by the herders as a drinking place for the livestock. However, there were reported illegal crossings for stock theft. During the rainy season the water seeps out from the river to form dams that that are also used by animals for drinking. An enclosed area was reportedly individual fields bought by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. However, the delayed payment for them had led to a petition by the owners to recover their land. It was at this point lying fallow and used for animal grazing on a rotational plan of three months. There were also bare patches on the land which were said to be the places regularly struck by lightning, called *maphaka tlali* in

Sesotho, which are believed to have incubated the eggs of the lightning. These places are the first points of contact when lightning strikes and are hence very dangerous for the herders.
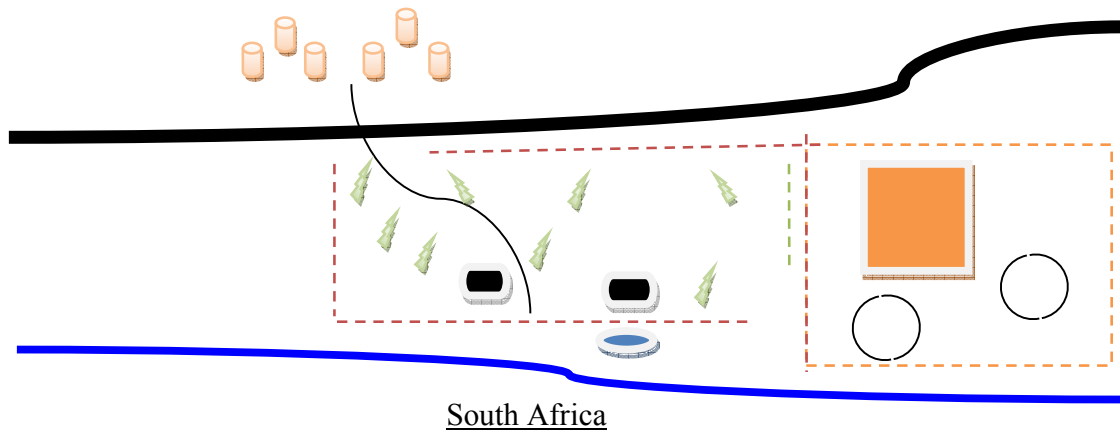
Figure 6: Transect walk – lowlands (bordering South Africa)

Legend

—— Caledon river	⬜ Abattoir fence	⬜ Fenced pastureland
🟧 Abattoir building	🌿 Grass	Residential area
Dam	*Lephakatlali*	Main North 1
Kraal	Shade trees	Transect route
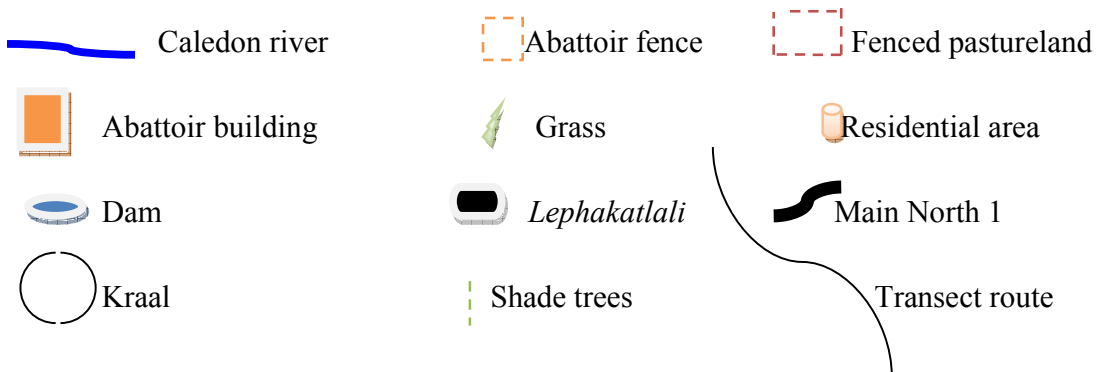
2) The foothills route started just a few metres below Ace's cattle post and two other visible cattle posts were visible and extended up towards the road to Thaba Tseka covering approximately 200m in total. The tour guide was Ace and the route was visible throughout. Although there were no animals around, there were some dogs around the cattle posts and the Thaba Tseka road was busy. There was a huge gorge with the sound of splashing water

separating the two cattle posts. The gorge was forested and I was told that the trees were used to make the beds for the herders and the roofs for the *motebo*. Some were used for fuel by the herders. We did not get close to the gorge at all. Many dogs kept for herder protection were visible on leashes. There were also *papasane,* an indigenous plant used for relish, and *hloenya,* a traditional medicinal herb, around the cattle posts. On the left-hand side of Ace's cattle post there was a burnt *motebo* where the story was that nothing was left except the owner who was suspected to have been drunk the previous night and did not take the necessary safety precautions against fire hazards before going to bed.
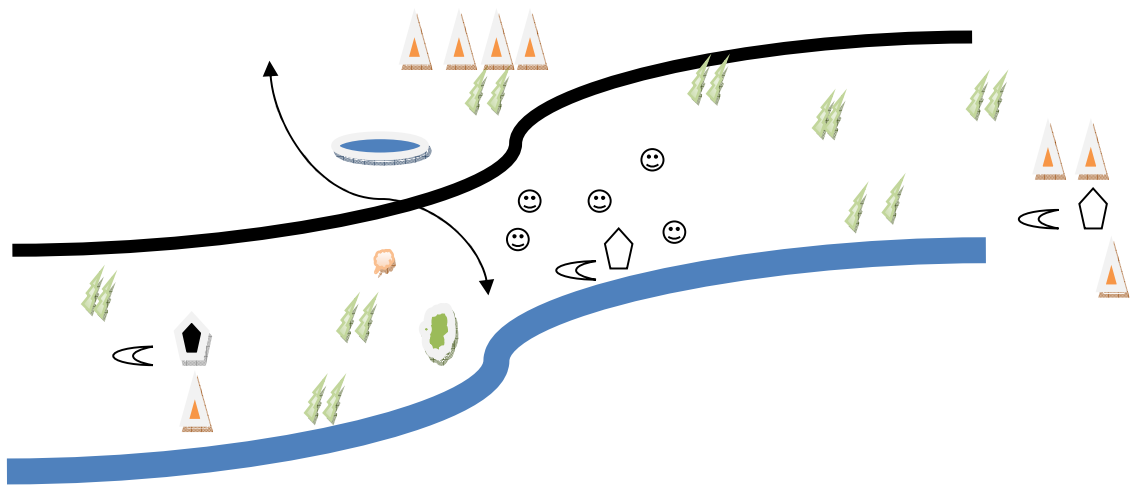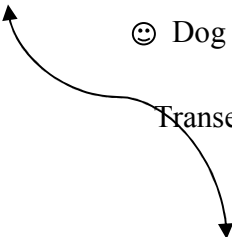
Figure 7: Transect walk - foothills

Legend

~ Gorge	⬭ Dam	▲ Mountain
⬠ Cattle post	🌲 Grazing area	☺ Dog
⬠ A burnt cattle post	*Papasane*	Transect route
ᑕ Kraal	*Hloeny*a	

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3) Under section 4.4.1, I mentioned the isolated nature of the highlands environment characterized by long distance walks which was affirmed by the nature of the highlands route. The tour guide was Linakaneng 2. On this particular route, the estimated distance from start to finish was approximately 3km and it was a hike uphill mainly covered by sharp pointed rocks of different sizes and shapes. The ground was mostly bare from erosion. The dirt road between Sehlaba Thebe and Thaba Tseka was visible on the left hand side of the route but it was generally quiet because we had passed the last taxi to Sehlaba-Thebe on the Qacha's Nek side of the mountain range. There were no animals around and the place was generally very quiet and peaceful, but scary for a female.
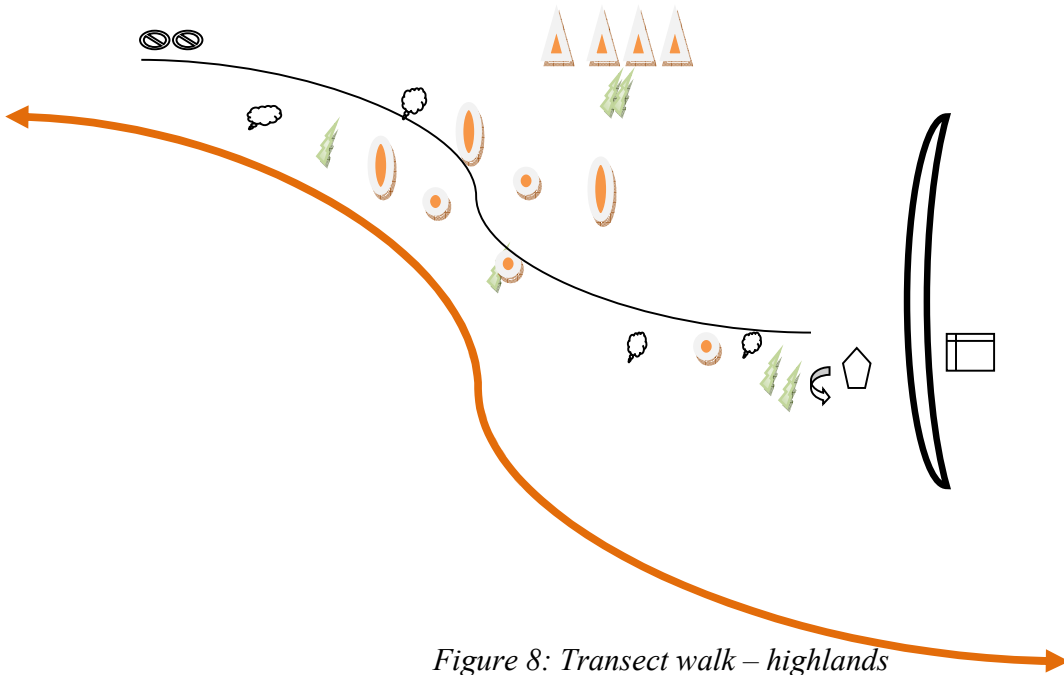
Figure 8: Transect walk – highlands

Donga   Dirt road – Qacha to Thaba Tseka   Field

Motebo   Mountain   Tower solar panels

Kraal   *Hloenya*   Grazing area

Flat rock   Hill   Transect route
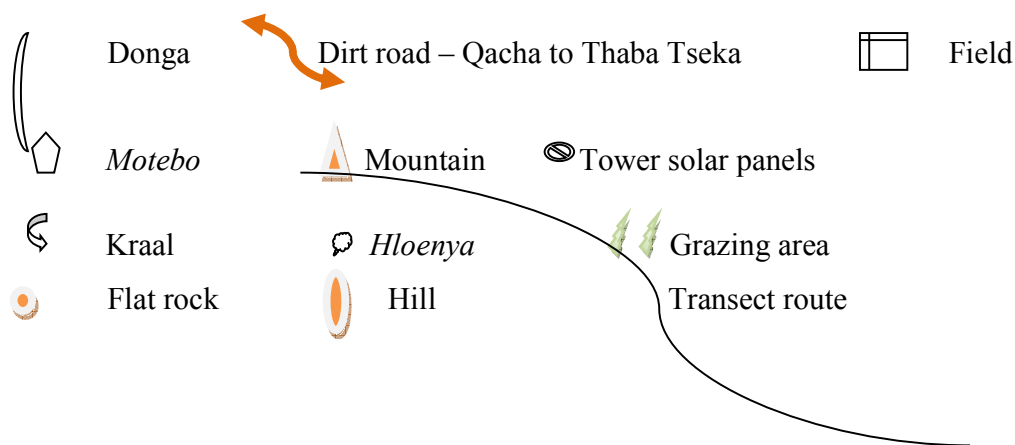
The use of images, photovoice and transect walk in this study helps to explain and give meanings to things that cannot be easily explained using language (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

4.6   RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY IN THE DATA COLLECTION

The significant impact that positionality can have on the study cannot be over-emphasised. Positionality refers to "a space in which objectivism and subjectivism meet" (Bourke, 2014:3). Different scholars have reiterated that positionality can manifest at different stages during the research process; namely, knowledge construction, perception of the participants and the researcher and others' standpoint (Morojele, 2009; Bourke, 2014). Bourke further argues that individual researchers also have multiple identities which may potentially have a bearing on the findings of the research and that these identities may vary from gender, socio-economic status, culture, sexuality, age, etc. (Bourke, 2014; Hopkins, 2007; Mullins, 1999).

The argument further alludes to other theories which have played a role in supporting this stand. Morojele (2009) cites Griffiths (1998) who used feminist theories in order to strengthen this argument. In Morojele's view, feminists reiterated that researchers have their personal politics which they bring into the research study and it ends up playing a paramount role in the way that the knowledge is produced by the researcher.

The key to this is that, the nature of the power relations between the researcher and respondent greatly depends on "the inculcation of the dominant values, beliefs, norms and discourses" that are socially perceived as appropriate between the different participants" (Bowl et al., 2012). Being a Mosotho woman, I may also have brought into the study my own socially constructed identity of the herders which has been informed by the way I have been socialised, and which has implications for ethical considerations in terms of addressing any bias.

That said, it is crucial for the researcher to re-examine this power level and harness it in such a way that it does not create bias in the knowledge construction (Morojele, 2009) resulting from the data. In this study, I am bringing in my position as a female Mosotho, who was brought up living with the male herders and considered them as brothers and friends. I was also socialised by my community to have a high regard for the males, respecting the unequal gender power relations as manifested through their male physique and control over resources.

Nevertheless, I also grew up to have a negative perception of the male herders, because of the impolite approaches that they subjected me to as a teenage girl, when they expressed their feelings of love. All these values and perceptions have a great possibility of affecting my study.

My upbringing has been characterised by a large rural family which comprised both the nuclear family members and the extended family members. This background is also part of my world view, and has influenced my interest in herders and their education. My close association with the life of herders was also likely to have had a positive impact on my ability to interpret and understand their experiences from their position.

My professional and academic background as a Peace Corps worker who inducts volunteers into remote areas in Lesotho, and as an educated individual who already has a vested interest in the value of education for personal development, could impinge on how the uneducated men would react to me. In other words, my positionality had both positive as well as negative

contributions to make in my research analysis. My aim ultimately, was to listen to what was said, read and re-read the texts, looking for meanings that the herders were conveying but drawing on my own cultural reference points, as a resource that may help me to understand the herders' background and thereby, also contribute to a more culturally relevant understanding of where they were coming from.

Nonetheless, I was careful of the power relations – male/female but also educated/uneducated – both of which could hinder what they revealed to me as an educated Mosotho woman. The establishment of rapport from the outset of my study on their terms, and being able to relate my personal history as a woman who grew up amongst the many herders and brothers in my family, partly indicated that I knew their backgrounds, even though I needed them to spell it out for the purpose of data collection, and partly contributed to breaking down barriers with my research participants.

4.7   DATA ANALYSIS

In this study, pattern coding was used for qualitative data analysis. Scholars define pattern coding as "explanatory or inferential codes … that identified an emergent theme, configuration or explanation" in (Miles & Huberman, 1994:69). I engaged in an inductive analysis, to look for my own interpretation of themes that emerged from the data as a result of reading and re-reading the data. I also used deductive analysis, to identify themes which correlated with my theoretical frameworks. This dual process provided me with an opportunity to create more meaning out of the data while also, enabling me to compare findings with relevant literature.

This method of analysis helped me to break down the collected data into smaller chunks for ease of the analysis process. It involved engaging with the data analysis early during the research process. Starting from the early stages of data collection, each night I transcribed the day's interviews and at the same time, I identified themes from the collected data which in turn enabled me to focus my fieldwork during subsequent data collection exercises. The

transcription was very time consuming because: i) all the interviews were conducted in Sesotho and therefore needed to be translated; and ii) some herders had provided a lot of rich data which needed to be carefully captured. The transcribing and translation of the thirty transcripts took me two months.

This was followed by engaging in an intensive and comparative reading of all the transcripts in order to identify the common links that tied the responses from the herders. At first the process was challenging because it was not easy to come up with the relevant themes. Therefore, a list of words was generated which were later collapsed into what Hesketh (2004) and Arthur et al. (2012) define as a theme based on the emergence of patterns or overlaps, and which Miles and Huberman (1994:70) refer to as "recurring threads" in formulating "ideas and key concepts".

Since my study was conducted in three geographical areas of Lesotho, I categorised the data in a way that enabled me to make comparisons between the three regions and the herders' different regional characteristics. I then identified similar quotes emerging under a similar theme across the three geographical areas and presented them using tables. In order to link my study to the theoretical framework which guided my study I identified the quotes that tied the thematic quotes together, as presented in the subsequent chapters.

In the following section I have outlined the ethical issues that were taken into consideration for this study. These included the steps I initiated in order to gain access to the herders as well as securing access to interview the NFE staff member and the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre staff.

4.8   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Miles and Huberman (1994:289) define ethics in terms of the crucial attention seeking issues which the researcher must take care of throughout the research process. My study followed the utilitarian ethical theory which is a more traditional approach to conducting research. Miles and Huberman outline three characteristics of this approach as: "recruitment of respondents

via informed consent; conduct fieldwork so as to avoid harm to others and extend this stance through protection of confidentiality in reports".

The University of KwaZulu-Natal mandates all the researchers to submit their research proposals for ethical clearance prior to the data collection process. Care had to be taken that the research process went beyond mere data collection and analysis of the collected data. It was also important for the researcher to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of the participants (Orb et al., 2001). The ethical guidelines therefore helped the researcher to uphold the participants' privacy, confidentiality, dignity, rights, and anonymity. Miles and Huberman's (1994) view of the research is of a process that extends beyond the data collection stage. They caution the researchers of the issues to be aware of before, during, and after the research had been conducted as follows:

Miles and Huberman identify the issues that researchers must consider during data analysis: worthiness of the project, competence boundaries, informed consent, benefits, costs, and reciprocity, harm and risk, honesty and trust, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, voluntary participation, intervention and advocacy, research integrity, quality and ownership of data and conclusions.

A detailed outline of how these ethical issues were considered is presented in the paragraphs below.

Worthiness of the project

The key questions that I was aware of in consideration of this guideline were the following. What was the potential project significance in contributing to the needs of the intended beneficiaries, and was the project congruent with my values and principles as a researcher? In order to ensure adherence to this principle, I made sure that I conducted the study in a way that did not use the project as a personal opportunity and negated the broader significance that it could play in the enhancement of the MDGs of Lesotho, or the subsequent Sustainable Development Goals which will replace these in 2016. I made sure that I devoted all the

necessary care in the design and data collection methods employed in this project. My ultimate aim was to collect data that could inform NFE policy in Lesotho and directly benefit the herders.

Competence boundaries

This issue was concerned mainly with the capacity of the available human resource to conduct the study. The key question that I had to answer was whether I had the necessary skills and expertise to carry out the research and produce an academically accredited outcome. The willingness of the researcher to undergo some form of training and supervision also had to be looked into.

In observance of this guideline, I used all the available opportunities provided by the UKZN in sharpening my research skills to enable me to produce a good research report. I also kept close contact with my supervisor for further guidance in the development of this research study. I ensured that I reviewed the necessary literature that guided me throughout the research process. I also shared my study with my peers such as: Randi Helgesen, a Peace Corps Volunteer who had an extensive background in conducting research studies; Mrs Lebohang Ranooe who is a former colleague holding a B.Ed in Adult Education from the National University of Lesotho; a work colleague, Doctor Clement Lephoto who had just graduated from the University of Free State (UOFS); and Doctor Setoi who was a lecturer at the National University of Lesotho and who had a vast experience in research.

Informed consent

Orb et al. (2001) emphasise the importance of observing the ethics of gaining access to the participants. In Lesotho it was crucial to observe protocol especially at the community level through community gatherings and individual meetings. I conducted introductory meetings with the chiefs, the community councilors, and the herders to explain in detail the purpose, nature, data collection methods, and extent of the research prior to commencement. In line with this, I obtained their informed consent in writing.

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For those herders who could not read and write, I gave them an opportunity to identify a confidante who could read the consent form on their behalf and decide whether they wanted to place a thumb print or an **x** or preferred their confidante to sign on their behalf. Since the herders spoke Sesotho, the consent form was made available in both English and Sesotho as these were the two official languages in Lesotho.

I also ensured that the signed consent forms were kept safely and separately from the interview schedule. This made sure that none of the consent forms could be easily matched to any of the interviews in order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. During the study, I sought the participants' consent to take notes and for recording during the discussions using a digital recorder and took pictures explaining that the note-taking was for the purposes of compiling the research report. Consent was obtained for conducting the study from the following:

- *Monna Ka Khomo* Herdboys Association
- Lesotho Distance Teaching Center
- Lesotho Association for Non Formal Education
- Research and Ethics Committee of the University of KZN

Benefits, costs and reciprocity

It was important to look at the benefits that the research participants gained from their participation, how much they had to invest in the study in terms of time, energy and financially. In observing this principle, I stated from the onset that the study was intended to inform the NFE programmes offered to the herders in Lesotho. Rather than calling them I met them in their natural environment.

This strategy was however challenged in one of the interviews that I had in the highlands where a group of participants did not show up for an interview. Instead they left a 'representative'.

Upon arrival I thought the other members were delayed but the representative asked me who was the intended beneficiary of the study. I stated that the intention was to inform the NFE policy on issues that mattered most to the herders. He in turn responded that many people keep coming to them for information but nothing is implemented in their interest. Instead the very researchers conduct research to get a qualification to serve as civil servants who, in turn, oppressed the herders. They have therefore decided not to participate. From this response I sensed research fatigue. He concluded that the others would not show up. Before I could respond he left me to look for his colleagues. To compensate for this, I moved to other cattle posts and renegotiated my entry with other herders who willingly participated.

Harm and risk

In this research study I ensured that no participants were put in a situation where they might be harmed as a result of their participation, physically or psychologically. The questions to be asked were not designed to stimulate stressful memories. Whilst it was not possible to guarantee that no participant experienced stress as a result of taking part in the study, all efforts were made to put them at ease and make them feel comfortable about the answers that they gave.

Honesty and trust

Care was taken in ensuring that the trust of the herders was not compromised with regard to the information they provided. I asked them to give me the pseudonyms which they wanted to be called during the interviews so that during the recording, there was no personally identifiable information that linked them to the information provided. I also ensured that I was punctual for our meetings. When I could not arrive on time, I always made sure that they were notified ahead of time. For those who could read, I showed them my student card. I also made nutritional provisions for the meetings to compensate them for participating in my study. I also took care to adhere to cultural dress code by wearing clothes that were not too tight or revealing. I ensured that I addressed them as *Ntate* translated as 'father'- an acceptable way to

address a male Mosotho - or *Khaitseli* translated as 'brother/sister' – another acceptable way of addressing someone, as consented to by the participants.

Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity

Orb et al. (2001:93) posit that "the protection of human subjects or participants in any research study is imperative". I ensured that the confidentiality of the participants was observed and that the personal identifying information of the participants remained anonymous by removing any of the possible identifying characteristics before the information was disseminated. Their names have not been used or shared, in order to conceal the identity of the participants. I began by an inquiry on whether they wanted to be anonymous or not and the response was that since some of the information that they might provide might be sensitive, and to allow them freedom of expression, they preferred to remain anonymous.

Voluntary participation

Despite all the above mentioned precautions, it was made clear to the participants that the research was only for academic purpose and their participation in it was absolutely voluntary. No one was forced to participate. It was emphasised that the participants were free to terminate the interview at any point without being subjected to any further repercussions.

Intervention and advocacy

I was aware that, if, during the research, I came across potentially damaging experiences, I needed to take care that I remained the researcher and did not become a counsellor or play other advisory roles. In one case in the highlands, a discussion on education raised a poignant moment to the participant as he had never been to school in his life. At this juncture I paused the interview until he calmed down. Then I asked him if he still wanted to continue with the interview and he said yes. This was to ensure that I did not conduct my study in a manner that caused emotional harm to the participants.

Research integrity

I have made sure that I have not withheld any information that might have meant my study has given a lopsided report. For instance, some of the interviewees who were not very forthcoming were still included.

Quality and ownership of data and conclusions

The key concerns here were on the ownership of the field notes and the data analysis. Care was taken that once I had transcribed the interviews alterations would not be allowed. I also disclosed that I was conducting the study as a requirement to complete my Doctoral degree with the UKZN.

Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, the purpose of trustworthiness is to ensure that the findings of the study are "worth paying attention to" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:290). Lincoln and Guba posit that trustworthiness in qualitative research means that attention was paid to four aspects, namely: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability**.** Credibility refers to an evaluation of the credibility of the data; transferability would be the degree to which the findings were applicable beyond the bounds of the project; dependability looks into quality assurance of the data collection methods; and confirmability measures how closely related the findings were to the data collected.

I used triangulation as a means of ensuring the trustworthiness of the data. For the purposes of my study, I collected data from different sources and used different data collection methods to ensure the potential for the transferability and the credibility of findings. The section below outlines the steps that I took in ensuring the trustworthiness of my study.

During the data collection process, I requested the consent of the participants to audiotape the interviews. I also requested their permission to take notes during the process. This was to enhance dependability and confirmability among the participants reducing what Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to as threats to the data quality that could have been presented by note-taking and audio recording. The taped interviews were transcribed verbatim. In addition, I

spent a considerable amount of time in the field during the data collection process to ensure credibility.

This was followed by the codification of the data during the analysis stage. The three geographical locations of my study were identified for comparison of the data collected as a way of addressing the transferability of the findings. I further triangulated the data, to see if the findings were verifiable from different sources. The generalised findings are reflected as themes that can be used to inform the NFE policy recommendations for Lesotho, especially in the areas of education provision for the herders. Similar recommendations may also be applicable in similar contexts outside of Lesotho.

4.9 ANTICIPATED PROBLEMS/LIMITATIONS

In this study I had anticipated four key challenges. The first challenge was in relation to the context under which the study was conducted with particular reference to the scattered nature of the cattle posts. The second challenge for my study was the climatic conditions, particularly the harsh winters, which could have delayed the data collection process. The third challenge was concerned with the level of literacy of the herders which could have influenced their level of comprehension. The fourth challenge was more related to the researcher's logistical arrangements in term of accommodation facilities while conducting the study in view of the scarce financial resources that were available. Therefore, before the data collection process, I employed 3Ps – 'proper, prior, planning', in order to devise some strategies to apply in counteracting the challenges mentioned above. It is also worth mentioning that I had earlier recruited a male Peace Corps Lesotho work colleague who had previous experience of research. However, we had schedule conflicts during the onset of my data collection. As a result, the work colleague was never part of the data collection in the lowlands and the foothills and I collected that data by myself.

Firstly, to overcome the scattered nature of the cattle posts, I solicited partnership with the *Monna ka Khomo* Herdboys Association and LDTC to identify those cattle posts that were

easy to reach without compromising the scope of the study. I also developed my work field schedule such that it could be flexible for data collection purposes. In this way, I had an opportunity to be accompanied by a male driver during the field trips who, by default, became my counterpart in the highlands area.

The latter outcome proved very efficient in many ways. Firstly, it was economically efficient in that less money was spent on refreshments for the colleague as it became part of his travel budget. Secondly, it was socially efficient in that the training of the male colleague was done during the office breaks and during the travel. Thirdly, the newly acquired skills were a motivation to a male who had never ventured into research, let alone entered a cattle post. Lastly, it became culturally efficient in that having him around, especially in the highlands, was part of his cultural masculinity responsibility - to protect a 'minor', as women are regarded in Lesotho.

The second challenge mentioned earlier was the climate, where the winters become extremely cold with snow falls and a potential threat to access to the herders. I made sure that the interviews were done before the winter season set in. I also wanted to give myself time to go back and fill in any information gaps and collect data with the participatory tools once the rapport had been established with the herders.

The third challenge was the language barrier which I overcame by translating the data collection instruments and the transect walk into Sesotho. The discussions were then recorded using a digital tape recorder, translated and transcribed into English.

The fourth challenge of accommodation was overcome concurrently with the first challenge of the scattered nature of the cattle posts. I did not have to spend time in the communities as had initially been expected. The combined activities enabled me to secure reasonably safe and affordable accommodation in the nearby towns to be able to attain both the work and the study objectives.

4.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the research design and methodology. The study was qualitative and based on an interpretivist paradigm due to its descriptive nature and the desire to focus on the subjective reality of the participants. I used the life history methodology to collect the educational and herding life history of Basotho herders, supported by photovoice and transect walk.

The narrative nature of the study enabled me to identify the deeply held educational values of the herders and their educational and life ambitions. The NFE providers and inspectorate provided data about the programmes that were available to herders. Their input helped to triangulate the herders' interviews. The reason for doing the study in this way was because I wanted in-depth, rich data that provided insights into the herders and their lives. The ultimate purpose of this research was to inform the NFE policy for the herders.

The chapter also discussed the data collection and data analysis methods that I engaged in, to facilitate the production of the final research report. Needless to say, emphasis was placed on the need to observe the code of conduct that guided the research process. Of paramount importance in this chapter was my position as a researcher in the whole study and the potential risks that my position could bring into the knowledge construction emanating from the findings.

Chapter 5 presents the largely descriptive, narrative herders' life history findings that informed my study. The preceding section on data analysis mentioned the emergence of themes and sub-themes during the data analysis phase. Some of the sub-themes have been used in Chapter 5 to organise the herders' life histories. Subsequent chapters analyse the data more thematically and refer more directly to the theoretical frameworks.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY: HERDER LIFE HISTORIES

"Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned." (Clark and Rossiter, 2008:62)

5.0   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I have framed the findings of my study using the life histories of Basotho herders. I summarise each of the herders' stories and then provide a general commentary on common life patterns and experiences. The herder stories are subdivided according to four sub-headings namely: livestock as a source of income for male Basotho; informal learning as a coping mechanism and a livelihood source; income generation through arts and crafts; and socially constructed herder identity. The findings presented in this chapter are largely descriptive and address the following research question: what were the learning life histories of the adult male herders in Lesotho? The findings of the study were analysed using the interpretive analysis which was conducted in stages. Sosulski, Buchanan and Donnel (2010:30) assert that the use of the interpretive "methods help" the researcher to provide a holistic description of the phenomenon under study. The first stage involved an inductive analysis process by which the life histories of the herders "were constructed using a narrative approach" (McIntyre, 2012:612). The following chapters will illustrate how the herders' identities have been influenced by public perception, the herders' private perceptions and the more detailed knowledge acquired through herding.

The different herder biographies evidenced difficult beginnings for many. The older herders comprised two levels: the level one herders had never gone through the classroom door in their entire lives; while level two herders had gone to school but dropped out at the low grades. The younger herders, who were more likely to have had access to free primary education, generally presented higher literacy rates, with a few who had completed either high school or tertiary education. I have named the herders using their pseudonyms followed by a brief explanation of their geographical location. The herders' life histories follow.

5.1 LIFE HISTORIES

Dhunpath and Samuel (2009:30) emphasise the "coherence of the story" as one of the important aspects of the life history approach, in that the story has to neatly unfold and that the language becomes key in conveying the messages in the stories. In this study I was translating the findings from one language into the other which could potentially lose some meaning. To compensate for the loss I engaged a language teacher to check the translation of the findings and a language editor to ensure coherence.

The herders' identity forms part of the herders' life histories as echoed by Clark and Rossiter (2008:61) who state that: "human beings are the creatures who tell stories … and those stories serve a function, namely to make meaning of our experience". The coherence of the facts in the story makes the story meaningful to the reader (Clark & Rossiter, 2008; Trahar, 2008). The brief life histories of the herders presented in this section will enable the reader to follow each herder as they are mentioned in the study.

Table 3 below presents the profile of the herders who contributed to my study, in order to know who they were and their future aspirations. The findings of the life histories in Table 3 revealed that, there were two main literacy levels amongst the herders: one of complete illiteracy and that of dropping out of school. The findings evidenced that the higher the age, the less the herders were to remember the age at which they started herding. Out of the 31 participants, two of them who were self-employed were from the lowlands. Twelve herders looked after the family livestock; out of which seven were from the highlands while eight came from the foothills. Some of the older herders from the lowlands were still hired herders. There were also ten herders who owned their livestock (either partially hired or solely having their own) and this cut across the three geographical zones with the majority coming from the lowlands.

A larger number of the study participants were single with a few who were married with children and this also cut across the three geographical regions. On average, the older participants were less educated across all three geographical regions.

Table 3: Profile of the herders

Herder name	Age	Educational level	Marital status	Livestock ownership	Herding age	Geo zone
Comrade	30yrs	Std. 7	Single with no children	Family	9 years	FH
Taiwan	25yrs	Form C	Single with no children	Family	14 years	FH
Lekhala	23yrs	None	Married with no children	Own	6 years	LL
Mosuoe	31yrs	Std. 4	Married with 2 daughters	Own	14 years	LL
Meks	35yrs	Tertiary	Married with 1 son	Own	12 years	LL
Ocean	25yrs	Form E	Single with no children	Hired	10 years	LL
Doctor	43yrs	None	Married with 3 children	Self - employed using IK	5 years	LL
Nyakosoba	35yrs	None	Married with children	Own	-	LL
T-man	22yrs	Currently in Form D	Single with no children	Own	7years	HL
Semonkong1	29yrs	None	Married with no children	Own	14 years	HL
Linakaneng 2	35yrs	Std.4	Married with children	Own	13 years	HL
Semonkong 3	28yrs	None	Single	Uncle	3 years	HL
Semonkong 4	22yrs	Std. 7	single	Family	3 years	HL
Linakeng 5	32yrs	Std. 3	Single with no children	Family	16 years	HL
Linakeng 6	28yrs	Std. 3	Single	Family	16 years	HL
Linakeng 7	24yrs	None	Single with no children	Hired	-	HL
Linakaneng 8	24yrs	Std. 2	Single with no children	Family	3 years	HL
Linakeng 9	20yrs	None	Single with no children	Hired and own	6 years	HL
Sups	35yrs	Vocational skills	Married with one child	Hired now own	5yrs	FH
Ducks	36rs	Std. 3	Married with 2	Grandfather	14yrs	FH

			children	and now own		
Gift	38yrs	None	Married with 2 children	Family now hired	3yrs	FH
Alex	27yrs	Std. 5	Single	Family	3yrs	FH
Ace	27yrs	Std. 6	Single	Family	Young	FH
Masda	27yrs	Std. 3	Married with child	Family	Not mentioned	FH
Linakaneng 10	35yrs	Std. 3	Single	Family	16yrs	HL
Linakeng 11	30yrs	None	Single	Family	6yrs	HL
'Matšooana	28yrs	None	Single	Family	Not known	HL
Malimong	38yrs	Std. 3	Single	Hired	14yrs	LL
Matelile	42yrs	None	Widower	Hired	Not mentioned	LL
Matukeng	45yrs	None	Married with children	Hired	Not mentioned	LL

The findings of the herders' life stories reveal difficult educational beginnings for many of them which affirmed the literature discussions of individual experiences as presented by different authors (Pitikoe, 2012; Mohasi, 2006; Lefoka; 2007; Mahe, 2009). This also reflects the fact that free primary education was only introduced in 2000.

Based on the findings in Table 3 above, the herders' educational experiences can further be categorised under 4 levels with specific statistics of herders under each level. Level 1: complete illiteracy represented by 12 herders, 8 of whom came from the highlands while 4 came from the lowlands. Level 2: Primary education which is represented by 13 herders – 5 from the foothills, 6 from the highlands while 3 came from the lowlands. Level 3: post primary education represented by 3 herders distributed across the 3 geographical regions. Level 4: tertiary education was represented by one herder from the lowlands.

From these findings, it was evident that the majority of the herders with little or no education came from the highlands. This indicated that, regardless of Lesotho's efforts to ensure universal access to education through the FPE programme, there is still social injustice where

boys are unable to either attend or complete formal education (Lefoka, 2007). The following section presents the findings on livestock as a source of income for Basotho.

5.1.1 Income generation among Basotho herders

5.1.1.1 Livestock

In Lesotho, boys who drop out of school are either absorbed into the mining industry in South Africa or become livestock herders either looking after the family livestock or being hired by other livestock owners (Morojele 2009; Lefoka, 2007; Setoi, 2012;). Many herders preferred being hired in order to be compensated for their job and to secure their own livestock. Livestock is seemingly the most common form of payment for the herders. Livestock was also perceived as a safety net or 'a bank' to resort to during times of adversity. Other males were actively engaged in livestock sales and made a reasonable income out of it, while others benefitted from the livestock products such as the sale of wool.

Matelile was a retrenched mine worker who had only been in Khubetsoana as a hired herder for one month. He was 42 years old. He explained that there were cases where a herder could indeed negotiate the payment method with the employer, choosing between monthly cash and an annual livestock payment:

> *kese ke holile haholo hore nka emela ho lefshoa ka selemo re lumellane hore a mpatale ka khoeli* : I am too old to wait for an annual payment we have agreed that he will pay me on a monthly basis.

This showed that with maturity came wisdom and assertiveness that could be applied in salary negotiations with the employer. This also showed that not all the employers were regarded as bad.

Matelile was a widower with a son who stayed with an uncle back home and attended school. Matelile's motive behind taking this job was to be able to meet his financial needs to buy Christmas food and clothes for the children. In the patriarchal African culture like Lesotho's, a family is perceived collectively (Lekoko & Modise, 2011) and extends beyond the nuclear

family so one has a social obligation to care also for the extended family members. Therefore, even though Matelile had only one son, he mentioned children in the plural because he had an obligation to care for the nieces and nephews back home. Matelile also mentioned that, in order to hire a herder, it was mandatory for the herder to produce some form of identity as a security to show they were not pretending to be someone else:

> *ke tlile le lengolo le mpakang hotsoa ho morena oaka:* I brought my chief's letter of reference to be presented to the chief of the employer for verification of my original whereabouts. *Lengolo lena le bolokoa ke mohiri hake ntse ke mosebeletsa. Ha re khaohana le khutlela ho 'na.*

The letter was kept by the employer until either of the two parties terminated the contract. He also commented that of late the children no longer wanted to look after the animals: "our children do not want to look after the animals even though they have been brought up supported by the animals". As a result, the older men have returned to herding.

Matukeng came from the Southern parts of the Maseru district and had been living in Khubetsoana for half a year hired to look after the animals. He was 45 years old and a retrenched mine worker. Back home he had a wife and children and also kept some livestock as a form of savings. He explained the difficulties that the herders endured especially when it came to nutrition:

> *Rele balisana reja habeli feela ka letsatsi eleng hoseng le mantsiboea. Ha ho bonolo haholo ho tloaela mokhoa oo haholo ha u qala ho lisa*: As herders, we eat twice a day only - in the morning and in the evening…

He further illustrated that herding was more challenging for new herders as they had to adapt to the new eating schedule. Therefore the herders devised alternative dietary means: "*reja limela tsa naha hobane liea nyorisa ebe mpa e ea tlala:* we resort to eating the natural herbs so that we can be thirsty and drink a lot of water to fill up our stomachs". This also had its own challenges especially if they got back home still full of the water that they had drunk during the day. If they got home and did not eat due to being full from the water and the herbs,

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they were suspected of committing petty thefts in the village. This indicated the lack of trust accorded to the herders. They are labelled the 'notorious members of the society'.

For him, his late mother was important to him, so much so that he annually slaughtered some animals to appease the ancestors in order to maintain the relationship with his mother. His belief was that the spirit of the mother was looking over him. The Basotho's belief in spirituality through worshipping the gods and the ancestors was common before the arrival of the missionaries (Wells, 1994). However this has become less common of late due to the advent of Christianity.

Matukeng and Matelile were both older herders who had rejoined the herding role after their mining service. They were also family men, albeit Matelile was a widower. Both of them were illiterate and had a strong attachment to their ancestral beliefs. Their future ambitions, as stated in Table 4, indicated that they had no intention of moving out of the herding role as hired herders; instead they planned to explore the role further in South Africa. Unlike Matelile who did not mention having any livestock, Matukeng kept some livestock back home.

Malimong was aged 38 years and originally came from Malimong Ha 'Matjootjo in the highlands of Berea in the Eastern parts of Lesotho. Besides herding, he seemed to have a side-line project of planting dagga for sale back home. The place where he originated from is highly reputed to be notorious for the illegal plantations of this drug as a livelihood source despite the various efforts which the police are said to be taking to prevent it. He was a bachelor and lived in a rented house in Khubetsoana, within walking distance from Maseru city centre where he had been hired as a herder.

His lengthy herding experience qualified him as someone who had 'seen it all' especially when it came to the bad treatment that the herders got from their employers. His story ranged from commenting on the food that they sometimes had had to eat to the clothing that they had received from their employers. His story illustrated that the herders did not have much of a choice regarding what they ate at their employers' homes which signalled the inhumane

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treatment that the employers sometimes subjected the herders to. They were treated more like animals or 'things' that did not have a say in life:

> I have been in Maseru to look after the animals. I have been hired here and have been doing this job for a long time now. I do not like eating papa without relish at all (*khilik*) (*feela nkile ka eja hobane neke lapile*) I have eaten it before because I was hungry but I was told to season it with some salt but it was still not tasty with salt so I ate it with sugar and added some water and it is very delicious. *(Rubbing his woollen hat on his head to wipe off the sweat streams generated from the heat….)* Herding is tough.

He went on to reiterate the unpleasant repercussions of questioning the food that was provided:

> You do not have to question this but just eat (*hahaha*…laughing) if you do not eat, they tell you that you are full therefore you will be instructed to drive the animals to the veld on an empty stomach.

As with the cases of Matelile and Matukeng (lowland herders and former mine workers), Malimong was another relatively older herder with a very low literacy level and hired to look after other people's livestock. Despite the challenges he faced in his herding career, he did not seem to have intentions of moving out of herding, or even as a hired herder. Looking at these three herders, the assumption would be that their vast experience would enable them to make better and more diverse decisions in the choice of the jobs that they wanted and their future ambitions about them.

Mosuoe was 31 years old and originally from Mantšonyane Ha Long in the highlands of Thaba Tseka district. He lived in a rented room in Ha Abia, within a 10km radius of the capital city Maseru. He voluntarily dropped out of school after completing Standard 4 because of his love of animals. Perhaps for him education was seen as a long road to wealth, whereas animals were easy to obtain without education and had more value than education. Mosuoe started herding at the age of 14 years looking after the family livestock, after which he got hired by other livestock owners. He aspired to be rich with his own livestock. His former boss had contributed greatly to his life because after seven years of service Mosuoe owned his

livestock and the boss allowed him to join his livestock with the boss's and look after them together. Back home he had a wife who had gone up to Form A (equivalent to grade 8 in South Africa) and two daughters aged 10 and two years respectively:

> I wanted to have my own livestock and be like rich people. For me with my education, the only way to become rich was to be hired so that I could be paid with livestock and be an owner too and have my own cattle post.

He singled out the wool shearing as one important project for him because from the earnings he was able to open a bank account "I bank the money from the wool sales" (*kena le bukana ea banka*). The wool shearing enabled Mosuoe to establish a safety net to fall back on outside the herding role. He also sold cattle which seemed to be a good alternative business for him: "in a good month I make R14 000.00 for selling two cattle". This seemed to be a good income from the business.

In comparison with Matelile and Matukeng, former miners, and Malimong, this long serving hired herder came across as really falling within the older age group of the herders. Like Matukeng and Matelile, he also had a family. However his ambition to own livestock compelled him to drop out of school voluntarily unlike Matelile and Matukeng who were completely illiterate. Similar to Matukeng, Matelile and Malimong, he was still hired as a herder though he also owned livestock like Matukeng. He, like the other three herders, did not seem to be looking forward to moving out of the livestock business as he aspired to own a cattle post in future.

Ocean, at 25 years, was originally from the Southern highlands of Lesotho in the district of Qacha's nek, one of the coldest districts, frequented by snow falls in winter. He also lived in a rented room in Ha Abia like Mosuoe as a hired herder. He started looking after the family livestock at the age of 10. Ocean was the second boy in the family of three boys and three girls and quite a critical thinker. It is worth-mentioning that he was one of the herders whose hygiene was amazingly poor.

The uniqueness of Ocean from the other four herders was that he had completed his high school education and had intentions to further his studies in South Africa. He aspired to marry someone in the future who had gone through tertiary education. Ocean equated livestock ownership to a personal savings account:

> I am looking after these animals so that I can have mine, upon encouragement from my father [who said] that I should have my own animals as a savings that can help me to further my studies. I have gone as far as Form E in high school and want to study with the University of Kwazulu Natal to study either Metereology or Zoology…*(Hehehe…laughing)* I want to know more about the [animal] behavior and the weather conditions. I like the UKZN very much because I believe that it will give me an international perspective to education which I feel is lacking from the National University of Lesotho.

Although not much is known regarding how he came to know about UKZN and his decision that it was a better university than NUL, his educational ambition brought in an unusual level of discernment. His mother seemed to have played a significant role in constructing his identity and or attitude towards life: "she taught me never to let the sun go down angry; for she did not believe in holding grudges". Ratau (1988) links this philosophy back to the Bible in Ephesians 4:26 "*ekare ha le halefa le seke la etsa sebe; letsatsi le seke la phirimela bohale ba lona* – in your anger do not sin; do not let the sun go down while you are still angry". This showed that he had spent a great amount of time learning from his mother some of the salient values and attributes in life. Additionally, Ocean's tertiary ambitions reflected a thirst for knowledge and understanding about the relationship between the animals and their environment.

Unlike Matelile, Matukeng – ex-miners, and Malimong - the hired herder with a vast herding experience and Mosuoe - the voluntary school drop-out, Ocean was relatively young. However he was also a hired herder who aspired to have his own livestock like Mosuoe. He was still a bachelor like Malimong.

Sups came from the village of Ha Seoehlana in the foothills of Lesotho. Sups owned livestock, like Matukeng the ex-miner and Mosuoe the voluntary school drop-out, and he kept

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them at one cattle post where he had partnered with Ducks. He was aged 35 years and started looking after the family livestock at the age of five years.

Similar to Mosuoe – a voluntary school drop-out, Sups had decided to get hired in order to own livestock through payment from his employers as his family had not being compensating him for the job. He was also one of the older herders and a family man like Matelile (the ex-miner), Matukeng and Mosuoe. He shared a similar characteristic with Matukeng and Matelile in that he was completely illiterate.

Sups closely linked his inability to negotiate payment with the employers to his illiteracy: "However, we accepted anything given to us because we have not gone to school". In other words, lack of education placed them in a compromised situation where they were unable to advocate their rights and negotiate payment. However, he benefitted from the social contacts where he worked closely with Ducks in the cattle post: "We have a partnership with Ducks". He later attained vocational skills at Itjareng Vocational Skills Training Centre (a vocational skills training centre located in Masianokeng village in the lowlands in Maseru district which provides vocational training skills for Basotho youth who present with any form of disability, with the purpose of future economic empowerment).

Although he identified himself as having an undisclosed form of disability, none was detected during the interview. Nevertheless he was admitted at the Itjareng where he met his wife who is stated to be physically disabled. They have a 5 month old daughter. He continued:

> Some of the challenges that we come across at the cattle post include *babang ba inkela le ho itjella liphoofolo tsa rona ka mahahapa:* others take and eat our animals by force. The other challenge is that the place that we graze the animals at is not ours so they are sometimes confiscated.

Sups was a trained welder with a strong ambition to embark in a metal yoke manufacturing project to sell to the highlands farmers in exchange for sheep. This was a strategy that he wished to employ in rebuilding his flock which unfortunately had died following a recent thunderstorm that occurred in their area.

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Lekhala originated from Mantšonyane Ha Moriana in the highlands of Thaba Tseka which is characterised by snow falls in winter. He lived in a rented single room in Ha Leqele, within a 10km radius of Maseru, the capital city of Lesotho in the lowlands. At the age of 23, back home he had a wife but no children then. His wife had gone to school up to Form C. His herding career started at the age of six years when he was hired to look after sheep for five years, before graduating to look after the boss's cattle. Lekhala came to Maseru because of poverty and wanted to explore the possibilities of making a living out of livestock sales:

> I came to Maseru because I was unemployed and wanted to see if I could make a living through selling livestock. I have a special love for animals which I developed at a very tender age of six years when I was hired to look after the sheep.

Back home he also used his cattle as a means of connecting with others and a form of income: "I also use them for ploughing to produce food for the family or for share-cropping (*ho lema seahlolo*)". Lekhala was doing very well in livestock sales and believed that he owed his success to his friend and mentor, Sephali, who introduced him to the business and kept a check on him to monitor his progress.

Among the herders that have been discussed thus far, Lekhala is the youngest. Similar to Matelile, Matukeng – ex-miners - and Sups, a trainee from Itjareng, he had never been to school but was hired as a herder. The herding job helped him to secure his own livestock, like in the cases of Matukeng, Mosuoe – a voluntary school drop-out. He was also a family man. Other than establishing a cattle post, he was engaged in a livestock sales project where he bought and sold livestock in order to generate income and increase the ones he had already collected.

Nyakosoba, at age 35, came from the Maseru district not too far away from the lowland area of Roma valley where the National University of Lesotho is located. He had quite interesting questions regarding the study. His first one was: who is going to benefit from the study – "is it you or us as herders?" After my responding to his question, he raised an insightful response

that, in the past, they had been interviewed by many; however, they have not benefitted from those studies as herders:

> We have never seen any improvement or any implementation of our recommendations. Therefore we have lost faith in researchers like you [researcher] because the studies are mainly intended to benefit you [researcher] alone.

Nyakosoba was within the older herders' age range and he kept some livestock back home. He stated that he had been in the livestock sales business for a long time following his resignation from a retail shop in Quthing – one of the ten districts of Lesotho located in the Southern region. He was able to build a house with the profits from the livestock sales. Unlike Doctor who wanted to make a decent living by coming to Maseru, Nyakosoba mentioned that there was lack of support for the herders who came to Maseru to earn a living:

> There were many herders who came from all the different districts leaving their homes and their livestock back home to come here and make a living out of the livestock sales. They have since left due to lack of support from the government. We seem like we are selling dagga: *ekare re rekisa matekoane* because we do not have a specific place to sell from.

This is a real contrast to the case of Doctor – the herbalist who sells crafts (see informal learning section 5.1.1.3). Doctor had a more focused perception that through his skills he could make money for himself. Instead Nyakosoba desperately looked up to the government to provide some form of support to enable them to break the barriers and be successful in their endeavours:

> We would like the government of Lesotho to identify some places where we can sell our livestock. There are times when the Police come and attack us here asking for the licenses and *babeisi* legal livestock identification documents as if we were thieves.

The twenty year old **Semonkong 3** was born out of the wedlock. If a girl falls pregnant before marriage the term used for the condition is *o senyehile* meaning 'she is spoilt' indicating she is 'damaged goods' (Modo, 2001:53). The repercussions of this for many girls, coming from a patriarchal society like Lesotho is felt both at the societal and family levels and may include rejection and stigma from society (cited in Miller, 2014), lack of access to "financial support,

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education and marriage" (Modo, 2001:53) because this is considered a taboo and the girl would have brought shame to the family.

In some families, an illegitimate child would be called names and such male child would not be allowed to participate in the cultural activities of the family because he did not have a clear position in the lineage hierarchy of the family. While not much is said by this herder, the assumption is that he might not have had an easy beginning. His mother later married another man. Semonkong 3 did not live with his biological mother but stayed as part of his mother's family.

It is also worth mentioning that even if the biological father is known to the family he is not considered biologically related to the boy. Therefore; this custom of "abandoning illegitimate children to their mother's family is still common; … and constitutes a serious set-back to the [children]" (Modo, 2001:84). According to custom, the family nominated his uncle who had never been to school, to take care of the nephew and to look after the uncle's animals as well.

In contrast to other herders such as Mosuoe – the voluntary school drop-out, Sups – the Itjareng trainee, and Lekhala – the livestock salesman who acquired livestock as a result of being hired, Semonkong 3 acquired his own livestock from herding for his uncle. He was still a bachelor like Ocean – the herder who aspired to enrol with UKZN - and Malimong – the herder who grew dagga. He credited his success to his uncle, firstly for raising him into becoming the real Mosotho man that he was through owning his own livestock, and secondly for becoming the father figure to him which was very important to a male child. Among his future ambitions, he stated that he would like to own his own cattle post.

Linakeng 6 came from the community of Linakeng in the highlands of Thaba Tseka district, which has frequent winter snow falls. He was 28 years old. Like a few of the herders reported before, he was also a school drop-out following numerous incidences of failing a class. His father therefore decided to take him out of school and to send him to the cattle post. In his case we see a similarity to Ocean – the herder who aspired to enrol with UKZN - where the

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father becomes instrumental in influencing the son's identity by sending him to the cattle post. It was while he was at the cattle post that he was attacked by thieves at night and narrowly escaped death:

> (shaking his head!) *ba mphaselletsa sefateng seno ke sena le khoele thekeng, ba mphinne sekolokoto! U ka inahanela feela*! *Khilik!* : They tied me completely naked– head trapped between my legs and tied my hands behind my legs. You can make your own imagination! Afterwards they took me to that tree (pointing at a nearby tree *hee banna*!) Afterwards, they entered the cattle post and drove the cattle away with them and the animals were never recovered.

This indicated the level of vulnerability which the herders at the cattle post were exposed to. They always had to be on the alert and even to sacrifice their lives during whatever adversities may come their way, for the sake of the livestock that they looked after. He also mentioned the significant support that he had received from his peer herders who had come and untied him from the tree.

Ducks was originally from Ha Takatso in the highlands of Lesotho located in Maseru district. He was 36 years old. He relocated to Ha Seoehlana in Machache, the foothills of Lesotho also in Maseru district, following a relocation of residents by the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP). LHWP was a project implementing the construction of dams in the highlands of Lesotho for the water that is sold to South Africa. The villages within close proximity of the construction sites had to be relocated for fear of flooding. Both his parents had passed away and he was taking care of his three siblings. Ducks was a voluntary school drop-out:

> The reason that led me to look after the animals was that I refused to go to school (laughing…). *Kene ke ipata ha bana ba bang baea sekolong*: I used to hide myself when other children went to school and would return home with them later in the afternoon under the false pretence that I had also attended classes as usual. So the other kids reported to my family that I had bunked school…

His mother then took him to her family: "I was looking after my grandfather's [my mother's father's] animals who in turn compensated me for this job. In the first year he paid me with a cow, in the second year he paid me with cash amounting to R4000.00 a year". It seemed the

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grandfather paid him very well. Despite the fact that Ducks did not like school and dropped out voluntarily, he managed to collect a significant number of livestock from herding to be able to own a cattle post in partnership with Sups.

Similar to Meks (see social support section 5.1.2) – the lowland herder whose mother sent him to his uncles in exchange for education, Ducks's mother stepped in and took her son to her family to look after the animals. It was through a similar herding experience to Meks that Ducks's life was shaped for the better through the remuneration that he received from his grandfather, part of which had been used to buy him clothes.

Ducks had also developed a keen interest in vocational skills, so much so that he had learned building skills from one of the community members and he was now also building and roofing traditional rondavels and making a lot of money out of that. He was a smart risk taker: "I decided to build my own house in order to put the theory into practice to be able to verify that the skills that I had been taught were actually working"; and therefore follows the Experiential Learning model of learning by doing (Kolb, 1984). His grandfather is said to have played a very significant role in Ducks' life. Among other things he had registered Ducks into a local community based burial society and kept the subscriptions up to date. He mentioned how he used the subscriptions to bury his biological father:

> Even though my father worked in the mines during my school days, he never supported me financially and socially to encourage me to continue with my education. I used to go to school wearing torn shoes and clothes…

Ducks' story of lack of support and the impact that it had on his education was similar to Meks' case who also mentioned that his father had worked in the mines but did not sent the money home. Both Ducks and Meks, though coming from different geographical settings, foothills and lowlands respectively, shared a common feature where the mothers took them to their maternal homes for support in their up-bringing in the absence of their fathers' support.

Taiwan aged 25 years old hailed from the foothills in Ha Mohale village located in Maseru district. He had dropped out of school voluntarily after completing Form C to look after the family livestock. For him being a herder meant being a farmer and this formed part of his identity as the provider for both his parents and siblings: "I make sure that my family has food through ploughing sorghum and peas and then selling them". His aspiration was for his children to be educated in livestock rearing which he perceived to be the major livelihood source. He also wanted to rear cattle and establish his own snake park: "I want to have at least 30 cattle, establish a snake park and (*kebe morui kebe le chelete e ngata)* be rich and have a lot of money". He said:

> I had to drop out because there was no one to look after the animals and take care of them. *Ke batla ho nyala mosali ea ratang liphoofolo:* I would like to marry someone who likes animals and who is also very neat and willing to support me as the husband. I am here looking after my family's goats.

Similar to Ocean – the prospective candidate of the UKZN, Malimong – the dagga growing herder, and Linakeng 6 – the herder who was attacked by thieves, Taiwan is still a bachelor. He was also passionate about snakes like Comrade and wanted to convert his passion into a money making business. Similar to Mosuoe's case – the voluntary school drop-out, and Ducks – the herder who ran away from school, Taiwan dropped out of formal school voluntarily. His mentor, however, had been his mother who taught him the importance of personal hygiene.

The 27 year old **Ace** came from the foothills of Lesotho in the community of Nazareth located in Maseru district. Like Mosuoe – the voluntary school drop-out, Taiwan - the herder who also has a passion for snakes, and Ducks – the herder who ran away from school, Ace dropped out from the formal education system voluntarily. His reason for dropping out was to look after the family livestock which he equated to monetary value. In his own words, Ace stated: "there was an urge from me (*hore ke seke ka tlohela chelete e kaalo ea hoholeha)* - not to let so much money to be eroded away while I could still do something to preserve it". In other words more value was placed on the livestock while education held the lesser position of significance. He had such a strong passion for animals that was developed over time that he

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even missed them when he was at home. He was still single like other herders discussed before him; Malimong – the dagga grower, Taiwan – the herder passionate about snakes, and Ocean – the herder who would like to enrol with the UKZN. He enjoyed the life at the cattle posts to the extent that he did not miss going home:

> I have been herding since I was a very small boy following my brothers. When the time came that there was no one to look after the animals, I decided to quit school because the animals are our 'diamond'. I am not married yet because I think that would be an added responsibility as I am still under my parents' care and I think a wife will come in with some additional needs that I may not be able to afford. I really like the life here at the cattle post because I feel like it has made me avoid other unacceptable behaviour that I could have engaged in back in the village. For instance, when at home, *lijelello halieo u se u utloa u keneloa ke moleko oa ho utsoa khoho ho jelella kapa chelete* - sometimes if there is no relish for the *papa* one could be tempted to steal and kill a chicken for relish or I may steal other people's money just to make ends meet.

Much had to be said also about his stated 'freedom to be' following his love of the cattle post life: "I am so happy that I even miss the cattle post life when I am at home". As the Sesotho proverb says, *ntlo ea motho e mong ha ena boroko*: somebody else's house is not as hospitable as your own. His own close ties to the cattle post suggested that place had influenced his identity. Ace identified his mother as his role model in making sure that he became the man he was.

He further reiterated that his mother held the fort and kept the family together while his father worked in the mines. As in the case of Taiwan, his mother was also emphatic on the significance of personal hygiene and respect for other people. Ace would like to get married in the next two years so that his family could grow bigger. His dream wife was for someone beautiful with curves and a fair complexion; hardworking and able to harvest the farm produce while the husband was at the cattle post. From this story, young as he was, there was no indication of life outside herding for Ace. He wanted his son to attend school but also have a sound knowledge of herding in order to secure his cultural masculinity identity of being 'a real Mosotho man'.

In the following section a presentation is made of how some of the herders have used arts and crafts to generate income.

5.1.1.2 Arts and crafts

> A man of today needs to work, drive a car and provide for his family … sadly, more than 22 000 herd-boys remain scattered around the mountains of Lesotho denied their right to education through the age-old custom the Monna Ka Khomo Herd Boys Association is hoping to change (Matope, 2011).

Studies conducted on Basotho herders reveal that they do not want to remain herders for the rest of their lives (Pitikoe, 2012; Preece et al., 2009). My study's findings affirm this notion in that amidst the hardships that come with their herding job, the herders had small income generation projects which they ran concurrently with the herding responsibilities or as a result of the knowledge acquired from herding. For many, these projects were greatly influenced by the herding job.

The herders who are presented in this section include those that have generated income through the use of domestic animal skins – the very ones that they looked after, such as the cattle and sheep; the decoration of the grey blanket – which forms part of the Basotho herders' identity as Basotho herders; playing traditional instruments such as *lesiba* to the tourists – which most herders play to curb the boredom that comes with their job; decoration of *melamu* walking sticks; cutting *mosea* grass used for making hats and brooms; and training the animals to entertain and race.

Linakaneng 8, aged 24 years, came from the remote village of Linakaneng in the district of Mokhotlong. Among the many skills that he learned from herding was that of making leather shoes - *qoatho:* "I learnt how to make shoes using animal skin; cow, goat and a horse. *Qoatho* is a local name given to the shoes that were made of animal skin"; and making ropes to tie the luggage onto the animals. The herding role has taught some rare skills which could be transformed into income generation and/or resources to help the herders to cope in the weather

conditions that they served under. Linakaneng 8 also ventured into the business of decorating blankets:

> I also decorate the grey blanket as it is one item that signifies herders. In order to do this I use wool of different colours and write different messages on the blanket in English which I have acquired from my Standard 2 [primary grade 2] class. Some of the things that I write could be his totem.

This seemed to be one of his major income generation projects because he even sold to other people who were interested. He mentioned that his family was impoverished and that the herding job helped him to acquire his own livestock resulting in self sufficiency which he prided himself on: "…*batho ba ea ntlhompha joale:* now people respect me. When I go to the village some people ask me if I am selling any sheep and I say no!" He had his home-made washing basin from the bottom of a 5 litre container just enough to allow him to wash his face and put one foot in at a time especially when he had to go to the village so that he would look clean.

Like most herders, Linakaneng 8 had to drop out of school at Standard 2 (equivalent of grade 2 in South Africa) which barely equipped him with adequate reading and writing skills. As with many Basotho males, he also started herding at a young age – in his case three years of age which could have been driven by the poverty level in the family. He was one of the bachelors that participated in the study, like Ocean – the herder who wants to enrol with the UKZN - and others.

Linakeng 9 aged 20 and originally from the community of Linakeng in Thaba Tseka had never been to school. This bachelor played *lesiba,* the traditional musical instrument to entertain tourists, and weaved grass sun hats of different styles. In addition, he trained horses and cattle to do some tricks to entertain an audience for a fee. Similar to Sups' case, the herder who was trained at itjareng, Linakeng 9 also owned livestock which he had acquired as payment for his herding job.

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In his story he affirmed the social contract (mentioned later by 'Matšooana) with the cell phone tower security officers to charge their phones as a way of preventing the herders from vandalizing the equipment. This herder, despite his lack of education, emphasised the importance of numeracy skills as a monitoring tool for the herders and that he had complimented his illiteracy by learning his animals' earmarks for ease of monitoring. He also demonstrated a lot of progression from a young age into adulthood and a strong sense of what he was financially worth and how much he could sell his own skills for:

> You see, when you compare money to the animals, the animals triple the money because I cannot sell a sheep for R200.00. I started at R100.00 per month which was then increased to R150.00. Later I moved to other employers and got paid with livestock that enabled me to own my own sheep.

Linakaneng 10, aged 35, grew up in the remote village of Linakaneng. He also wove grass hats and sold walking sticks (*melamu)*. He cut the *mosea* grass and sold it to the community to make traditional brooms. The money was used to buy clothes and body lotion, which he applied on his body when he went to the village so that he smelled nice, and he also bought tobacco. He stated that cell phones were used for alerting other herders when things had gone wrong. Among other reasons that made him be a herder was that his father had received numerous reports of his behaviour at school: "I think he was also punishing me because he had received several reports from the school that I was not the best behaved learner in class".

His father, instead of exploring other means of supporting his son to further his education, decided on herding as the next available alternative 'to keeping the son busy' and this influenced the son's identity. This meant his identity and/or destiny was in a way forced by the father's decision to take him out of school and into the cattle posts to avoid him being idle.

Linakaneng 10, who was a bachelor like the other herders mentioned before, also affirmed the cellphone ownership by the herders. Although he started herding at a much older age of 16, he had managed to secure a few livestock of his own. His case was similar to Meks – the herder who was sent by his mother to her home to look after the uncle's animals in exchange for

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education - and Ducks, the herder who ran away from school and ended up herding for his mother's father. However, with Linakaneng 10, the father sent him to the cattle post to avoid him being idle.

Linakeng 11, aged 30yrs, came from Linakeng as well. He stated that the important knowledge that he had acquired from his herding role included being able to know the traditional herbs and what they did to the body.This knowledge had been acquired from other herders. He also stated that he trained the cattle and horses to run and entertain people in preparation for the Christmas competitions. He was also good at horse racing for cash which he mainly used to buy clothes. He became a herder following the passing on of his father, so the uncles wanted him to protect the family 'legacy' (Morojele, 2009). He continued:

> Though I am unable to read and write, *ke tseba matšoao a liphoofolo, ke oona ao ke a sebelisang ho bala liphoofolo tsena:* I know the ear marks and that is what I use to count and *ha hona motho eaka nqhekellang* nobody can cheat me.

Linakeng 11, like other herders Matukeng and Matelile who were ex-miners, had never been to school. However, he emphasised the need for the herder to monitor his livestock as mentioned later by 'Matšooana the herder who learned the basic numeracy skills from the neighbouring herder. Since he was not lucky enough to have a neighbour who taught him numeracy skills, he complemented that by learning the ear marks which he used as a strategy for monitoring his livestock. This was another form of informal learning that the herders used in order to enable them to cope with their herding role.

Some of the herders placed strong emphasis on the role of informal learning as a coping and livelihood strategy and these are discussed below.

5.1.1.3 Informal learning as a coping mechanism and livelihood source

Many scholars discuss the value of informal learning as a lifelong alternative to formal education for acquiring new skills and knowledge (Ziegler et al., 2014; Kim & McLean, 2014). The findings of the study affirmed that informal learning was easily accessible for the

herders who in-turn used it as a coping mechanism and a livelihood source within the harsh environment under which they served. For some it was acquired through apprenticeship, while for the majority of the herders it formed part of the on-the-job skills acquisition from other herders or through personal exploration.

Doctor was aged 43 years old and originally from Makhaleng in the highlands of Maseru district, a place characterised by cold winters with snow falls. He was married with three children and currently rented a room in Ha Thamae, within a walking distance of the capital city of Maseru. Doctor was illiterate. This was not by his choice but because his father had different priorities. For his father, livestock was more important than education. Ratau (1988) asserts that the herding role in Basotho culture begins with looking after the calves. Similarly Doctor reiterated that he started herding at the age of 5 years "looking after the calves (*ke alosa manemane)"*. From the age of six he then looked after the cattle. His choice of words depicted a high level of intelligence in that he did not perceive education just as it is, but rather as a 'right' which he was denied by his father:

> My father prioritised livestock over my right to education. I know that I am not stupid if, despite all, I have been able to be where I am in life. When I came to Maseru here I wanted to make a living mainly using my herbalist skills that I have acquired from my grandfather. I used to watch carefully as he mixed and asked which combinations would be used to cure which problem and he taught me.

He was quite aware of his capabilities as on a number of occasions he kept reminding me how intelligent he was, which was a sign that, in spite of the normative image of herders, he had a great self-identity and self-awareness. Ratau (1988:47) affirms that: "*Molisana oa Mosotho ke motho ea bohlale, ea maseme, ea kelello e chatsi*" which translates as: 'A Mosotho herder is someone who is intelligent, wise and has a sound mind'. Doctor's main reason for coming to Maseru was to use his traditional herbalist skills to make a decent living, with recognition of his grandfather who had played an important role in teaching him the skills. Unlike other herbalists who wanted to make money irrespective of their limitations in skills, Doctor stated that he did not cheat.

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Semonkong 1 lived in the community of Semonkong Ha Seeng, which was one of the coldest areas in the highlands of Maseru district with frequent winter snow falls. He was a married man aged 29 years who, besides herding, sold the traditional herbs which could either be raw in bundles or already crushed, mixed and sold in liquid form mainly to cure "discharge, waist and gall (*seso, letheka le nyooko*)". He acquired this herbalist knowledge from the elders in the community and from other herders.

He also generated income through sheep shearing. He explained that the sheep were acquired from his role as a hired herder. He seemed to have an extraordinarily good customer knowledge, the kind of knowledge that an educated businessman or -woman requires in order to sell the product and to maximise the profits: "I have mixed different herbs cautiously to ensure that it is not bitter because most Basotho (*haba rate libabane*) they do not like bitter herbs".

He made quite a reasonable amount of cash from his two projects of traditional herbs and of wool: "On a good day, although days differ, I make between R100.00 and R150.00. While, on a bad day I make between R60.00 and R80.00...In the first year, I sheared 15 sheep and earned R1650.00, in the second year, I sheared 16 sheep and earned R2090.00, last year I sheared 17 sheep and earned R2650.00". These figures could potentially move him out of the herding role.

Although not much is known about his bookkeeping skills, instantly he came across as possessing a high intellectual ability because without it, it would not be possible to memorise the figures and narrate them so eloquently even though he was illiterate. He was able to buy clothes for himself and his wife from the profits. He also had significant product knowledge particularly when it came to the sale of the traditional herbs.

In the cases of Doctor and Semonkong 1, while both of them were illiterate, they however had benefitted from learning about the traditional herbs informally to build their confidence to make a decent living out of it. It was also evident from their stories that their learning came

mainly in two forms: apprenticeship - as in Doctor's case - or being passed on from the older generation to the younger one - as in Semonkong 1's case. Rogers (2014:8) states that apprenticeship as a form of learning is still in existence: "Informal 'apprenticeships' in which a young person learns from and alongside a practicing craftsman … remain common in both urban and rural areas".

Linakeng 7, aged 24 years who came from the remote highland village of Linakeng in the district of Thaba Tseka, signified the importance of being part of the herding group to be able to cope with the loneliness in the cattle posts. He further emphasised that the same membership not only helped the herders to cope with the loneliness but also opened doors for peer support when the need arose. He was still a bachelor like Malimong – the dagga grower, Taiwan – the herder passionate about snakes, and Ocean – the herder who would like to enrol with the UKZN. Like many herders discussed before, he has never been through the formal education system. He raised a very strong argument about the herb called *monatja,* highly reputed for its toxicity if consumed, which he refuted:

> *Monatja* can be fatal if eaten raw. However, in my experience we used to braai it over the fire until it swells (*o kokomoha*) and then ate it is nice (*o monate*) and none of us died from that instead, it made us become fit and healthy. But from the cattle posts here, I have learned that it is poisonous if eaten raw. Look at me … (pointing at himself as a living testimony of his argument) I am still alive and healthy.

This indicated that the herders were a great resource of indigenous knowledge that was not commonly found. He was taught how to count by the other herders using the stones that he had picked up from the environment and then standing by the kraal to count his animals as they entered. This herder, like many, benefitted from the informal learning offered on the job by their peers. He proudly appreciated the availability of the various naturally grown herbs as 'free clinics provided by God' for the herders. This indicated how adapted the herders were to their environment and their ability to make the best use of the naturally existing resources for their survival.

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The 28 year old **'Matšooana** came from the district of Thaba Tseka. His cattle post was located at a place called 'Matšooana 'the mother of whiteness' because the snow stays longer on this part of land making the road leading both to Thaba Tseka and Maseru inaccessible. Similar to others such as Linakeng 7 – the herder who roasted *monatja,* he was illiterate. However, upon arrival at the cattle post, his neighbour realised his challenge and was kind enough to teach him basic numeracy skills using sheep droppings. He also highlighted the significance of counting for monitoring the flock "*joaloka molisana ke lokela ho tseba ho bala…* as a herder I must be able to count so that I can monitor the numbers of my livestock". Seemingly, he and the other herders owned cellphones and they had arranged a social contract with the 'cell phone tower people' to allow them to charge their cellphones from the towers to minimise frequent home visits.

Like others mentioned before, for example, Linakeng 7 – the herder who roasted *monatja,* he mentioned the abundance of traditional herbs at the cattle post. For him, these herbs came in handy to cure the emerging ailments while they were herding at the cattle posts: "We have a lot of natural herbs that we collect to cure ourselves for minor ailments".

The 30 year old **Comrade** was originally from Qacha's Nek, which is in the highlands of Lesotho, and he had been hired in the highlands of Maseru district in the village of Nazareth. He started herding when he was 9 years old, looking after his father's 10 cattle until completing standard 7 (Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC): "I was forced to drop out of school due to the financial challenges in my family". Comrade fell within the older age range of the study participants. He was among only two participants who had completed standard 7, the other one being Semonkong 4, the herder who wanted to marry a white woman.

Comrade and Taiwan were bachelors from the foothills who expressed a strong understanding of snakes which started at a very young age. Comrade stated that his understanding was substantial: "I have also learnt the behaviour of the snakes". This strong knowledge was

acquired through informal learning. He was still a bachelor on the 'look-out' for the right 'one'. He lamented that he was struggling to find the right person:

> … they do not appreciate my association with snakes, (*ba ea li tšaba*) they are afraid of them [snakes].… the prospective suitor (*o lokela a nkamohele kamoo keleng kateng)* must be able to accept me the way I am.

Albeit that he wanted to be accepted as he was, among the participants in this study, he was the one whose hygiene was the poorest with his jacket shining with dirt. He ascribed his progress in life to his friend ntate Mak'hele, an older man from his community who had become his personal life coach and this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. His ambitions included marrying an educated wife with his children attending modern schools. He also wanted to own a restaurant or a catering business and sell handicrafts.

Other herders have emphasised the role of social support in the construction of their identity and they are discussed next.

5.1.2 Social support

The findings of my study revealed that positive social support contributed to a large extent to the positive identity of the herders, irrespective of the humble beginnings from which they had come. The findings also revealed that lack of social support can negatively influence identity. In these findings, the family played an outstanding role in shaping identity both positively and negatively. Note was made that in the African context, the family extended beyond the nuclear membership to include the extended family members or relatives. There were a few herders who also mentioned the role that was played by the employers in shaping their identity.

Meks was 35 years old and married with one son. He lived in the lowlands in the village of Ha Matala in Maseru district, situated within a 10km radius from the centre of Maseru, the capital city of Lesotho. He was the last born in a family of four: three boys and one girl. Of the family of six, there were only two remaining sons. He stated that he had a very difficult

beginning, thanks to his mother who decided the only option was to bargain with her relatives for her sons' education.

According to Meks, his mother had to take him and his elder brother back to her maternal home: "Our uncles and our mother made an agreement that we would look after their animals and in exchange, they would buy us clothes and make sure that we attended school at least up to Standard 7". These children were seen by the family more as a form of human capital to exchange at a good bargaining price.

Meks described himself as comparable to loaned animals: "We were staying in different families just like loaned cattle (*khomo ea mafisa kapa ea lesielo*)". This meant he was not in charge of his own destiny as a child; instead he was more of a money making resource just like the cattle were:

> My sister passed away many years ago. In 2007 my eldest brother passed away after a long illness. Both my parents have passed away; my father left this world in 1999 while my mother passed away this year in May. My other brother works at Standard Lesotho Bank and has bought a house in Masooe in Maseru. Therefore by default and as the last born child I have been left as the heir of my father's property *ke mojalefa ke nna ea setseng lapeng mona*. I got married in 2013 to a lady from Mantšonyane in Thaba Tseka district. We now have a son aged 21 months. At that time she [his wife] was a Nurse Assistant. She is now furthering her studies in Diploma in General Nursing in Mapoteng.

For situations such as these, in Sesotho the saying is: "'*ma'ngoana o tšoara thipa ka bohaleng*", meaning the mother holds the knife where it is sharpest. Their mother had to endure the cultural humiliation of sending her sons back to her home because she could not support them which becomes a disgrace in Basotho culture and a sign of a dying marriage.

Through the struggles that he encountered in life, he was able to attain a Vocational Education Certificate and became an independent entrepreneur who owned an upholstery workshop. He was also able to send his wife to college to continue her studies. However, he still kept some cattle from which he sold milk as an additional project that emanated from his herding experience.

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T-man, aged 22 years, started looking after the family livestock when he was seven years old but had been educated to Form D. His grandfather who had gone as far as Standard 3 played a very significant role as a mentor for T-man. The grandfather instilled the need for T-man to have his own livestock and a residential site:

> *Ntate Moholo o ile a ea ho morena a nthekela setša*…He went to the chief and made sure that I have my own site and a house which he built with the money from the livestock sales ... He showed me how to mix the different herbs to cure myself and my animals.

Still a bachelor, like Comrade and Taiwan – the foothills herders with a strong background of snakes - his future ambitions included furthering his tertiary education outside Lesotho, like Ocean: "I would also apply to enrol at the Kwame Nkuruma University of Technology".

> I would mobilise other youth to form youth development programmes that would make the herders be integrated into the community. I would advocate for their appreciation by the communities that they serve and live with.

Unlike the other herders he had very high ambitions and aspirations to move outside the herding role. Not only that, he also planned to change from the long held status quo on the societal perception of the herders, where they were seen as if they were living on the periphery, to a more inclusive approach.

Semonkong 4, another herder from Semonkong in the highlands of Maseru in the village of Ha Lepae, was very fortunate to have a maternal grandmother who did not want him to be hired, but rather wanted him to attend school. At the age of 22, unlike in the case of Semonkong 3, he had a clearly supportive background. Part of it could be that his mother was married and still living with her husband. Semonkong 4 stated that since he was the eldest child, his parents decided to send him to his grandmother to help her with some minor chores and the boy's status in the maternal grandmother's family was that of a nephew which meant that, in the long term, he would expect to return to the nuclear family. In Semonkong 4's case, even the uncles were committed to play a significant role in his upbringing. Besides the support of the grandmother, Semonkong 4 had an uncle who, despite his own low literacy

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level, ensured the nephew was educated at all costs including selling an animal to pay for the education when the need arose. This herder had quite an interesting but narrowly informed ambition for the future:

> In future, I would like to marry a White woman *ke batla ho nyala mosali oa lekhooa nke ke palame lifofane ke chakele mafatšeng a mang koana* so that I can have an opportunity to board a plane and see places I have never been to.

For him, race, in this case being 'White', was associated with stronger financial muscle and access to places. Little did he consider the potentially negative repercussions of the marriage – culture shock for both parties, as well as a language barrier. There would be more repercussions as he still wanted to still keep his cultural background intact by ensuring that his wife integrated into Basotho culture and participated in the cultural practices and activities such as paying visits to the inlaws and carrying out farming activities when the time came.

Alex came from the village of Nazareth located in the foothills of Maseru district. He was 27 years old and had gone up to Standard 5 but had to drop out due to financial challenges. He looked after the family's livestock, the job which he had learned to do since he was three years old. He did not stay in the cattle post but visited his herder friend Ace. Still a bachelor like Comrade and Taiwan – the herders with a strong background of snakes, Ocean – the herder who would like to enrol with UKZN, and Ace – the herder who compared livestock to diamonds, Alex had similar aspirations to his friend Ace for a future wife. He too wanted to marry a fit lady; fair in complexion and with a nice figure. Additionally, life in the future for him would be with a woman who was financially smart and used wood instead of the modern cooking techniques, thus reflecting his desire to maintain links with his rural upbringing. He also mentioned that boys admired girls so much that they talked about them whenever they were together:

> Now I am looking at the animals from home but whenever I am bored, I hike up to come and see the other herders here at the cattle posts. Life at the cattle posts is very nice because I meet my peers and we talk a lot. (Laughing loudly): *Bashanyana moo ba lutseng 'moho joang kapa joang ba qoqa ka banana:* whenever we are together as boys, we

definitely talk about girls. Mostly we discuss the girls that we are pursuing back home and some [herders] who are very experienced give us tips.

The highest envisioned level of education for his children was Form C to enable them to read and write English. His father passed away when he was still young, leaving the mother to look after the family. Unlike the other mothers she also embedded the masculine roles in raising her children in that she "made sure that she encourages me to take care of the animals that my father had left so that they are not taken by the relatives". This kind of reinforcement would have usually come from a male person but she was strong enough to weave it into her feminine roles to protect her property. The mother was unusual, however, in that she also nurtured her son to be able to carry out household chores which are done by the females in Basotho culture: "She also ensured that despite being a boy, I had some chores in the house", which showed a strong sense of the socially constructed gender disparities among males and females. This perhaps indicated that the mother wanted him not to look down on the female chores, but to understand them as part of living, so that he perceived family life as a shared endeavour.

Gift hailed from the village of Liphiring in the foothills of Mohale's Hoek district, located in the Southern parts of Lesotho. He was currently herding in Nazareth in the foothills of the Maseru district. He was 38 years old, married with two children who were both attending a secondary school in Mohale's Hoek camp. The boy was aged 14 years doing Form B, while the girl was aged 12 years and doing Form A. He kept livestock back home which he had acquired from his previous herding jobs. Gift had never been to school due to insufficient family income:

I have never been to school because my parents could not afford my school fees so I have been herding since I was three years old maybe. *Mongaka o mpatala hantle haholo*: my boss also pays me very well. This is my fourth year working for him. In the first two years he paid me in cash: *lemong sa pele ke fumane likete tse 'ne*. In the first year I received R4000.00 as well as the second year.

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Unlike the other herders, his boss was his 'significant other' which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. This showed that not all employers were rude to the herders. His educational ambition was to go to school and be able to read and write. He also aspired to be a better livestock farmer and become rich.

Linakaneng 2, aged 35 years, originally from the highlands in the district of Mokhotlong *thialala* commonly known by Basotho as the 'district with a surname'. In Mokhotlong winter and sometimes summer snow falls are common with warm summers although it is not surprising to experience three seasons in one day due to the high altitude. One of the highest mountain peaks in southern Africa, Thabana Ntlenyana, 'the beautiful mountain' is found in Mokhotlong. Linakaneng is a very remote and rural village with intermittent cellphone network coverage. Linakaneng 2 started school at the age of 10 years but could not complete due to financial challenges in his family: "*ha kea khona ho tsoela pele sekolong hobane batsoali bane ba hloka*". He began herding at the age of 14 years. Later on he was employed as a security guard somewhere in Maseru. However, he fell sick from the cold night weather conditions which made him diversify and sell clothes which also did not seem to bring in the desired profits and which resulted in him becoming a hired herder.

This herder had an open mind for business and did not hesitate to grab an available income generation opportunity to meet his desired need. Among the people whom he singled out as having shaped his life in the way it was today, he mentioned one of his former bosses in Ha Lesiamo in Leribe, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. He also had managed to establish his own cattle post from the profits that he got from the business. Another project that he was engaged in, was the buying of track suits which were mainly sold by his wife. He elaborates:

> However, when I go home *ke reka mokotlana oa litrack suite kefe 'Me' [wife] a sale a rekisa* I buy a bag of track suits and leave it with my wife to sell back home.

Even though he would not divulge his earnings from the livestock sales, he appeared as someone who had a vision and an eye for diversifying the products that he sold. In other

words he concurred with the common business phrase that: "never put all your eggs in one basket". He always had something to fall back on. His future aspiration was to hire other Basotho at his cattle post and have his children educated but at the same time learning about livestock.

Masda, was aged 27 years and came from Makhalaneng Ha Motjotji in the highlands of of Maseru district. His motive for coming to the lowlands of Maseru was because his uncle had employed him in his construction company. Unlike the other herders, Masda "was brought up by my step-mother after she got married to my father and forced my mother to move out of her house". As a result, he did not see eye to eye with his step mother although she raised him and this influenced his personal identity in a number of ways.

His biological mother therefore advised him to get hired so that he could start building up his own livestock: "My mother encouraged me to be hired so that I could have my own animals". His identity was shaped by his upbringing, over which he had no choice or control. He was the second born in the family of two girls and three boys. He said that, as a result of the hardships which he had gone through "my up-bringing created a lot of bitterness in me. I used to fight other boys a lot". Unlike other boys who learned to fight for self-defence, for Masda the fighting spirit was caused by the bitterness formed by his past. He later decided to go to initiation school with the hope that it was going to help dilute his bitterness in character. His role model was his mother who will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. Masda aspired to have only two children and wanted them to attend school to avoid the challenges that he had had to deal with of not being able to read English. Most interestingly, if they were to have a son, he would not want him to look after the animals at all.

While Meks, Ducks, and Semonkong 4 – the herders raised by their maternal relatives - acknowledged the positive role played by the family as an institution in shaping their personal identities for the better, the opposite was the case for Masda. For him, the disruptive family

situation brewed in him bitterness and aggression that shaped his identity despite his efforts to get out of the situation.

5.2   BASOTHO HERDERS' AMBITIONS

In Chapters 1 and 2 of this study, the literature review discussions demonstrated that the herders, besides herding, also had personal ambitions for a better life. Table 4 below has captured the findings of my study on the herders' ambitions and they affirmed that, irrespective of their literacy levels, the herders do have ambitions in life.

By virtue of being male, the herders shared the fantasies they had about women and how they admired 'girls'. There was a common pattern, in all the geographical zones, of the herders using their free time to talk about 'girls' where the older ones started talking about marriage and particularly the kind of 'girl' that they planned to marry and how they would like to raise their children. For most part, they would have liked to marry someone who was educated and/or maybe had a recognised profession.

Table 4: Future ambitions of the herders

Herder name	Ambitions
Comrade	Own a restaurant/catering, sell handicrafts and lamps made from horns. Wants to marry someone who has gone up to Form E and does not fear snakes.
Taiwan	Own animals and a snake park. Would like to marry someone who loves animals, clean and supportive to the husband.
Lekhala	Son to attend school but also look after animals during free time so that the father can remunerate him with livestock.
Mosuoe	Children to be educated and be like rich people and work in the offices and make a

	name for themselves. Will ear-mark some animals for the daughters so that they can have something to fall back on. Would like to marry a woman who has gone up to Form A.
Meks	Maintain membership with the dairy; has used his profits to take his wife to a nursing school and has a project for next year, son to attend a pre-school and an English medium. Does not want son to look after the animals. His wife is currently pursuing a Diploma in General Nursing.
Ocean	Wants to study meteorology/zoology at UKZN. No plans to start a family yet and wants to spend money. Does not want his wife to be more educated than him so that she would not cheat on him – "*promiscuity*". Would like to marry someone with tertiary education.
Doctor	Plans to retire from the family business once the children are ready to take it over. Each family member to run own sector within the family business.
Nyakosoba	Farmer Training Centres to capacitate them with marketing skills.
T-man	Mobilise other youth to engage in development programmes that would promote their integration into the community. Would not want to marry a promiscuous and jealous wife.
Semonkong1	Children must definitely attend school and live a better life than their father's. His wife had gone up to Form B - two blind people could not guide each other.
Linakaneng 2	Be a successful livestock owner with own cattle post and employing other herders and supervising them. Children have been trained to take care of animals as future savings and they were also attending school. Would like to open bank accounts for the children and see them attaining a tertiary level education. Would like to learn about modern technology such as the internet. Would like to be capacitated on how associations are formed to be able to use it against the evictions. His wife had gone up to Form C - an uneducated wife cannot guide her husband and cannot build the family.
Semonkong 3	Son to attend school but also to have herding experience. Would like to marry a

	beautiful wife with dimples. She has to be neat and tidy; light in complexion and have gone up to Form C.
Semonkong 4	Wants to marry a white woman to be able to take a flight to travel to other countries abroad. Wife will have to know that there will be a time when they will have to visit family in the highlands. Would also like to learn more about the computers and to be a teacher.
Linakeng 5	Wants a clever wife who will bear him sons and be willing to go out into the fields and plough to produce food and use the money on other things like taking the children to the doctor when they got sick. He wants to own a lot of livestock and be called *lekhooa*. The sons will have to learn animal farming so that they could be proper Basotho men. The sons will have to be educated so that they could translate the wisdom learned from the books into livestock rearing.
Linakeng 6	He would like to marry a clever wife who can give bear many sons. The sons to be educated but also to have herding experience.
Linakeng 7	Marry an educated, supportive and beautiful wife to bear sons and daughters. Work together with wife to educate the children. Sons will be the heirs while the daughters will help in accruing more wealth through their *lobola* payments.
Linakaneng 8	Marry someone who is not a talkative and who would not have many friends locally as that would prevent her from carrying out the household chores such as cooking. The wife must have gone up to Std. 7 to be able to help children with homework and make the family respected. The wife has to be beautiful.
Linakeng 9	Children to attend school and look after the animals during free time. He would like to marry someone who would be able to read and write and be beautiful.
Sups	Start a steel project and make welded yokes for other herders and farmers. He is married to someone with physical disability so they need to support each other.
Ducks	Vocational skills - has learned building rondavels from a community member. The wife works at the factories and they are happily married.

Gift	Livestock owner- sheep seen more as a bank. He is already married the son is 14yrs old doing Form B while the daughter is 12years and doing Form A.
Alex	Establish a livestock IGA and children to go up to at least Form C and able to read English. He would like to marry someone who is fair in complexion, nice figure and fit and be able to collect firewood to save money.
Ace	Get married - son to attend school and have herding knowledge. His future wife has to be fair in complexion and have hips and be beautiful.
Masda	Son not to herd animals at all. He would like his wife to go back to her sewing school so that they could build a more financially stable family.
Linakaneng 10	Son to attend school and herd when school is not in session. His wife should be beautiful and younger than him and come from a respected family. She has to have gone at least up to Standard 7. They will have two boys and two girls who will all, finances permitting, complete high school.
Linakeng 11	Son should be educated and also have herding experience. His wife must love livestock.
'Matšooana	Son must not herd at all.
Malimong	Buy a 4 x 4 vehicle with a canopy.
Matelile	Look for a herding job in RSA.
Matukeng	Look for a herding job in RSA.

The findings from Table 4 above highlight the different aspirations that the herders have especially regarding their future and the future of their children. The findings revealed that 15 herders would like their children to attain some form of education so that they would not end up herding like their fathers. Nevertheless, nine herders expressed their preference for their sons to have some exposure to herding and keep a few livestock before getting married while

of course attaining education. However, three herders vehemently stated that they would not want their sons to look after the animals, to avoid reliving the experiences of their fathers.

The findings also revealed that two herders would still want to pursue tertiary education in South Africa. While five herders wanted to get married to beautiful wives, an additional seven were looking for educated wives whose education should range between completion of the PSLC level to tertiary level. The other two specified that their wives must be clever with the third herder outrightly looking for a white woman to marry. A total of four herders wanted to upgrade their herding experience by owning cattle posts. In order to support the husbands in their endeavours, three herders would like to marry wives who loved animals. The findings further revealed that to some herders, educated women was related to promiscuity as revealed by two herders who did not want their wives to be more educated than the husbands for fear of cheating and promiscuity.

5.3   DISCUSSION

The life histories of the herders seemed to vary considerably. For some, they had voluntarily decided to drop out of the education system either to look after the family animals or to seek employment to be able to secure their own livestock, while others had to drop out due to family financial instability. The number of herders who had never been to school was relatively higher in the highlands compared to the foothills and the lowlands, and the number of herders who had had access to education peaked between the ages 26-35 with some attaining either a secondary school (Forms A-C), high school level (Forms D-E) or tertiary level education. One way or the other they seemed to have acquired a significant number of livestock for themselves. The significant other seemed to have played a strong role in shaping the lives of many of these herders up to where they were at the time of the survey. Some of them had diversified outside the herding role; however they had projects that they were running which were closely associated with their herding background.

It was noted that for some, the unpleasantness of their upbringing seemed to have contributed to the construction of their identity. Despite the lack of education for many, they would not want their children to remain uneducated. However, for most, to observe herding as a rite of passage into manhood, the male children must have exposure to herding for them to be 'real Basotho men'.

In Lesotho, literacy numbers are higher amongst females than males (GOL, 2000; Lefoka, 2007; Morojele, 2009, 2011b; Setoi, 2012; UNESCO, 2012b) which could have placed the herders in a compromised situation when it came to choosing to marry an uneducated wife. Additionally, education according to the herders is associated with socialisation and enlightenment. For them marrying an educated wife makes decision-making and planning in the house easier.

My assumption regarding their preferences for educated women is that herding, tough as it is, is labelled 'men's stuff' because they are stronger and can handle the roughness that may come with it. While education is labelled 'women's territory' because, women are seen as inferior under the subjective notion that they are the weaker sex. It has also been noted from the findings that male Basotho long for the females so much that during their time together as males, they engage in discussions about the females and how to attract their attention.

These stories suggested that the male Basotho have been socialised to value animals and the monetary value that gave self-esteem to a Mosotho man, more than education. Indigenous Knowledge for many, if not all, had either been acquired from the elders or from the herding role and it varied from medicinal and nutritional herbs to the use of the natural resources for the generation of income. One of my observations during the data collection was that personal hygiene and/or cleanliness varied with the geographical location: it seemed that the further away they were from the society, the less it mattered. The following chapters thematically present the findings on identity, relating them to these herders' life histories.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented the findings on the life histories of Basotho herders and their life ambitions. The chapter was subdivided into the following sub-headings: the herders' life histories and the herders' life ambitions. The stories indicated the high value with which Basotho males regarded livestock while education occupied a lower position. As a result, almost all of the herders did not seem to want to completely move out of herding.

The stories further indicated the difficult educational beginings of the herders where in some situations the family relationships became a resource that supported acquisition of education. There was a pattern of high illiterates coming from the highlands as opposed to the foothills and the lowlands. Some of the herders narrated how informal learning had become a source of learning from which they had benefitted.

The findings further revealed that almost all of the herders owned some form of income generation project which was very closely related to their herding experience. The stories further indicated the role that was played by significant others in shaping the herders' identity to where it was during the study, both at a personal level and also in helping them with their income generation projects.

The notion of attracting females seemed to be a cross-cutting fantasy for the herders so much that the herders spent their spare time talking about how to do this and visualising those that they wanted to marry. In general, for the married and single herders, the female had to be more educated that the husband.

This chapter gave a synopsis of the herders' life histories, their identity and the factors that influenced their identity in general. In Chapter 6 I present the contradictory public perception of a Mosotho herder and what it means to be a male in Basotho society.

CHAPTER 6: IDENTITY: THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF BASOTHO HERDERS

6.0   INTRODUCTION

The study's purpose is to establish a deeper understanding of "[t]he richness and diversity" (Dahl, 2015:145) of the herders' identity. This chapter answers the second research question: to discover how their multiple identities (subjectivities) as herders are constructed and how these constructed identities influenced their educational ambitions, in order to better inform the Non-Formal Education policy of Lesotho.

Wielenga (2014:124) reflects on how history and social factors and experience influence identity. The reflection also mentions the fluid nature of identity:

> Identities are constructed, they are 'socially and historically situated' and have an impact on lived experience. For this reason, identities cannot simply be 'un-constructed': Their existence has come about due to particular complex historical, social and psychological developments, and they matter enough to people ... identities have been described as being, amongst other things, constructed, fluid, multiple, relational, hybrid, fragmented and contested. The issue is not that they have been constructed but ... how they were constructed, by whom, and 'what differences different constructions make'.

The herders often described themselves according to how others see them and also as they saw themselves. These identity images were often quite contradictory in that, their public image was generally negative but their self-image was more positive. In order to address these core themes, the identity findings are divided into two parts – the public identity and the private identity. The next chapter, Chapter 7, focuses on the private identity that the herders described about themselves.

This chapter focuses on the socially constructed public identity image of the herders as seen primarily from the perspectives of the herders. The NFE service provider perspectives were referred to for triangulation purposes. The perspectives of the herders reveal i) how the herders identify themselves in terms of their public image, ii) how they learn their public

identity as herders and iii) how the learned identity impacts on their societal relationships. The core themes that emerged from their public identity, from analysing both the herders' and the service providers' perspectives were:

1. Culture

2. Masculinity

3. Othering

The study identified how the herders learned and constructed the self as "a cognitive construct" (Korte, 2007:168). Literature argues that the complex nature of identities emanates from their "historical, social and psychological developments" (Wielenga, 2014:124). This perspective defines identity in terms of the relationships of the herders with the social world and the role of the herders within a social setting. Wielenga further emphasises the need for understanding this complex nature as a basis for understanding the role played by history and the social context in the construction of identity. In the context of Lesotho, the herders' relationship with the wider social world, and how the herders are described by others, is a strong reflection of herding as an integral part of Basotho culture.

The study sought a better understanding of: i) the societal systems that shape the herder identity in Wielenga (2014) and described by Morojele (2009:178) as "the discursive spheres of influence"; ii) how the herders are identified by the society; and iii) how the society relates to the herders. These factors also had a bearing on how the herders accessed social services, including basic education.

The study also identified how gender identity is ingrained in Basotho culture with particular emphasis on the construction of masculinities by Basotho. Livestock ownership is one of the discursive constructs of Basotho masculinity. The experience of life at the cattle post forms part of the social construction of their masculine identity which the herders saw as a rite of passage and which shaped their 'manhood'. In the process of analysing the herders' interviews it emerged that their identity was also shaped by access to different forms of capital. These

are: i) social capital, (Bourdieu, 1985; Portes, 1998); ii) human capital, (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008); iii) cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985); and iv) economic capital theories (DfID, 1999; Bourdieu, 1985). In this study unless otherwise stated the words economic and financial capital will be used interchangeably.

In Lesotho, all boys are expected to be initiated into the herding role. However, not all stay as herders. Those who cease to herd and get a good education become accepted as part of Basotho society. The irony, complexity and contradiction is that, if someone stays a herder and stays uneducated, he is seen as 'other than' the rest of the society. Perhaps some herders feel more accepted by other herders than by the wider society or perhaps it is because of the freedom that comes with the herding role.

This chapter draws primarily on the 30 unstructured interviews with the herders, plus reference to the informal conversations and observations from the transect walk and the photovoice discussions. The NFE service providers' interviews generally confirmed the herders' stories. Both groups seemed to affirm that the herder public identity was largely negatively constructed because of the nature of the job. Both the herders and the service providers mentioned poor personal hygiene amongst most herders which resulted in the society subjecting the herders to degrading names and labels.

It was also commonly understood that male Basotho assumed the herding role at a very tender age for various reasons.

For some, this would be for poverty alleviation or the family desire to secure its own livestock as 'personal savings' in difficult times. For others, the devastating impact of HIV and AIDS, leaving child-headed households who were illiterate, was the cause of venturing into herding; while for others it was merely because herding was considered more important than education especially in terms of securing wealth for a Mosotho man. A large number of responses evidenced the value attached to animals where they were equated with 'a man's gold' or 'a man's bank', signifying the gendered discourse about manhood which is associated with

'power-over' and dominance; as well as the economic capital that was equated with livestock. The following section discusses how culture contributed to shaping the herder identities.

6.1 CULTURE

6.1.1 Introduction

Culture plays a very significant role in contributing to the realisation of who one is. It reflects patterns of behaviour that have been intertwined to define practices and belief systems (Bourdieu, 1985). Bourdieu further argues that there are three reinforcers of culture. These are: "Embody[ment], - [which is about] the long and lasting memories [left on] the mind and body; objectific[ation] [which denotes the cultural symbols and objects; and institutionali[sation]" (Bourdeiu, 1985:47) where cultural institutions such as the initiation schools in Lesotho and families play a significant role in passing on cultural values from one generation to the other. To try and capture the complexity of culture and identity, this section has been divided into the following subsections: social norms, dress code, identity and the environment.

There is a Sesotho proverb saying: *sechaba se senang meetlo sea timela* which translates as, a nation without culture is a lost nation, meaning culture binds the nation or society together. Culture constructs an identity which is unique to that society. It embodies certain societally appropriate norms specific to its members to realise and abide by. These social norms are dynamic, based on the priorities of the concerned society. Lesotho, like most African countries, is a patriarchal society, meaning that, children belong to the paternal family. This is articulated as *ngoana ke oa likhomo* in the Sesotho proverb, meaning the child belongs to the family which paid the dowry. When male children are brought up by the wife's family the child's identity is compromised because they are expected to identify themselves with the patrilineal hierarchy.

However, in the story of Meks, who was loaned to his uncle in exchange for education, his case was different. Taking the sons to the maternal home was the sharpest part of the blade, as

reflected in the Sesotho proverb. Nonetheless, she endured the sharpness of the blade and its potential social danger and persevered to attain her goal. In this story the role of *malome* is very important in Basotho culture where care and support of the nephews becomes part of *malome's* portfolio.

> Since she did not have good relationships with my father's family, she then sent us (myself and the elder brother) to go and stay with her brothers in Ha Makebe in Berea district. We were staying in different families just like a (*khomo ea mafisa kapa ea lesielo)* loaned cattle (*a pause, followed by a deep sigh* …). Our uncles and our mother made an agreement that we would look after their animals and in exchange, they would buy us clothes and make sure that we attended school at least up to Standard 7.

However, Meks had strong family bonds which became his support system. They had to help each other at different points in life. Despite the fact that they had been physically separated at quite young ages, the family bond kept them in touch with each other. Meks explained:

> So my brother sent in an application for me to go to Thaba Tseka Technical Institute (TTI) and due to my poverty level, I was sponsored by the government of Lesotho until I completed my studies. I did a course in leatherworks and upholstery. Upon graduation, I have opened a workshop where I mend shoes, handbags and other leather stuff to make a living.

The interesting part about Meks is that he sees himself and his siblings as loaned cattle – there is a strong sense that you are not in charge of your own destiny, especially as a child – you are a money making resource, just like cattle. He is also a capital to exchange, albeit at a good bargaining price. There are implications for NFE in terms of how an NFE curriculum might focus on empowerment literacy to address such experiences.

Another dynamic aspect of culture was presented in the case of Semonkong 3 who forfeited education due to being a victim of circumstances following his mother's teenage pregnancy. In this particular life history the Basotho's cultural perspective regarding teenage pregnancy affected his life chances. Semonkong 3, was not only denied his basic right to education but his upbringing had a great influence in shaping his identity in that he could not enjoy being

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raised by his biological mother - which should be a birth right for every child and is a basic human right. He continues:

> I became a herder because I was raised up by my uncle (*malome*). *('Me' oaka o ne a robehe lengoele ka nna a sale monyane lilemong)* my mother fell pregnant outside the wedlock at a very young age and my father did not marry her. I therefore became part of her family. I was raised by my eldest uncle in his capacity as the family heir (*mojalefa*) ... He has become the father figure to me which is very important to any male child ... (*Khilik*!) You see, education is good but a man has to build a future for his family. You can be educated but poor. But for me I have animals which I can sell or sell the wool and get a lot of money! (Giggling).

His mother became a victim of 'othering' both from the society and at the family level. In the society she became discriminated against as the 'spoiled other' while in the family she became the 'shameful other' who brought shame into the family. The cultural perspective was that the child was distanced from the biological mother who was called the sister to the child while the grandmother was called the mother to the child in order for the biological mother to stand a chance of getting married. This form of biological discrimination becomes challenging for a boy in terms of shaping his identity and is reflected even in his name.

Guma (2001) argues that in Southern Sotho culture, while names are a form of personal identity, they also carry a strong historical background behind them. Some historical names may be *Matšeliso* – consolation or *Motšelisi* - comforter for a child born as a consolation after someone passed away in the family. In the case of a girl who becomes 'spoilt' – pregnant out of wedlock - the child is given certain labels that easily identify or discriminate the child from the rest of the family. Such labels would include a child that brought shame to the family (*ngoana oa matšeho);* or to family property (*lesala lapeng)*. In some families, this child, especially a male child, is forbidden to participate in the cultural activities of the family because he does not have a clear position in the lineage hierarchy. I can easily identify myself with this issue, following my daughter's experience where the society was shocked when I named my grandson Blessing (*Thlohonolofatso)* instead of a shaming name. According to Guma (2001:270), the life-experience from the name one is given at birth can be influenced

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by different circumstances which may include, among others, "…children born out of wedlock, etc."

Surprisingly, Semonkong 3 considered that his circumstances of having his uncle meant that he had a father figure to replace the father he never had and also the ability to own livestock in his name. He did not consider his illiteracy as a disadvantage. He perceived his circumstances from the Basotho culture where, culturally, animals are economic capital and represent wealth. Wealth is more important than education because wealth in the form of livestock means you can sustain yourself and your family. He compared the advantages of livestock ownership in terms of having a reservoir of wealth to fall back on.

The issue of boys dropping out of school in order to look after the animals came as no surprise to the service provider. Culturally this is an acceptable practice. The NFE inspector elaborated on how their family cared for a boy who was originally from the highlands of Thaba Tseka. However the boy decided to drop-out of school to look after the family animals.

The herder stories revealed a range of social norms that reflected their culture as herders but also their efforts to become part of wider Basotho social norms. There are examples of herders who can connect with the wider society but when they try to relate to girls, the level of trust breaks - as the next section indicates.

6.1.2   Social norms

Social capital, as described in Chapter 3, has been used as a theoretical framework to explain the relationship between social norms, networks and trust in societies (Morrice, 2007; Ferlander, 2007). The World Bank (2011:168) explains social norms as follows:

> Social norms influence expectations, values, and behaviors … Social norms appear particularly binding in areas such as family formation.

Although it will be seen in Chapter 7 that the herders had their own social norms in terms of values and behaviours which reflected their own bonding form of social capital, they did not

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seem to be part of Lesotho society's wider public social capital networks which included expectations of how one should behave. This meant the 'girls' did not see the herders as part of 'normal' Basotho society when it came to building relationships. Even when they tried to 'fit in' the 'girls' still rejected them.

Linakeng 6 argued that the herders represented a low identity to the 'girls'. In other words, the herders were the bottom of the pile for choice by 'girls'. He continued:

> But you know these 'girls', once we come to the cattle posts they look for other men who have money and drive fancy cars. I was surprised when I got home one year to be told that my girlfriend had gotten married to a guy who works in the mines because he had impregnated her. (*Aikhona!*) They are not even afraid of the HIV and AIDS but sleep around with whoever they see coming with a lot of money to them. I do not trust them.

Stories such as this indicate that, as a result of their negative public image, 'girls' looked down upon the herders and opted for other males from better life backgrounds.

Semonkong 1, the herder who also sold traditional herbs, narrated the herders' way of establishing relationships with the 'girls'. Semonkong 1 explained their efforts to 'fit in' to societal expectations for how Basotho should dress and behave. He continued:

> (*Rea iphotla, re tsola tšeea re tene marikhoe re hlatsoa kobo e thokoa e hlahe likhoele tse tšoeu ebe rea li ohla re etsa litjobo. Haeba litopo ele tse tšoeu rea li hlatsoa le tsona libe tšoeu-tšoeu*) we wash our faces, instead of the loin cloth we wear trousers and wash the grey blanket and brush off the wool such that the white strings that have been sewn to keep the wool together are visible. If I have white gumboots, I also wash them such that they are snow-white.

Stories such as this, portrayed the aspiration or need for the herders to fit into the larger 'normal' society which was expressed through their need to establish relationships with 'girls'. Such efforts to build relationships, however, often manifested themselves as aggression, as indicated by Linakeng 7:

> Sometimes when we go home, we become aggressive because we believe that everybody does not like us, and then we scare our girlfriends away

These stories suggest there is an educational gap in understanding about how the herders should build relationships with the wider society.

The harsh weather conditions under which the herding role is conducted have to some extent influenced the herders' attire, which has become another identity construct for the herders.

6.1.3 Dress code

The findings indicated that the attire or the herder dress code, as part of Basotho culture, played a significant role in constructing the herder identity. The way the herders dressed was a distinctive public expression of who they were, particularly those from the cattle posts. Although it is not clear from the literature where this practice first started, it seemed to be an old practice inherited through generations. Lekhala who sold livestock described the dress code in detail by pointing at himself. He continued:

> You see the way I am dressed, this is how we dress at the cattle post: skipper, jersey, short pant (*short pene)*. Then the livestock owner provides a grey blanket, a pair of gumboots, soccer socks and a balaclava hat annually.

Not all the herders were happy with this dress code. Some expressed the need for change. For example, Linakaneng 2, a former security guard, strongly argued that the current identity brought with it embarrassment and shame - if they stuck to this identity, then they did not have to try to be anything else. He stated:

> When we come to town, we stick to wearing our grey blankets and gumboots. Instantly, when someone sees you in that attire, he/she knows that you are a herder from the cattle-posts. It would be good to change the attire: Look at us now, we are heavily clad in this grey blanket.

The service providers' perspective on herder identity was no different from that of the herders. For the LDTC and NFE providers the Mosotho herder was easily identified by the dress code:

> In Lesotho a herder is identified with a grey blanket, gumboots, and very poor hygiene. Let me also mention that under that blanket there is nothing except the flesh. They do not have any T-shirt or vest underneath (LDTC NFE provider).

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The NFE inspector also shared the same sentiments as the LDTC NFE provider. However, according to the NFE inspector, the dress code was modified to some extent especially when the herders came to town.

Linakeng 8, who decorated the grey blankets, argued that in spite of his collective identity, he would like to create a personal identity, if only by giving his blanket a significant pattern. In his photovoice in figure 9 below the picture displays the decorated blanket. Linakeng 8 stated: "Since the grey blanket is what signifies us as herders, I want it to look different so that I can attract some buyers who could possibly place an order outside the herding community".

A picture of a decorated grey blanket to attract buyers and to change the herders' generic outlook

Figure 9: The decorated grey blanket

Figure 10: Generic herder identity in Lesotho

From these findings, it is clear that the herder's public image was defined by his dress code and this was confirmed by both the herders and the providers. The public image that was associated with the herders, such as lack of cleanliness, therefore meant that the herder identities had a public face, which was associated with a dominant and generally negative image, long before they were able to interact with people, which limited their capacity to engage at a more individual level. For this reason some of the herders suggested they should either change their dress when meeting the general public, or at least decorate their blankets to give them an individual character.

The herder identity consequently was very closely associated with his workplace, even when he was not at the workplace. Place as a contribution to identity construction therefore was significant for the herders.

6.1.4   Identity and the environment

Hudson and Melber (2014:2) discuss the role played by place in the shaping of personal identity globally and nationally. They state:

> Space and (local) place remain a fundamental source from which ordinary people and states draw their identity... In times of shifting boundaries, not in the sense of a territorial

border but in the context of increasingly multiple identities ... that place continues to play a key role in the shaping of ordinary people's collective experiences of identity.

Lappegard (2007:3) defines place as: "A geographical space that has acquired meaning as a result of a person's interaction with the space". However, without consistent interaction, this space will merely represent the environment. The physical environment according to Lappegard also influences identity construction and the self-perception which is illustrated through the way people behave.

One example in the literature of how environment influences herder identity is in the description by Makoa and Zwilling (2005:53) about how the herders "spend most of their time in the mountains, lonely and isolated" and that when they are not busy they get bored from being idle. Makoa and Zwilling explain how the hostility of the environment under which they operate has equipped the herders with skills to design dangerous weapons which they use as a form of security. The study findings showed that this environment impacted on the herders in other ways as well.

For instance, the study findings indicated how the harsh environmental conditions influenced the herders' personal hygiene. For some, the poor hygiene was a coping mechanism while for others it was intentionally done to identify them as cattle post herders. The effect of the environment on personal hygiene was reflected in the story of Linakeng 7 who played *lesiba,* the traditional musical instrument. He explained:

> The environment here demands that we keep ourselves dirty so that the harsh wind cannot penetrate through our skin. (*Maemo a mona a re tlama hore re lule rele litšila hore moea o hlabang o seke oa phunyelletsa letlalo*) …

For this herder, the herding environment called for poor personal hygiene as an insulator. Linakaneng 2, a former security guard, echoed Linakeng 7 by explaining how poor hygiene insulated against the harsh weather conditions:

Also keeping ourselves dirty helps to protect us against the harsh weather conditions because the black thick layer of dirt acts as a shield; that is why we are called the (*qholo ntšo)* black hip.

Some herders deliberately chose to be dirty to be associated with the cattle post life when they went back home. This deliberate poor hygiene affected the herders' norm of sharing food because not all herders believed in being dirty. This was indicated in the story of Ace who dropped out of school to look after the family 'diamond'. Ace was one of the neat herders. He elaborated:

It is true that we have some herders who do not take care of their personal hygiene (*ba bechile le pitsa e ntso ba batla ho bona [hore] na ke mang ea tla bang motso ho fetisisa*) they have made a bet with the black three legged pot – meaning they want to see who would achieve a heavier black crust between them and the black pot for people to know at first glance that they come from the cattle post. These are the people who, whenever their skin becomes dry, they use the fat from the dead sheep and smear it on their skin. If that is done continuously they indeed achieve the black crust (*khopane*). I do not like them. Sometimes they visit you and you have cooked meat. You know one cannot eat meat using a spoon. That means if you have such a visitor you have to eat with him and all the grease drips into the food that you are eating.

In this story, poor hygiene simulated the black soot on the pot. As indicated earlier there was a tendency for herders who lived in the highlands to be more concerned with their physical protection against the elements than with their social interactions.

Semonkong 4, who wanted to marry a white woman, also argued that their poor hygiene has created a negative public perception of the herders and in turn shaped their behaviour negatively. He lamented:

(Pause…) Sometimes we are being discriminated because of poor hygiene (*khopane*). We also like to look handsome, nice and presentable but the nature of our job does not allow for such time … Due to the discrimination that we are being subjected to, we have developed a stubborn mentality and we do things that are not acceptable in our communities such as taking the animals to the conserved grazing land (*maboelleng*).

This story highlighted public discrimation as a negative effect of the herders' poor hygiene. This discrimination in turn impacted on their self esteem so that they tended to behave even more negatively, almost as if they needed to reinforce the public perception of themselves.

Other herders, for instance Linakeng 7 reflected how environment and the resentment subjected to the herders by Basotho in general have perpetuated an unsociable herder identity:

> Sometimes when we go home, we become aggressive because we believe that everybody does not like us, and then we scare our girlfriends away.

This negative herder identity has an implication for the NFE curriculum to address identity issues in addition to basic literacy and numeracy.

The findings on how environment influenced the construction of identity in the herders' life histories have highlighted poor hygiene as one of the identities associated with herding. Poor personal hygiene was justified as a coping mechanism against the harsh conditions under which the herders serve. However, the findings also highlighted that there were some differences amongst the herders in that even some herders found the level of uncleanliness unattractive. In other words, there was a sense that there may even be a hierarchy of acceptance within the herding community between the highlands and the lowlands.

The herders were mostly male, by tradition, and masculinity in Lesotho had its own identity patterns. The next section discusses how masculinity constructed identity. The section has been divided into gendered masculinity roles which cover herding as the rite of passage into manhood, decision-making, the herder as protector and provider, power and dominance, toughness and resilience and livestock as economic capital.

6.2. MASCULINITY

Many scholars argue that what is socially defined as a man and a woman is a product of the social relationships existing and repeatedly reshaped overtime by the society at large (Paechter, 2006; Morojele, 2009, 2011a; Hedlin, 2013). In other words, gender is a social

perception of what it means to be male or female. Therefore masculinity identity is socially constructed.

The masculine identity is traditionally learned from the father who is perceived as the significant other to the male child, and also in terms of the physiological or anatomical similarities and the authoritative roles (Hedlin, 2013; Mansfield, 2000). In this case, the father becomes an important source of learning the culturally appropriate behaviour. A core feature of masculinity in Lesotho is herding. Despite the hardships that the herders face at the cattle posts, they also perceive this life as a rite of passage which teaches them to learn what it means to be a man. This forms a critical aspect of their identity.

6.2.1   Herding as a rite of passage into manhood

The findings revealed that manhood had both positive and negative qualities. The positive qualities of manhood were: resilience, hard-work, and bravery. The later sections will show that masculinity was also associated with aggression.

Lekhala, who now sold livestock, attested to how the cattle post life shaped his identity as a man in a somewhat more positive way than has been described so far. He explained:

> It is also from the cattle post that I learned to be a man (*hoba monna*). The other herders teach you the importance of being resilient and hard-working.

For Linakaneng 2, a former security guard, masculine identity had not come easily. It had come about irrespective of his willingness or not to conform to the prescribed identity. He came across as having had premature experiences of having to become like a 'stereotype' man. He continued:

> I learnt to be the man I am from the cattle posts such as being brave. At first you start being afraid like everybody else but when you realize that there is nothing you can do (*u qetella u se u le sebete u ka ithoballa hara naha ntle le letsoalo*) but be brave so much that you are not even afraid if you have to sleep out in the open.

This is echoed by Ocean, a high school graduate bachelor, who looked at herding from the perspective of its purpose as a resilience builder and an education opportunity for some of the roles that men have to perform - a reinforcement of masculine identity. He continued:

> I am happy that I have that experience because as a herder it toughened me especially at the cattle post … I also learned some coping mechanisms and how to be resistant to the harsh weather conditions from other herders … I have really learnt a lot from my herding experience. I know the colours of the cattle and the different ear marks (*mebala ea likhomo le matšoao a fapaneng*). These markings make it easy to identify my own livestock. I learned the animal ear marks from my father and I was further able to see the different markings from other people's livestock when we were herding. I feel like the cattle post life is something like the rite of passage which every Mosotho man should pass through because it teaches a man to be brave.

Gift, who had a good relationship with his employer, was also of the opinion that the cattle post life could indeed be interesting and came with some skills-learning particularly for protection which was also closely linked to the masculinity identity. He continued:

> (Clears his throat) I really enjoy being at the cattle post because the life here builds up a character of a Mosotho man. As boys we learn skills of self-defence through games and listening to the older herders. What has been very important to me is the mock stick fight game. While it is true that at the beginning we get injured because we are still learning, with time and practice, we learn how to duck and dive in order not to be injured by our opponents.

The male LANFE NFE provider also attested that herding is seen as a rite of passage for the male Basotho. He further argued that if they were, as males, to choose between herding and school they would have chosen herding because it is something they enjoy doing. He explained:

> But herding is a good thing it is nice to be out there in the veld because even when we do not want to go to school we would run to the veld. I did it and I really enjoyed it.

The findings from the herders above outline their perceptions of herding as a rite of passage which every Mosotho male has to go through. The herders further outlined the masculine life skills that they acquired through herding. For some, the herding role equipped them with self-

defence skills which were applicable to a masculine image for self protection and to protect those they love. For others, the herding provided an opportunity to learn bravery and resilience, which were masculine roles which shaped them into Basotho's definition of manhood. In addition to these individual characteristics that were shaped by herding was the aspect of developing social responsibilities. One of the social responsibilities for male Basotho is decision making.

6.2.2   Decision making

Morojele (2011b:133) argues that in Basotho culture, males have been socialised to "hold important decision making positions despite a near-total lack of formal education". This is further affirmed by the findings of my study where the herders asserted that being male accorded them a higher social status in the family and to sit in important decision making gatherings for the family such as dowry *(lobola)* negotiations and funeral arrangements. Semonkong 3, even though he was born out of wedlock, still positioned himself as a decision maker through his participation in family meetings. He stated:

> As a man, I make decisions in the house. I sit in special meetings like when there is a funeral in the family or when there is a *lobola* negotiation meeting to be part of the decision making process.

Ocean, the high school graduate from the lowlands, also equated his 'manhood' with the ability to make decisions. Similar statements were articulated by Linakaneng 2 and Semonkong 4 among others. Semonkong 4 equated masculinity to an ability to bring order in the house. He stated:

> *(Smiling)* I am a real man who is able to make his own decisions about life. I am sure that these will make me a better head of the family who will be able to reprimand my children when they go astray.

The issues raised in these presentations expose the contradictions of the herder identity which was constructed negatively by the society yet their role as herders placed them in a complex

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identity role where they had to both identify themselves as male members of the wider society as well as members within the herding community.

6.2.3 The male as protector and provider

Harvey (2009), an African American, asserts that the protector role is inspired in males from a very young age. He goes on to recall how, in the United States, he was also tasked with the responsibility to take care of his mother and sister from a very young age. The same happens to Basotho men who are entrusted with similar responsibilities by virtue of being males in the family.

Morojele (2009:101) narrated his ordeal that, as the only boy in a family of 13 children, he was tasked with the responsibility of following in his father's foot-steps. Being the last born, following six sisters from his father's first marriage, he was named "Pholoho (which means salvation/redemption)" indicating he came as a blessing and a rescuer of the family legacy. He continued to elaborate on how his socialisation process included his role as the protector of his much older sisters. He explained the pressure he had to endure to meet the social expectation of growing up faster than the biological process, in order to take over his father's male responsibilities.

This is echoed by the newspaper interview with Nkhetše of *Monna Ka Khomo* Herdboys Association which indicates how the provider role is ascribed to Basotho men and how this traditional role links with modern aspirations: "A man of today needs to work, drive a car and provide for his family" (Matope, 2011:12). For the herders, they have to go through the hardships of herding life to be able to provide for their families.

The herders' sense of self had been shaped by their competing, multiple identities constructed by a wide array of factors some of which were both social and psychological. One such aspect that shaped identity was cultural norm, as evidenced in the story of T-man, a Form D student. T-man described his identity in terms of culture and wealth: "As a Mosotho man I must have my own animals".

Lekhala, who sold livestock in Maseru, argued that, culturally, manhood was loaded with these responsibilities - family head and a provider. He continued:

> In Basotho culture, men are head of their families irrespective of age. If the father dies, the boy child already assumes the responsibility to provide for the family and protect them.

Semokong 1, who also sold traditional herbs, echoed that men were heads of families. He presented this role traditionally, where men were identified as providers and procreators. In his presentation, he did not mention children's education or the contribution men have to make to the wider society. He simply asserted:

> *(Ntate ke eena hlooho ka lapeng, ke eena ea etsang bana o lokela hore a kenye chelete etla tseba ho holisa bana)* The man is the head of the family and the bread winner for the children, he has to make sure that he goes out to look for resources to ensure that the kids live comfortably. He is also responsible for reproduction and production of babies.

The provider role of the male child was further confirmed by Masda, who was brought up by his step-mother, and who stated learning this role from his biological mother. He continued: "When I got married she [biological mother] sat down with me and told me that now that I have brought someone into the family, it is my sole responsibility to be the provider".

Alex, whose mother embedded household chores in his up-bringing, reiterated the important cultural status given to men as providers and associated it with the ploughing knowledge. He continued:

> As a Mosotho man I am able to produce food for the family because I can plough the fields unlike in other countries where they buy everything. I also like the fact that I can produce an income by ploughing for other community members through sharecropping and produce food for my family.

T-man, currently doing Form D, reflected the same perspective where, in Basotho culture, men were identified as the sole providers for the families. This was in spite of the effect of globalisation on many African countries including Lesotho which has placed the provider responsibility on both males and females as they both have equal opportunities to earn a salary

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and provide for the family. He elaborated: "In Basotho culture, men must be the bread winners for the families and make sure that they go out to look for means and resources to ensure that the children live comfortably".

But tradition, for the herders, did not die easily, especially as the nature of their lives meant they were less likely to interact with the dynamics of modern society. The above sentiments were echoed across the herder stories (for example, Linakaneng 2, Linakeng 7, Taiwan, Semonkong 3).

There was another masculinity aspect to herding. Livestock was also perceived as economic capital for males in Basotho culture.

6.2.4 Livestock as economic capital

DfID (1999:15) provides a summarised definition of economic capital that relates to the nature of the savings options available to the herders:

> Financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives … When savings are held in unconventional forms, particular to the needs and culture of owners, different modes of support may be appropriate.

Wealth and self-sufficiency was one of the attributes used to define a real Mosotho man. Morojele (2009:101) affirms this by relating how as the only boy and the last born out of "six girls" he had to step in and bridge "the cultural minority status of females" and was tasked with the responsibility of protecting his family legacy of livestock from being inherited by the extended family members "who had boys". T-man, currently doing Form D, evidenced this notion through the way he identified himself. For him, too, a Mosotho man was tasked with the responsibility to protect the family legacy, which included:

> (*Ho sireletsa letlotlo la lelapa le ho etsa bonnete ba hore lelapa lena le thepa ea lona ka ho khetholoha lebe le liphoofolo*) to secure the wealth of the family and ensure that the family owns property in the form of animals.

Semonkong 3, born out of wedlock, gave a high status to livestock herding, linking it to masculine identity in Basotho culture. This identity is linked with self-sufficiency and the ability to provide:

> He (*malome*) thought that he had to raise me like a real Mosotho man who would look after the animals so that he can mark a few in my name (*a ntšoaele*) to be able to own my own livestock. That is how I became a herder.

The value of livestock as a source of wealth in Basotho culture was reinforced by the LDTC NFE provider. This perception was not always the case though. For instance, Semonkong 4 who aspired to marry a white woman, saw his herding assets as of less value than the financial resources that could be obtained from other forms of employment. Among the herders that were interviewed, he was the only one with this perception. He elaborated:

> Wise people who have worked in the mines have been able to build tile roofed houses, bought nice cars, their children are educated and their wives are beautiful. In actual fact, they are the wealthier members of our community.

These life histories evidenced the link between cattle as wealth and self-sufficiency in the definition of a Mosotho man. For some herders, being a Mosotho man was defined by ownership of livestock while for others, it was defined based on their ability to protect the already existing family legacy. It is also worth noting that, generally, education seemed to take second position following livestock herding. These findings have implications for how NFE might provide a curriculum which reflects livestock as a financial resource.

Masculinity is also associated with aggression and the power dynamics that go with this image. The following section presents how power and dominance are socially constructed as a masculine identity and how they manifest in Basotho culture.

6.2.5   Power and dominance

Morojele (2011a) argues that in Basotho culture, the masculine identity comes with certain specialised roles and responsibilities that are socially defined as 'manly' and the naming of these activities is done prior to the birth of the male child. He continues:

> Power and social status is accorded to a first-born male child, and in the case of polygamous marriages, the first-born male child of the first wife (*Mojalefa* – an 'heir') – a concept denoting that the child would inherit all the family property and of course, all responsibilities upon the death of his father. In many cases, the 'heir' is expected to assume the obligations of his position even before he actually succeeds to the status including before the death of his parents (Morojele, 2011a:678).

Melber (2014:195) reflects on the contagious nature of power "which seems to infect like a virus". In Basotho and Zulu cultures, certain existing traditional institutions reinforce male dominance over females (Mncwango & Luvuno, 2015; Ratau, 1988). Ratau talks about the meeting place (*khotla*) which is a traditional institution for men to gather and discuss men's issues and also initiate the young boys into manhood. Similarly in Zulu culture, for a woman's voice to be heard it has to be conveyed by her husband upon approval of the chief's right hand man (*induna*) because of the inferior nature of women. This dominance of men over women in Zulu culture is "[c]onsidered as part of being (*umnumzane*) [real manhood]" (Mncwango & Luvuno, 2015:246). Similarly, Carton and Morrell (2012:31) for example refer to stick fighting in Zulu culture as an activity of "[m]artial recreation" which is used to initiate males into manhood.

This socialisation process, through masculinity-forming games, shapes how men are positioned within the workplace setting and where women are also socialised into carrying out responsibilities that are linked to their gender roles – tea making, cleaning, social work etc. while men enjoy leadership positions. Paechter (2006:255) defines masculinity as:

> The configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimation of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.

This is further reinforced by a common Sesotho proverb which says *khang ea monna e khaoloa ke letlaka*: a man's argument is mediated through a fight. What the proverb denotes is that during a fight, there must be a winner. A *letlaka* is a bird that survives on meat – so if during the fight, the man dies, the vulture will eat the corpse and the fight will be over.

This sentiment was attested to by Masda, a foothills herder who was raised by his stepmother. He stated that as herders they were socialised to fight and this norm was closely linked to the aggressive concept of masculinity. There came a point where Masda got tired of fighting and decided to go for initiation school, thinking that by its "transformative nature" (Guma, 2001:270) he would change upon graduation, but the opposite was the case. He continued:

> … (*ka bomalimabe eitse ha ke khutla lebollong ka nna ka loana ele karolo ea ho amohela makoloane a macha mophatong*) unfortunately, upon graduation from the initiation school I continued to fight as a norm that we engage in when the new initiates are in session.

Semonkong 1, who sold traditional herbs, associated their recreation activities with informal lessons about power and dominance. He stated in lighter terms: "During the day, the herders teach each other some games such as mock stick fight (*ho kalla*), and Basotho chess (*moraba-raba*)".

Semonkong 3, born out of wedlock, asserted that mock stick fighting was part of their grooming techniques for self-defence. He also brought in a salient point that failure to acquire the desired learning resulted in being ridiculed by other herders and a possible consequence was that such a herder would forever be sent a mob to beat him up. He continued:

> We also play (*moraba-raba*) mock stick fight … Sometimes *('Mampoli)*, the older herder picks upon other herders and asks them to beat you up. This is a way of training us for self-defense. If you are able to defend yourself then the others will be afraid of you and respect you. If you cannot defend yourself, you will always be asked to fight with other herders so that if they beat you up they will laugh at you and mock you that you are stupid (*u selehe*).

Semonkong 4, who aspired to marry a white woman, attested that *ho kalla* was part of boys' learning process. He talked about the close association between power and physical strength.

For him, the individual's physique was equated with power and it later translated into one's ability to perform tasks that cannot be performed by ordinary people with smaller bodies. He argued:

> Apart from that, as herders we learn the mock stick fights during the day while looking after the animals … I am entrusted with the kind of activities that require muscular power in the family because I am strong (*ke nna ea etsang mesebetsi e hlokang lipotongoane ka lapeng)*.

Ocean, a high school graduate from the lowlands, reflected that the unsociable behaviour of the herders often translated into the manifestation of power and dominance, particularly over 'girls'. He described how when they did not comply with the herders' wishes to establish relationships they used power:

> We used to assist the girls who had gone to collect fire-wood in anticipation that once you have offered your help to this girl she will develop a positive regard towards you when you propose love (*Re ba thusa hoba roallisa hore batle bare lumele*). Unfortunately the opposite was always the case and the other herders would laugh at us. Out of embarrassment we then resorted to violent means to force the girls to accept our love proposals.

The service providers raised a very critical aspect on how herding shaped not only the male's identity of power and dominance but did so even for females. In Lesotho there is a slow increase in the number of female herders. Those females who have herded animals linked their identity with masculinity. The LANFE NFE provider elaborated:

> It seems [herding is seen] as a masculine role. Even a girl who has looked after the animals, when she talks, she always says: I am a man myself she would say - even boys who want to fight me I can give them a tough time because she grew up in a manly environment. The animals are associated with the manly roles … The numbers of female herders are really low and I suspect it is because the girls are held responsible for family chores while the herding is now associated with the boys in preparation for them to be able deal with the cattle. Animals are more associated with men than women.

The findings revealed that power and dominance among the herders was manifested through rigorous training sessions aimed at teaching the herders skills in fighting, learning and earning respect and aggressive behaviour.

The expectations of male herders therefore reflected an extreme or enhanced notion of toughness. In Basotho society this often contradicted the normalised expectation of 'gentlemanly behaviour' in terms of social skills which are required outside of the herding fraternity. This created a confusing sense of identity for the herders.

The public image of herders as aggressive, dirty and anti-social also meant that their particular form of masculinity was discriminated against by the broader society. This is discussed in the next section under the heading 'othering'.

6.3.   OTHERING

Rule and John (2008:81) outline 'othering' and the various forms through which it manifests:

> Othering entails processes of differentiation, subordination and exclusion. The processes of 'othering' are related to the literature on alterity (Said, 1995), scapegoating (Kearney, 1999; Petersson, 2003), stigma (see Goffman's seminal contribution, 1968; Alonzo and Reynolds, 1995) … and discrimination in the provision of services (Johnson, Bottorff and Browne, 2004) … to capture the process of social marking, distancing and disowning. In the most extreme form, 'othering' can result in the stigmatization, targeting and extermination of a particular social group, manifested in genocide (Hinton, 2002).

Most society members perceive the herders negatively. This negativity can be shaped by institutions such as family, employers or the society at large. Nthunya (1996) asserts how the herders are treated like dogs and beaten whenever things go wrong in herding. Ratau (1988) echoes Nthunya and elaborates on how this treatment reinforced the negative herder behaviour as a coping mechanism. Ratau explains how the older herders beat the younger ones and tell them not to cry but be tough.

The findings of my study revealed that the societal perspective of Basotho herders as the 'other' was constructed in negative ways. The negative perceptions of the herders in Basotho

society were manifested through discrimination and name calling actions. The perception of the herders was that they were lower class and lower status citizens. The 'othering' was shaped by the perception of the herders as uncivilised, with inhumane treatment of the herders and reference to the herders as the 'other' on the basis of their personal hygiene. This section has been divided into three subsections namely: othering by discrimination and name calling; being treated as less than humans and othering and illiteracy.

6.3.1 Othering by discrimination and name calling

Discrimination as defined by scholars refers to the special treatment subjected to both individuals and groups which in most cases is based on "prejudices and stereotypes" (Baumeister & Finkel, 2010:343) strongly held by the discriminators. Miller, (2014) talks about public discrimination of gays and lesbians and how it later becomes a barrier for socialisation. The findings revealed that the herders continued to suffer discriminatory actions from the society based on the commonly held stereotypes about them. Lekhala, the 23 year old who sold livestock, argued that as herders they were discriminated against. He stated: "Some look at the herders as stubborn and backward and discriminate against [them]".

Ducks, who also built traditional houses, raised another negative, socially constructed herder identity. He explained:

> We are isolated and discriminated against most of the time. When things are difficult the people will say call the herders but when things are easy the herders are forgotten. Only those who are clean and smell nice are the ones that are called to come and enjoy the benefits.

Linakaneng 2, the former security guard, emphasised the negative impact on their self-esteem and sense of self as a result of such negative attitudes and labelling of them as other than respectable Basotho. He continued:

> *Qholo-ntšo* denotes someone whose hygiene is extremely poor and normally seen wearing a loin-cloth and gumboots and heavily scorched by the sun and the harsh weather

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conditions. This has also made us degrade ourselves because of the stigma and lower grade attached to us (*rea eiseha).*

Ocean, the 25 year old high school graduate from the lowlands, also stated: "Some people discriminated against me saying that I was backward and smelled like sheep therefore I could not easily socialise with them".

Semonkong 4, the highland herder who would like to marry a white wife, complained about the lower class category accorded to them as herders. He continued:

> Some people consider us as criminals and people of very low status so much that they do not see us succeeding in life except to run after the animals. (Pause…) Sometimes we are being discriminated against because of poor hygiene (*khopane*). We are perceived as uncivilized and stubborn (*re nkoa rele likoata feela tse lihlooho li thata*) who take time to understand things. When ridiculing someone who is stupid people always say: you are behaving like or you are like a herder with a stubborn nature (*o itšoere kapa o tšoana le molisana ka hlooho e thata*). It is not nice because we are forced by the circumstances surrounding us to be herders.

Semonkong 3, born out of the wedlock, echoed these stories, commenting on the mockery and laughter they received:

> They laugh at us saying that we are uncivilized and slow to understand like our ears have been filled with ochre (*litsebe li tletse letsoku*).

6.3.2   Being treated as less than normal human beings

Stories of ill-treatment reinforced this image of being less than 'normal human beings', such as the one by Mosuoe the 31 year old married male from the lowlands. Mosuoe stated:

> Some people treat us so badly as herders. Sometimes you find that they give us food without relish (*papa mphothe*); they also do not give us soap to wash our bodies but some do appreciate us as 'normal' human beings … others look at the herders as stubborn and backward (*bare re likoata re koalehile).*

Malimong, the 38 year old bachelor from the lowland area, showed how the herder identity could not be challenged by the herder himself when he was in the company of such prejudice. He explained that even when the food was unpalatable:

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You do not have to question this but just eat (*hahaha…laughing*) if you do not eat, they tell you that (*o khotše, he banna*!) you are full; therefore you will be instructed to drive the animals to the veld on an empty stomach (*hehehe…laughing*). I remember when my first pair of gumboots was torn. My (*lekhooa*) boss told me to wear them as they were because I am the one who tore them. I kept asking myself, how will I cope? But I wore them anyway (*kabo jete jete jete*) [slang word for cleverly]. It then rained and I had my feet soaked in water. It was not easy but I had to cope.

For instance, Comrade from the foothills with a self-acquired knowledge of snake behaviour, pointed out that he no longer felt human:

I do not like the herding job because the community regards us as if we are 'not human beings'. Sometimes we eat *papa* without relish while the owner would be eating bread, the owners beat us, we are the low paid category of the society and we do not have the self-satisfaction of being human.

The Self Verification Theory in Burke and Stets (2009) states that if one receives disconfirming reactions from others, then interpersonal prompts may be used to counteract this disconfirmation. However, in the herders' case it seemed that they had no public opportunity to do this – which may also have influenced how they revealed much more private efforts to give themselves a positive self image - which will be discussed in the next chapter. These negative experiences also had implications for the response that the herders may have had to the existing NFE provision and the kind of educational support they might need.

6.3.3   Othering and illiteracy

Roberts (1995) argues that literacy definitions which were provided by policy makers including UNESCO have impacted negatively on how literacy has been taught. In his argument, literacy was defined initially in terms of a person's attendance in the formal school system for a certain number of years. Subsequently the behaviourists looked at literacy from the perception of an individual's ability to perform certain observable behaviours. In the case of the herders, the findings indicated that they need the type of education that would address their self esteem and social skills in addition to practical skills. The low literacy level of the herders was discovered as one of the definers of the herders' public negative image. Lack of

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education was further stressed as a human rights issue by Nkhetše of *Monna Ka Khomo* Herdboys' Association in an interview with newspaper Public Eye. He argued how, as an association, they are concerned about the herders' illiteracy: "Illiteracy is a major concern among our members, most of whom have never been to school" (Matope, 2011:13). To a large extent, their lack of education also influences their ability to negotiate their wages.

Sups, the graduate from Itjareng Vocational Training Centre, stressed that illiteracy was a disadvantage among the herders. He continued:

> However, (*re amohela se seng le se seng seo re se fuoang leha sele senyane bonyane ke oona matšeliso a rona ka lebaka la thuto e fokolang*) we accept all forms of payment that we get from our employers even if it's a meagre salary as a consolation because of our low literacy levels .

Linakaneng 2, a former security guard, emphasised the humiliation and the lower class identity that came with illiteracy. According to him, education created a positive identity — it seemed like poor education was almost equated with poor hygiene – and, of course, all herders were assumed to be uneducated. He elaborated:

> (Frowning) (*Hona joale tjena moshana e mong eitse ha a re u ipuelella ho ngoanana ea rutehileng Maseru koana ntate oa ngoanana a re na o tla khona ho hlatsoa ngoana hae maoto hobane ha a ruteha ke molisana feela. Khilik!)* One of my colleagues tried to propose love to an educated 'girl' in Maseru and the 'girl's' father asked him if he will be able to wash his daughter's feet because he is a 'mere' uneducated herder.

Semonkong 3, born out of the wedlock, highlighted how humiliated he felt by the 'girls' when socialising with them and the embarrassment of the disclosure of his illiteracy within the herding community. He stated:

> I felt personally challenged by being a herder because I never went to school. It has been very embarrassing when I told other herders that I was illiterate not to mention the 'girls' who would laugh at me when they realised that I had not been to school.

Semonkong 1, who sold traditional herbs, stressed the importance of education in the poignant moment that we had during the interview where he presented the disadvantage that illiteracy

had brought to his life. In his statement, it was clear how illiteracy had shaped his identity. The comments that he made highlighted that literacy created another identity in this modern world. He lamented:

> (*Ke utloa bohloko hakesa tsebe ho bala tjena hojane ho boeloa morao, kene ketla khutlela sekolong ke khone ho ipalla*). (Shaking his head slowly sideways and in a very emotional manner he pauses, clears a tear down his left eye; with his face down, he continues) it is very painful for me to be illiterate. If I were to be given a second chance, I would definitely go to school so that I can read for myself.

The findings revealed that lack of education played a role in the 'othering' of the herders. For some it signified something worthless and also equated with notions of hygiene. Some explained the demeaning effect that lack of education had had on them. Some of the herders lamented that, irrespective of how intelligent they believed themselves to be, their illiteracy gave them a negative public identity. For other herders, the lack of education impeded their personal development as it denied them the power to negotiate and or advocate for their rights. In the end they were left with no choices but to accept any available offers made to them by their employers.

The LANFE NFE provider also commented on the potential risk of HIV as well as sexually transmitted infections (STIs) amongst the herders which linked closely to their low level of literacy intertwined with lack of access to social services such as education and health facilities. As such there was no adequate information sharing pertaining to preventative measures. The LANFE provider stated:

> For instance when talking about HIV it is associated with witchcraft. I remember listening to some herders, talking about STIs, one of them was telling them that a certain 'girl' had an STI (*oa loma*) - she bites: [a commonly used loose Sesotho translation of someone infected with STIs]: the other one responded: (*Ae, mo tsise koano ketla etsa bonnete ba hore a keke a hlola a looma. Ketla mo totlotsa hore a be a tšoele moriana ono oo a lomang ka ona*) – "No bring her here I will make sure that she stops biting people completely. When she gets here, I will beat her hard and repeatedly and tell her to spit out that (*muthi*) [an African name for medicine used by traditional healers] she uses to bite people, I swear she will stop immediately". Things such as personal hygiene, nobody cares about them.

Rule and John (2011:85) argue that as a process, 'othering' can be used by groups of people to "distance themselves from taking any responsibility for seemingly overwhelming problems". In the case of illiteracy, the role extends beyond the group of herders to ensure that they access education as their basic human right which confirms the argument in UNESCO (2015) that education needs to address more holistic concerns. In spite of these concerns about lack of literacy and numeracy related to the herders' public image, Chapter 7 will reveal that the herders had applied their own strategies for numeracy. This will be discussed in the light of recent literature which discusses how a social practices approach to literacy learning might engage more effectively with the herders' needs.

6.4   CONCLUSION

The findings under this chapter have been subdivided into culture, masculinity and othering. The findings revealed that the three concepts have been socially constructed and are therefore fluid in nature. It was also explicit in the findings that masculinity equates with power and dominance and with the socially ascribed masculinity roles given to males irrespective of their low formal education status.

The life histories presented have also indicated the loneliness that the herders experienced at their work. One of the findings of my study was that male identity in Basotho culture was defined in terms of self-sufficiency – wealth and ability to provide. In the findings, a discovery was made that, comparatively, education occupied second position after livestock and livestock keeping. The notion behind this was that livestock was viewed as personal savings that could be used in adversity and secondly that keeping livestock was an easier, shorter and faster way of getting rich. These findings suggest there is a need to develop NFE programmes that fit within the lifestyle of the herders and their perception of livestock in terms of monetary value.

In spite of this largely negative public image of herders and its impact on their self- esteem, the herders themselves demonstrated that they, nevertheless, managed to accumulate another

sense of self, which was positive and knowledgeable. The herders themselves often revealed another, inner, and more positive, sense of self from which they drew strength to build their own livelihoods, and to further their education. Chapter 7 presents these positive images that the herders gave themselves – and which, it will be argued, have implications for an appropriately designed NFE programme.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS: THE PRIVATE IMAGE OF BASOTHO HERDERS

"I have been called one thing and then another, while no one really wished to hear what I called myself" (Casey, 1993:111).

7.0   INTRODUCTION

In Lesotho, it is expected that all boys do herding. However not all of them remain as herders. Those who cease to herd and get a good education become integrated into Basotho society. But the irony is that if you stay a herder and stay uneducated, you are seen as 'other' than the rest of the society. The herders often described themselves in terms of how others saw them but also as how they saw themselves. These identity images were often quite contradictory in that their public image was generally negative but their self-image was more complex.

This chapter focuses on the private image of the herders: how they negotiated these multiple public images towards a self-identity construction resulting in alternative, but also multiple, self-images. The chapter answers research question two of my study: How are their multiple identities (subjectivities) as herders constructed and how do these constructed identities influence their educational ambitions to better inform the NFE policy of Lesotho? The findings that informed this chapter come from the interviews, the transect walk and the photovoice interviews. The key sub-themes in relation to this theme include the following: inner sense of self; freedom to be; social capital; and significant others.

My study discovered that almost every herder wanted to be somehow identified through their ability to demonstrate self-sufficiency and the ability to fully provide for the family. Many herders also had knowledge of income generation irrespective of their low literacy rates. For some, this knowledge was closely linked with Indigenous Knowledge, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8, while for a significant few it was linked with formal schooling. The use of Indigenous Knowledge and livestock to generate income was practised by many herders and learned through experience rather than formal schooling.

The earlier discussions in this study echoed by Larson and Pearson (2012:243) reveal that identity is socially constructed. Larson and Pearson further perceive identity "as the conception of the self, reflexively and discursively understood by the self". This perception suggests that during the process of constructing the self, there are other inner competing forces only known to the self. This reflexive self-conception according to Hogg et al., (1995:255) refers to a "micro-sociological theory" which explains an individual's behaviour in relation to the individual's role. In summary, Korte (2007) describes the sense of inner-self as seeking to answer the 'who am I?' question.

The philosophical perspective argues that, the self results from the conscious information analysis that takes place in the mind of an individual (Metzinger, 2010). This perception further argues that the selfhood is a pre-reflexive nature of selfhood (Metzinger, 2000:37) and that the self is described in linguistic terms:

> I am someone: The contents of my phenomenal self-consciousness form a coherent whole: before initiating any intellectual operations, and independent of them, what we frequently just call "the self" in a folk-psychological context is the phenomenal self: the content of self-consciousness, as given in subjective experience. We are therefore confronted with a higher-order phenomenal property that is constituted by different and constantly changing types of phenomenal content.

This philosophical perception defines the self as a result of the self-conscious and subjective experience of the self. In Chapter 3, the argument in relation to subjectivity was that it is fluid and complex in nature and largely influenced by the constantly changing social environment (Weedon, 1987). Weedon argues further that the subjective identity construction of the self is a process that is both conscious and unconscious. As a result some identities are internalised over time through socialisation so that people believe that they were born with them. One such example is the way the attributes of man and woman are defined, with emphasis that people come to be identified as such through socially ascribed roles which shape them as man or woman. But, in spite of these socially constructed aspects of identity, individuals also construct inner identities according to their experiences and particular contexts. In the herders'

case, these inner identities often contradicted their negative public images. Their inner identities are described here as the inner sense of self and sub-divided into learning to do, resilience and wisdom.

7.1   INNER SENSE OF SELF

Literature defines the self through the 'I' which is the individual perception of the self which is reached through a dialogue that the self engages in with the larger society (see Tennant, 2012; Keba, 2010 in Chapter 3). Keba further discusses the multi-layered nature of identity construction where the perceptions of the self are influenced by the attributes and values that an individual holds about the self (see Chapter 3). However, other literature indicates that the identity theorists have not come to an agreement on how to analyse people's social attributes. Some view them as identities (Burke, 1991) others as effects on identities (Thoits, 1991) or social structural features (Stryker & Serpe, 1982). The findings on the herders' sense of self revealed that the herders identified themselves based on certain social values that they held about the self.

The herders spend a lot of time on their own and have the opportunity to be introspective. From the findings, there emerged a strong sense of self-knowledge where the herders presented their identity in terms of their inner capabilities which were not known to other people. For some, their identity was defined in terms of self-care and personal hygiene. For others, their identity was defined in terms of their perseverance and determination to acquire new learning on things that mattered in their lives. For some, their identity was defined based on learning to be resilient. Others defined their identity based on their wisdom. In a nutshell, despite their negative public image, the herders were still positive and considered themselves not intellectually bankrupt.

Lekhala, a 23years old married man from the lowlands, asserted that being alone made him introspective and intimate with himself. He continued: "some people are afraid to talk to me because I do not talk too much but they do not know me inside (*ha ba ntsebe kahare)*". This

sentiment closely reflects the statement by Casey (1993) which introduces the Chapter. Lekhala presented himself as someone with a strong sensitivity and self-awareness and who knew himself very well.

However, for Ace, who equated livestock to diamonds, his self-awareness and sensitivity was concerned with self-care and personal hygiene, as a more external representation of his image. Ace did not want to offend other people by being dirty. He explained:

> I do not like being dirty, I make sure that I boil water and bathe properly at least twice a day. Some herders bathe at the streams. Hot water enables the dirt to wash off easily and it then enables the dawn [2] - to be easily smoothened into the skin. I have my own dawn, toothbrush, toothpaste, roll-on, deodorant, (so that I can 'doom' myself with it), soap and washing basin. If my cosmetics run out, I always go home for replenishment. I do not want to be a burden to other people. For instance if I go home I ask for a hike, and people do not give us hikes if we smell. I do not want people to feel uncomfortable when I am in the direction from which the wind is blowing (*kamoo moea o hlahang kateng)*. I like to walk freely from any direction. You see, some tourists often come and party next to my cattle post and sometimes they invite me to their parties and drink with me especially over the weekends. How would I feel if I was dirty or smelly? (*ketla ikutloa joang hake le litšila kapa ke nkha*?)

Watson (2008) posits that self identity is a rigorous process that takes place over time and space and that it involves the self reflection of the agent. This is highlighted in Ace's story where the issue of reflexivity on personal care and hygiene was strongly highlighted. In his case, he defined his identity socially where he was othered (Rule & John, 2008) but sought to fit in and belong (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) to the larger society. In as much as personal hygiene became one way through which the herders defined their identity, some herders defined themselves in terms of their ability to acquire new skills in life.

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[2]Dawn is a common body moisturizing lotion found in many retail stores in Lesotho and South Africa. It is famous for its scented nature and the supple effect that it leaves on the skin.

7.1.1 Learning to do

Behaviourist literature stipulates that human beings strive for five things in life: "…happiness, love, creativity, goodness and fulfilment" (Fasokun, Katahoire, & Oduaran, 2005:53). According to Fasokun et al. adults are more willing to learn if there is some form of reward system that comes with learning and if they are able to apply the new knowledge to solve an immediate need. In this argument the notion is that behaviour change takes place in response to a certain environmental pressure, and Fasokun et al. draw on Skinner's theory of reinforcement which states that reinforcement plays an important role in encouraging a change in behaviour.

Doctor, the traditional herbalist selling grass hats, narrated how he applied his problem solving skills and ability to make sound decisions by learning to weave the grass hats based on his immediate business need to meet the demands of his customers and as a result of a previous disappointment from his supplier. He highlighted that perseverance paid off as he reflected on the struggles that he went through following disappointment from his supplier:

> I got upset just for one day. The following day I decided that I was no longer going to buy the hats instead [I would] weave them. Nobody taught me I just did it. At first the path was not easy. My hats were crooked (*li solophane li sothehile)*, but people bought them all the same. About the money, I learned it as I was growing up and I can bet no one can cheat me when it comes to money. I also learned from my herding experience how to knit hats using animal skins. At that time I was making them for myself. Through that experience, I make the best hats here. Mine are softer because I work on the skin (*ke fala lekoko, kele suoe*). I also ask my daughter to line them to meet the needs of my customers while some are not lined. I use the skin of the male jackal mainly (*e lekhoara ea matsatsa*). However there are times when I use the skin of a wild cat, but the male jackal skin is more beautiful (pointing at the neighbour's hats) come and look at my neighbour's hats, they are not as beautiful as mine (*tlo bone likatiba tsa moahisane, ha li ntle joaloka tsena tsaka).* She has used the skin of a female jackal. Surely you can see the difference. I also learned how to make the earrings from the coils that I buy from the scrap yards.

Figure 11 below shows the small-size Basotho hat. When he learned to weave Basotho hats, Doctor started with this size and sold them. He saved the profits until he was able to weave

neater and bigger hats. According to him, this hat size started his business to where it was at the time of the interview.

Figure 11: Small-sized Basotho hats woven by Doctor

Doctors' story is affirmed in the behaviourist school of psychology (Fasokun et al., 2005) by mentioning how his behaviour was shaped by both negative and positive reinforcement. Firstly, the supplier who did not deliver on time led to Doctor changing his behaviour from buying to weaving the hats by himself. Secondly, he mentioned the positive reinforcement being the increase in sales from the clients despite the poor quality of his product. In this case, reinforcement played a significant role in his learning.

On the other hand, Comrade, from the foothills and with a strong interest in snake behaviour, expressed an inner-self drive to learn new things. He was not lazy and devoted his passion to learning opportunities. Comrade indicated that he had already learned to use multiple identities as a child so that on the one hand he would conform to the behaviour expectations from his mother and on the other hand began to develop his passion for snakes:

> I gave myself time to learn the snake behaviour. When I was a small boy, I brought one [snake] into my home and kept it hidden in the wardrobe away from my mother. That is how I began learning about the snakes.

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These two stories highlight that learning played an important role in the construction of identity. They further show how self-fulfillment became a driving force in learning and identity construction. The two stories also revealed the significance of role identity where Doctor had a role of a business man which came with the expectations of customer satisfaction. In the case of Comrade he highlighted three aspects: love, creativity and fulfillment. Comrade's story also brought in the notion of role identity (Burke & Stets, 2009) where he had a social role as the child while his mother had a social role as the parent. For Comrade's love and passion to learn about snakes he devised some creative means to acquire the new learning while at the same time not disregarding the expectations of his role identity. In the end, his quest to learn about snakes was fulfilled. The constructivist's perspective of learning as outlined by Fox (2001) provides a link between identity and behaviour.

Fox (2001) claims that identity and behaviour result from previous experience. Fox argues from the constructivist perspective that learning is perceived as an active and experiential process. The herders' life histories indicated that previous experience influenced their herding role identity (Burke & Stets, 2009) and behaviour (Fasokun et al., 2005). For instance, in the case of Comrade, learning was largely by observation, although he actively interacted with the snakes and in the process learned through experience. Ultimately, Comrade saw himself as an expert on snakes.

The herding experience reinforced masculine identity where males were regarded as tough. Through the herding experience, the herders also learned how to cope with the challenges and be resilient.

7.1.2 Learning resilience

The notion of resilience as an inner identity tallied with Meks's story, the herder who was loaned to his uncles to herd in exchange for education. Meks highlighted that a difficult beginning in life can indeed influence individual identity. He presented multiple identities of being different, poor, having less status than others but also having resilience as someone who

survived through struggle. These multiple identities became enablers in building up his identity and sense of being the man he is today. Meks stated:

> I could not cope with my studies because of the level of poverty in my family, my uniform was not up to standard and it was embarrassing. My mother was sick and when I got back home, I had to assist her with some household chores and could not study the way I was expected to. I was the oldest in class and my poor performance and my age forced me to drop-out of school before writing Form C. I am indeed what the Sesotho proverb says: *mohale o tsoa maroleng* [which translates as 'a warrior comes from dust' meaning one who survives out of nothing].

This story of Meks presents how his subjective nature of multiple identities influenced how he learned to relate to the world (Weedon, 1987; Ortner, 2004). In his case the family's socio-economic status influenced the construction of his identity. He also defined the self in terms of age - "the oldest in class" - which also influenced how he identified himself as a relatively poor school performer. He further narrated how, amidst those challenges, he learned to cope and survive.

Taiwan, a secondary school graduate brought in another identity contradiction that, amidst the inhumane treatment the herders were subjected to socially, they nevertheless still retained an inner positive sense of self in spite of their acute awareness of their public image:

> I feel very proud because I have my own money that I can use to support my family. It is true that some Basotho disregard us as herders. They make us feel as though we are of lower class because we are the least paid people.

In other words, despite the socially ascribed identity, the herders self identity remained positive and contradicted the negative public identity. From these stories, the role identity stated in Burke and Stets (2009) of the herders in the different capacities of children, businessmen and providers for their families, remained strong. While herding provided the learners opportunities to learn new things in life, age was also seen to come with some wisdom which also influenced how the herders perceived themselves.

7.1.3   Learning as wisdom

In the case of Doctor, the 43 year old traditional herbalist who was older, wiser and visionary about his business prospects, he did not refer to any external images of himself as stupid or backward. Instead, he said: "I am wise" (*ke bohlale)*. Although he was not educated he nevertheless knew that he was capable of learning. He continued:

> I think I am a very intelligent man. If my father had not denied me my right to access education I think maybe I would have been far in life. Right now I use the wisdom and the intelligence that I was born with and I learn through the struggles I come across in life while the educated people rely mainly on book knowledge.

Sternberg (2001:229) posits that wisdom accumulates with age. He identifies the five "components of wisdom":

- rich factual knowledge (general and specific knowledge about the conditions of life and its variations),
- rich procedural knowledge (general and specific knowledge about strategies of judgment and advice concerning matters of life),
- life-span contextualism (knowledge about the contexts of life and their temporal [developmental] relationships),
- relativism (knowledge about differences in values, goals, and priorities), and
- uncertainty (knowledge about the relative indeterminacy and unpredictability of life and ways to manage).

In line with Sternberg's thought, Doctor's life history mentioned four components of wisdom: first, access to his own learning as the rich factual knowledge; second, procedural knowledge as the use of the intelligence he was born with to learn through the struggles he came across in life; third, knowledge about the uncertainty of possible progression in life through limited access to education; and fourth, relativism where he distinguishes between self-learning and book reference.

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In Basotho culture there is a proverb contravening this notion which discourages education acquisition at an older age (*thuto ea boholo e ea roba)*. In the proverb, old age is equated to a 'dry stick which gets broken easily' – arguing that the brain capacity deteriorates with age. However, culturally the elders are also regarded as a rich resource to tap into for problem solving in Lesotho. This cultural perspective places high regard on experience as the best teacher compared to formal education. It could be argued that Doctor, at the age of 43, had developed substantive wisdom through age and experience.

Although some scholars question the validity of self-identity (Burke, 1980; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Burke & Stets, 2009), it nevertheless has validity for the herders because it is often their only way of giving themselves a positive sense of self in the face of public discrimination. The findings suggested that the herders' identities had been influenced by many factors such as problem solving, passion to learn, resilience and wisdom which could be applied in practical ways and have immediate relevance to their lifestyles. The way in which these skills could be nurtured has implications for how NFE programmes might be developed for the herders.

Alongside these positive self-images, the herders also talked about how herding life provided its own freedoms – which had negative and positive connotations but which gave them a distinctive lifestyle and a sense of freedom.

7.2   FREEDOM TO BE

Ratcliffe (2003) argues that the way people perceive the world is subjective. In other words, individuals have their own perception of their identity based on what they think it feels like to be what they want to be:

> A conscious organism has a point of view, a subjective perspective upon the world. There is 'something it is like' to be that organism, which can never be explained away in terms of a perspectiveless view of the world: The fact that an organism has conscious experiences at all means, basically, that there is 'something it is like to *be* that organism (Racliffe, 2003:255).

Despite the potential loneliness that comes with herding, and irrespective of the environmental toughness of the cattle post setting, the herders' identity was shaped by their freedom to be away from the many Basotho norms and cultural expectations. Hence, being selfish became probably one of their common survival strategies. For Lekhala, originating from Mantšonyane in the highlands to reside in Maseru, the roughness that came with herding life could not be over-emphasised, but it also came with some positive elements. He stated:

> Life at the cattle post is very rough but you have your own freedom as well which you do not get at home. I cook the food the way I like it.

This was echoed by Ace, who regarded livestock as a 'diamond'. Figure 12 below represents Ace's kitchen. The three legged pot above, served a dual purpose. It was used both for cooking the meals 'the way Ace liked them' and also as a serving dish. The pot was suspended by a wire tied on the handle to a thick metal rod hanging a few centimetres above the ground simulating a tri foot[3]. The pot is also suspended to keep the food away from the dogs.

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[3] A tri foot is a triangular shaped three legged metal tool placed on the fire, in the traditional fire place before placing the three legged pot. Its purpose is to save fuel by ensuring that the heat is evenly distributed around the pot. It usually comes with different sizes based on the pot size.

Figure 12: The three legged pot in Ace's house

Comrade, who was interested in snake behaviour, raised an interesting set of contradictions for his identity. While being a herder meant freedom from the rules and independence from others, it also came with not knowing the social rules that would enable him to relate to others. But he was aware of this. He continued:

> There are times when I felt that the cattle post life gave me the freedom that I wanted because I was my own boss. On the other hand, the life here does not build our capacity to have future plans because we are unable to distinguish right from wrong.

Ace, a bachelor, expressed his level of content and the love he had for his cattle post (*motebo*) so much that going home for him was not something he looked forward to with keenness. He explained:

> But here, I am happy, so much that I miss the cattle post life when I am at home. As they say somebody else's house is not as hospitable as your own (*ntlo ea motho e mong ha ena boroko*.) I have even made myself a bed to sleep comfortably, the luxury which I do not get at home.

The bed in Figure 13 below was different from the others I had seen. It had a frame which was made of pine poles. It was higher above the ground, to the height and size of a normal ¾ bed size. The sleeping area was made of firm sticks covered with twigs and sheep skin. The bed was firm enough to sit on. Unlike in other cattle posts where the beds were flat and left uncovered during the day, this one was covered by some blankets and was ready for the owner to sleep on.

Figure 13: A picture Ace's of cattle post bed

Ducks, the 36 year old adult who had opted out of school, expressed his freedom in terms of escaping formal education and its associated morning rituals. His story suggested that for him "education is indeed a lifelong gift one gives to oneself" (Bala, 2007:1). Despite running away from school to avoid formal learning, Ducks had some other learning interest he voluntarily pursued. He explained:

> The reason is that, I hated this thing of having to be told to wake up early in the morning and bathe so that I could go to school. When I was told to wake up and bathe (giggling) it felt like a '*story*' (*kene ke utloa ele)* [story is common slang amongst the Basotho males meaning something I cannot stand or does not make sense]… my parents asked me if I did not like attending school and I said yes [I did not like it]. My parents then forced me to look after the animals and my things to do with education disappeared from there (*lintho*

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tsaka tsa 'nyamella hona moo ka sekolo) [Slang meaning that was the end of my educational journey].

The story of Ducks revealed a role identity through his social position of a child in the story. Burke and Stets (2009) argue that there are two extremes of role identity: one where an agent strictly adheres to the behaviours that come with the role and the other where the agent chooses to deviate from the expected behaviours. While Ducks was expected to conform to the 'routine' that came with formal education, he chose to opt out and deviated from the norm. Fasokun et al. (2005) argue that conditioning can reinforce learning to take place. However, Ducks highlighted how the daily rituals that came with the formal education became an imposition with little room for 'free will'. While the literature links the free will concept to adult learning (Fasokun et al., 2005), Duck's story illustrated that the concept can reinforce how children learn as well.

Despite the loneliness that comes with herding, the herders have the freedom during the day to socialise through games that they play together as a coping mechanism to overcome the boredom. This was evidenced in T-man's life history, currently in high school. For him, much of their identity as herders was constructed through these games. He elaborated:

> Herding is indeed lonely but there are other things that we do as herders during the day. For instance we play traditional games such as "Basotho chess, mock stick fights and hunting the rats (*morabaraba[4], ho kalla[5]* and *ho khoasa litali[6])* we talk about the animals, we also sing to prepare for the concerts[7] because at least during the concerts we are able to

[4]Moraba-raba is African chess.

[5]Ho kalla is the mock stick fight which the boys are trained in both as a game but also to build their self-defence skills.

[6] Ho khoasa litali means chasing the rats and usually roast them over the fire for meat.

[7]The concerts are some community-organised activities with the intention of raising income and also to facilitate socialisation amongst the community members. There is usually an entrance fee coupled with money to 'buy' some competitors either to repeat songs or do other activities as may be stated by the buyer.

meet with other people and we can also propose love to the 'girls' who would have attended the concerts.

These herder perspectives on freedoms reflect the masculinity identity discussed in Chapter 3 with emphasis on the social construction of the gender roles and power (Levant, 2011; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Morojele, 2009; 2011a). The herding life gave them a sense of independence and freedom to do what they wanted, the way they wanted to be without being subjected to rules and regulations. It also highlights many aspects of herder identity. Firstly, these perspectives reveal the herders as a rich resource for indigenous entertainment skills, as a form of socialisation amongst the herders, which keeps them together. Secondly, the perspectives reflect masculine identity as denoted in the literature, through learning how to fight (Carton & Morrell, 2012, as mentioned in Chapter 6), as entertainment and for self-defence among the herders. Thirdly, there is a need to establish social relationships with the 'girls' as mentioned earlier in Chapter 2 (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005) which seemed a common feature among the boys.

A core bonding feature of the herding life was the way in which the herders developed their own inner social capital networks.

7.3 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Chapter 3 discussed the theoretical approaches to different forms of capital. Social capital is particularly relevant to the herders' life histories because it focuses on how networks and trusting relationships function. Bourdieu's (1985) definition of social capital highlights that social capital networks constitute interdependence and mutuality, whereby members support each other. The herders' stories indicated that there were bonding and bridging social capital networks as articulated by Ferlander (2007) and Thomas (2002), and the herders followed their own social norms. A number of significant others were also a source of trust and nurturing.

7.3.1 Bonding social capital

According to Ferlander (2007), bonding social capital is essential in relationships for providing support in daily life. This bonding is activated by a sense of which members possess specific qualities that appeal to an individual within a society. Ashforth and Mael (1989) argue that social identity is based on how groups identify themselves. It is defined both from individual and collective perspectives. This bonding social capital of the herders reflected the widely shared social beliefs among them and what they represented, including how their behaviour contributed to their overall collective identity. The individual perspective for identity focuses on how the self compares to others internally and externally in a group setting. This self comparison takes its leverage from the past experiences of the self with others (Lappegard, 2007; Brown, 2000).

For Linakeng 7, skilled in playing *lesiba*, the need to stay connected with other herders was crucial and impacted on his identity. For him, it was essential to fit in with other herders rather than with the rest of the population. This need for bonding even overrode more individualised internal characteristics and local personality clashes. He elaborated:

> I learnt to socialise because you are out there all by yourself and I had to become a member of the group (*hoba karolo ea sehlopha)* this helps because whenever one of us is in trouble, the other herders come to assist. Even if I am an enemy of another herder, when an outsider comes to fight us we forget our fight and join forces to beat the outsider (*rea molikanela)*.

The importance of bonding was also demonstrated in the life history of Semonkong 3, born out of wedlock and raised by his uncle, where the close relationships and trust with other herders helped him to overcome the loneliness that came with life at the cattle post but which made it difficult to establish other forms of external relationships. According to Semonkong 3 this resulted in the herders establishing their own social groups amongst themselves. He continued:

> Here, our friends are other herders and our dogs.…In the morning I look for my neighbours to ensure that they are still fine and nothing has happened to them overnight …

> Here we feel like we are a family and this creates a sense of belonging … When I get to the veld, I look for other herders so that we can look after the animals together. This makes it easier for us to keep taking turns to collect the animals when they go astray.

From the story above, Semonkong 3 provided a powerful description of the social identity that comes from being a herder and how bonding social capital featured as a key driver of that identity. For him, social support and caring for one another were important aspects of herding life that reinforced a sense of belonging.

Thomas (2002) talks about the sense of belonging that comes with social capital; while other scholars also perceive social capital as a social glue binding societies together (for example Morrice, 2007; Ferlander, 2007; Thomas, 2002; Hasinoff & Manzuk, 2005). Social capital is also defined in terms of networks and trust. These two aspects were very important for the herders because through these networks they were able to learn from each other.

Linakeng 6, whose father left their mother for another woman in Maseru, argued for the existence of a strong sense of, and need for, social support between the herders. Similar to Semonkong 3, for him the need to rely on each other came out very clearly, so that, according to him, they effectively had their own culture as herders, and their own land, metaphorically, that they shared in a unique way:

> Upon arrival in the veld, I look around for my colleagues and then go to them. If our phones are down we identify one of us to take them for charging to be ready in cases of any emergency that may happen and I call the other herders from that hill over there (*ke hloella leralleng lane ho hoelehetsa balisana ba bang)*. That hill is our meeting place. Once we are together we play African chess (*moraba-raba)*. We also make friends among ourselves and look after each other. No one can come here and harm any one of us while we watch: We can kill him (*re ka 'molaea)*.

Chapter 6 presented the negative public image of the herders. In contrast, the herders had a positive private perception of themselves as caring and responsible individuals where looking after the other as a member of the group became crucial. Portes (1998:8) refers to Marx's industrial theory which analyses the "emergent class consciousness" in which individuals who work together support each other. Marx's theory seems applicable to the herders' situation

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where by virtue of herding together, they learn to identify with each other and support each other's initiatives as a herder community.

As herders, according to Linakeng 6, they have a shared identity encapsulated in the activities which they performed together. This was echoed by Ace who regarded animals as 'diamonds' during the transect walk and who contrasted the way herders see themselves with how outsiders see them. He continued:

> It is really a matter of the herders' choice as to where he would like to take his animals, based on where many would have gone that day because it can become very lonely here to look after the animals alone. So we always look for other herders to socialise and chat with.

The findings highlighted how the closeness of their bonding social capital was also exclusive (Morrice, 2007; Ferlander, 2007) in that they became a separate community - which could adversely impact on their education. Linakeng 6 emphasised their need for education but in a way that would not destroy their shared identity or collective lifestyle.

Morrice, (2007:162) argues that, the advantages of the closeness that equates with bonding social capital as a form of support also pose a challenge of exclusion:

> The close ties associated with bonding social capital favour informal learning within the immediate group, but they also limit access to skills and information that are not readily available within the group.

For the herders, this challenge was doubly difficult because the skills and learning within the immediate group were not incorporated into the formal or non-formal curriculum. So they had limited access to new skills and information and the skills that they did have were under-valued. Social capital can also include heterogeneous networking relationships. These relationships extend beyond the close and intimate ties that come with bonding social capital.

7.3.2 Bridging social capital

The findings of my study also reflected the wider social capital networks that existed among the herders, through business links such as informal agreements to access property, and also links to Basotho society. These bridging networks underpinned much of the community life and livelihoods of Basotho herders when they were not in the veld. There were different ways in which bridging capital operated.

Ducks, who opted out of school and ended up herding for his maternal family, used his existing social connections and interrelationships to expand his set of skills through learning from other members of the community, and later applied the acquired skills to meet his immediate basic need. He elaborated:

> But I was also interested to do some vocational activities to generate additional income. So I ventured into building houses. I was taught by a local community member who said this thing is done like this and like this. Then I decided to build my own house in order to put the theory into practice to be able to verify that the skills that I had been taught were actually working. My reason was that if I failed, I should fail with my own house before committing myself to other people. Then my sister's husband came and said: let us work together my brother. We started at his place and built a house and from that house we said: oh so these are our mistakes.

This is another example of experiential learning by doing which is a common feature of learning amongst the herders as exemplified above (and talked about in Lekoko & Modise, 2011). But in addition, Ducks used bridging social capital for skill building. In his case there was an indication of a two-way skills sharing. Firstly, he learned from a community member. Secondly, Ducks taught his brother-in-law. Scholars comment on the ability of bridging social capital to extend networks in just this manner (for example Morrice, 2007; Ferlander, 2007; Thomas, 2002).

Meks, brought up by the uncles in exchange for education, drew on a traditional form of social capital in African society which the herders are not immune to:

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Now I have my own livestock as you can see and they are well fed. Soon my uncle will be assisted by me to meet his livelihood needs.

In Mek's story family connections required one to look after the extended family. This was an indication that people belonged to different social capital networks. This story indicates an example of norm-referenced social capital which is about "predisposing people to mutually beneficial collective action" (Thomas, 2002:118).

There were examples of how trust was a key feature of bridging social capital. Doctor, an illiterate traditional herbalist, explicitly referred to his educational limitations in his story. However, he valued the importance of having other people around, whom he knew and he acknowledged the input they made into his business. His story further reflected the value which social capital added to his business through the network of trust that he had built up and tapped into, and which ensured that he did not cheat on his clients. He stated:

I want my clients to consult the traditional healers first for diagnosis and then come to me for treatment. I have all the different herbs to cure most diseases and problems. [He pointed out that some of the herbs need to be crushed before giving to the clients whereby he uses the traditional grinding stone in figure 14 below which is one of his key tools as a traditional herbalist.]

Figure 14: Doctor's grinding stone with freshly ground herbs

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> I must admit that there are clients that have come to me with problems that I did not know how to deal with. In cases like that, I have some traditional healers with whom I consult for experience sharing (*rea thakelana*). There is a common saying that (*tšoeu ha li tsoane empa ntšo lia tsoana*) [which translates that whites do not turn against each other while blacks turn against each other]. I tend to refute that statement because if it was like that, the traditional healers would not have come to my assistance when I needed them.

There is a common Sesotho proverb which says *matsoho a ea hlatsoana* which means the hands wash each other, and *khalapa lia buseletsana,* meaning a helper receives favour from the one who was helped before. What these proverbs mean is that one returns the favour to the same person who was there in their time of need. It also reflects the strong social capital relations that promote external reciprocity in Basotho society. Some of the scholars refer to this form of networking in their studies (for example Thomas, 2002; Ferlander, 2007; Morrice, 2007).

Linakaneng 2, a former security guard, also emphasised the importance of establishing networks and trusting relationships with the people around them as a way of making the herders' lives easier, especially in the remote cattle posts. For him, they have networked with those responsible for the cell phone towers, perhaps reflecting linking, as an extension of bridging, social capital:

> However, we are able to use the solar panels to charge our phones and be able to continue communicating back home. We have a social contract with the tower people that we do not vandalise the property and in return they have allowed us to charge our phones free of charge from the towers.

In the case of Linakaneng 2, bridging and linking social capital were not about establishing relationships among the herders only. It was also about expanding the network outside the herding communities with other distant networks to help the herders to draw upon the externally existing resources which Morrice (2007), Thomas (2002) and Ferlander (2007) refer to as 'getting by' which refers to; needing the right selection of people to establish

networks which can become an important resource to draw on at a later stage. Morrice (2007:162) continues:

> ...it's not what you know it's who you know. This suggests that stocks of the right type of social capital can then be more significant and useful ….

Behavioural norms within these networks of trust and reciprocity have also been identified as a strong element of social capital. They are discussed separately in the following section because norms can have negative as well as positive consequences.

7.3.3 Norms of social capital

Scholars who have studied African perspectives for living and learning, highlight that, one of the common features of being part of traditional African society is having a strong sense of collectiveness where members share commonly established norms (Odora Hoopers, 2013; Ferlander, 2007). Kilpatrick, Field, and Falk (2001:4) define social capital through the collective benefit lens as "the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively". This notion of collectiveness forms a strong binding feature of how Africans see themselves (Lekoko & Modise, 2011). But the UNDP (2014), for example, has cautioned that such norms can also be exclusionary as well as embracing.

Norms are defined as "social sanctions or rewards" (UNDP, 2014:104). This means one can be subjected to these norms as part of the reward systems or pressure for conformity. Odora Hoppers (2013) argues that values form the baseline for defining norms, based on what is considered appropriate. She further argues that both values and norms are not static. She continues:

> In its substantive form, 'values' refers to the beliefs of a person or social group in which they have an emotional investment, i.e., it is the principles of right and wrong that are accepted by an individual or a social group. Norms are formalised out of what are considered as appropriate values. Neither the values nor the norms that emerge are static. They shift, relative to pressures brought to bear at different points in a society's evolution. Power relations play a great role in determining the level of impact a group pushing for

new directions makes on the common values a society possesses, and on the existing value hierarchy that obtains (Odora Hoopers, 2013:60).

The issues that this definition brings to the fore are that values are socially constructed and have a value in defining what is wrong or right among the group members. They are also dynamic and change with time, based on social pressures and the power relationships. This explanation means that the herders were not immune from social changes. The findings also revealed that the herders' norms varied, depending on the purpose which they were intended to serve, and power played a role in informing the needed changes in the herding community.

These norms were context specific and binding for the herders. There were norms which fostered positive behaviour amongst the herders while other norms were negative. This section first identifies the positive outcomes of the herder norms which focus on protection, looking after each other, loyalty, and sharing.

Protection

Protection among the herders was an important element, partly because of the nature of the environment under which the herders serve, and also possibly due to the public image of the herders, which could have caused the lack of trust towards outsiders. It is also worth mentioning that, the leadership was arranged in a hierarchy under '*Mampoli* who, among other concerns, was responsible for protecting the herders. Ratau (1988:42) highlights the protector role of '*Mampoli* as follows: "When things are in such dangerous situations *(ha litaba lile boemong boo bo kotsi joalo)…* the stronger herder, also the leader *('Mampoli)* with his warriors, protects the younger and vulnerable herders".

Comrade, a 30 year old with a strong passion for snakes, elaborated on how the herder hierarchy served the role of protection and was used for safety purposes. He stated:

> Also, here we have a norm which is being passed on from one generation to the other. When the animals are not too far, that is when they are in a place where they can be visible, the young ones collect them when they go astray. Once they are at a place where there are not easily visible, the older ones take the responsibility to collect them so that, if

there is a potential danger, then they can fight and protect the younger ones (*ele hore ha mathata a le teng ba tsebe ho loana ba sireletse ba banyane).*

According to Comrade, the protection role was a norm that each generation of herders learnt in order to look after each other in times of danger. He further stated that the division of roles among the herders included looking after each other. The protector role among the males in Lesotho was also stated in Chapter 6 as one of the determinants of the public perception of masculinity. This role is so significant that the males learn it from a very tender age (Morojele, 2009).

This role was also recognised by Linakeng 6, the 28 year old single male whose father left their mother to marry someone in Maseru. He related the support he received when he narrowly escaped death, following an attack by thieves at his cattle post:

> (Shaking his head sadly) one day the thieves came to my cattle post at night. They were heavily armed with big guns (*lithunya tse kholo).* They entered [my] cattle post and tied my feet and then tied my hands … Fortunately one of the herders was on his way to visit me and heard the noise that they were making. He then phoned the others who also came to my rescue by shooting.

This story highlighted how stock-theft is one of the challenges faced by the herders and which can have potentially fatal outcomes. The story also demonstrated the close bonding ties that the herders had as resources to tap into in time of need (Ferlander, 2007; Thomas, 2002). The story demonstrated, too, how the bigger herding network became a positive source of power for protecting individual herders (Portes, 1998).

Looking after each other

The importance of power as a collective resource in bigger social networks was also highlighted by Semonkong 1 who sold medicinal traditional herbs. For this herder, one of the herder norms was to look after each other in times of illness. He explained: "If it is something serious, we call the other herders for help or tell the livestock owner." This notion of collective power is explained in the Sesotho proverb: *Letšoele le beta poho,* meaning many

people can overpower a bull. In this situation, the bull refers to the illness, where herders were often seen as better equipped than outsiders at taking care of their sick colleague. This emphasis on caring for each other, once more, reflects the collective nature of traditional African culture (Lekoko & Modise, 2011), although, of course it is arguably a feature of most societies to a greater or lesser extent.

In the introduction to this sub-section of the norms of social capital, Kilpatrick et al. (2001) highlighted one of the values of norms as facilitating collective action while UNDP (2014) describes norms as a reward system that can be either positive or negative for the members. The implication here is that norms are a binding loyalty mechanism for the herders.

Loyalty and secrecy

An internal code of law and order was an essential component of the herders' norms. These social rules and norms were initiated by the herders, to guide them as a society and they could not be violated. One such unwritten code of herder behaviour towards each other was loyalty. No herder was allowed to steal from another herder or talk about what happened while herding. There is a Sesotho proverb saying a man conceals his limp (*monna o pata sehlotsa)* which means the herders are socialised to be secretive. Ratau (1988:41) confirms this: "What happens while herding remains there" *(ha ho qoqoe ka tse etsahalang koana naheng*)".

Linakaneng 2, the former security guard, and T-man, the 22 year old highlands bachelor who was currently doing Form D, both stated that one of the challenges that the herders experienced in their herding job was stock theft. Linakaneng 2 stated: "Sometimes the animals get stolen by other herders for meat and will never be found". T-man echoed: "There are times when we see a lost sheep and if it does not belong to any of the neighbouring cattle posts we slaughter it for meat". However, the herders had a code of practice against stealing from each other. T-man, stated this code of practice as follows:

> We don't slaughter our neighbours' lost animals. To prevent this we learn each other's ear marks and know them by heart to prevent stealing from our neighbours.

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A code of practice that the herders had to abide by was 'secrecy'. The findings discovered that the injuries sustained while herding were kept among the herders. Semonkong 3, born out of wedlock, explained: "If one gets injured during the fights, the injuries are not supposed to be reported no matter how serious they may be". Such codes of practice also played a role in developing the masculine image of a Mosotho man not to show emotions, to the extent that any experiences of bullying from the other herders must be hidden from the family. Masda, the 27 year old, who was raised by a Step-mother, elaborated how the injury was concealed. He continued:

> As a boy, if you come home beaten by other boys, you do not report to the parents because you will be considered as weak. Instead, we apply soil to the bleeding wound to stop the blood until the wound heals. During this time, a boy would either cover his head with a blanket or wear a woollen hat until the wound has healed. If for some reason, the parents catch you before the healing, you have to come up with a lie as to how you got injured.

Morojele (2011b) presents the penalties and punishment imposed on those males who deviated from the loyalty and/or secrecy norm. He explains:

> Boys who could not attain hegemonic masculinities were often ridiculed and embarrassed as if to suggest that alternative forms of masculinities were not authentic attributes of boys (Morojele, 2011b:682).

These quotes demonstrated that the herders were not just employees. They had a sense of belonging as members of a herding family. This supportive perspective, referred to earlier on, where workers doing the same job support each other, is also expressed in the literature by Portes (1998). It is arguably a strength that could be developed in educational contexts and which can be related to the herders' inner sense of resilience as a motivational force for learning. But, if taken to the extreme, it has the potential to have a negative impact on the herders, as exemplified by Morojele (2009). Herding also comes with a sense of *botho*, meaning caring and sharing in Basotho culture, equivalent to the isiZulu word *ubuntu* in South Africa (Caraccido & Mungai, 2009). One of the herders' coping mechanisms against the harshness that comes with herding was to share food.

Sharing among herders

The African sense of the collective is often discussed in the literature (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Merriam & Ntseane, 2008; Carson, 2009). Because of this sense, sharing becomes a social practice and it is a norm embedded in Basotho culture. Sharing seemed to be an important feature of the herding job which was common across the three geographical regions. The herders mostly shared food in the form of relish or meat. Ducks, who opted out of school and was raised by the grandfather, stated: "Here we do not let another herder eat *papa* without relish. We always share the little that we have". 'Matšooana and Semonkong 1 echoed that: "If a sheep died and the owner gave it to me to eat, I cook and then call the neighbours and we eat together. I can even give them pieces to cook for themselves". During the transect walk conducted in the lowlands, Matukeng, an ex-mineworker from the lowlands identified sharing as one of the important aspects of the herders' social identity. He continued: "When we have money, we usually buy the breast of a cow for R5.00 and braai it here and then eat together".

This was echoed by the LANFE provider in that, the sharing aspect extends beyond the herding community into the larger African society where caring for one another would include sharing, and the size or quantity of what was being shared did not matter. Hence, the common Sesotho proverbs: *sejo senyane hase fete molomo* and *bana ba monna ba arolelana hloohoana ea tsie.* These proverbs imply that everything has to be shared no matter how small it may be. However in some cases this means sharing can also be taken as dividing what you have but not necessarily equally. The LANFE provider continued:

> When I was growing up I used to steal *papa* from home in larger quantities, to be able to feed the larger herder community, because, if you bring a smaller portion of *papa*, the older herders may not include you when sharing it amongst the rest of the herders. In the veld we had the elder ones who would share and distribute the available resources and that does not necessarily mean they would make you fill your stomach instead they normally give each herder a smaller piece to pretend as if you have actually eaten. The older ones always get the bigger share.

Literature claims that amongst Basotho, sharing is an age-old, indigenous social protection system which is defined as: "all initiatives that (1) provide income (cash) or consumption

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(food) transfers to poor people; (2) protect vulnerable people against livelihood risks; (3) enhance the social status and rights of socially excluded and marginalised people" (Turner, 2009:38).

In other words, social protection is a deeply rooted tradition which is passed on from one generation to the other (Odora Hoppers, 2002; Akullo et al., 2007). Turner (2009:39) identifies "*tšimo ea lira*, a field managed by the chief to produce a grain reserve for the needy" as another system which Basotho used for sharing; while Wells (1994:24) identifies the "*mafisa*" system where the chief loans cattle to his less fortunate community members. However, with Western developments which were introduced in part by the missionaries (Gill, 1993), the strength of these social systems at a national level has weakened (Turner, 2009). However, the herders still uphold the cultural components of these systems, although the older and powerful herders were the ones who would dominate the food sharing amongst the other herders.

Power and dominance

As stated by Weedon (1987) power is a dynamic and contextual relationship which can function as a mechanism of control or manipulation depending on the context. Melber (2014) has also suggested that power can be destructive. Based on their social and dynamic nature, the herder norms can also facilitate power relations, where they can either instil law and order through leadership and hierarchy or be oppressive. In the close knit herding community, norms such as hierarchy were prominent. This hierarchy could be both oppressive and protective. Semonkong 3, born out of the wedlock, described the herder hierarchy. He continued:

> Herders have someone called *'Mampoli*. This would be an older herder who is able to command authority amongst the younger ones. During the day, he can pick on any herder and send him to go and steal for him.

Power and dominance among the herders manifested itself through command and authority over the weaker members. It also manifested as control so that the weaker ones were obliged to steal for the stronger herders.

This experience was echoed by Semonkong 4, who aspired to marry a white woman. He continued:

> The herders also have a boss called *'Mampoli*. This is an older herder and by virtue of his age, he takes an advantage over the smaller ones, and also enjoys sending them around to carry out some chores to satisfy his needs. As a younger herder you are obliged to follow his instructions to the dot.

In as much as the herder hierarchy seemed to exist in the three regions, the *'Mampoli* concept stood out for Semonkong 4. Power and dominance also came in the form of taking advantage. The negative repercussions that come with non-compliance have a strong impact on the males. They therefore have to oblige as an expression of manhood (Morojele, 2009, 2011b; Mncwango & Luvuno, 2015). The implication in the herders' stories was that power was learned and manifested through the herder hierarchy. Morojele (2009) talks about how the socialisation process impacts on the male behaviour in formal education settings, which once more, has implications for how such power relations might be addressed in NFE settings.

The literature on social capital and African identity discussed how many people take responsibility for raising a child. For instance, in Cameroon, a child belongs to the parent alone only before birth. After birth the upbringing of that child, the successes and challenges become communally owned (Nyamnjoh, 2002). Lekoko and Modise (2011) also opine on the collectiveness of the African culture. The significant other as part of that style of upbringing played an important role in shaping the herders' identity.

7.4 SIGNIFICANT OTHER

"I am because we are, and therefore, we are because I am." (Carson, 2009:327)

Many scholars discuss the unique collective identity existing among Africans. This collective identity extends beyond the self to cover the spiritual interconnectedness and the communal existence of the self (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Merriam & Ntseane, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2010; Carson, 2009). Yuval-Davis (2010:267) further argues that, the collective identity brings a sense of "order and meaning". For some scholars, this collective identity brings a sense of cooperation amongst African societies (Kumah-Abiwu & Ochwa-Echel, 2013). The argument is that, the self does not exist independently, but is viewed as contributing to a collective effort of the larger society.

Carson (2009) posits that, in the African culture, collectivism is the form of social capital that reciprocates both homogenously and heterogeneously to those around, and that the result of its effect is demonstrated in how Africans care for each other. Carson continues:

> Collectivism has also been found to sustain the family structure, which includes the nuclear family, extended family and … fictive kin, or those who are not biologically related but are considered part of the family (Carson, 2009:330).

Within any collective community, there will be people who stand out as having played a significant role in the upbringing of any individual. Significant others help people to build up their positive identity, in some cases, also help in establishing external networks. This was evidenced in the stories narrated by the herders below, where the significant others came in the form of a family member, friends, employers and, for others, spiritual connections through late family members.

A family member

Doctor, the 43 year old traditional herbalist, awarded special credit to his parents for shaping his life and moulding him to become a successful man. His story was quite challenging considering how he had earlier lamented that his father denied him 'his basic right' to education. Nevertheless he later congratulated his parents. He continued:

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My parents have been very instrumental to how I ended up being the man I am today because they taught me how to conduct my life by rearing animals (*ke lekana ke etse joang ho iphelisa ka liphoofolo)*. Right now I own 40 sheep and 60 goats back home.

Doctor talked about the role played by his parents in making him the man he currently was. In other words, it was the close family ties (Ferlander, 2007; Morrice, 2007) that took him to where he was in life.

The role of collective upbringing was demonstrated in Mek's case where his uncle was the significant other. Meks, who was loaned to his uncle, stated: "I am where I am because of him (*ke mona moo ke leng teng ka lebaka la hae)".* Meks claimed his success in life was due to the support that he had received from his uncle and felt an obligation to return the favour.

Masda, who was raised by his step-mother, recognised the consistent support that he received from his biological mother in the form of bonding social capital (stated in Thomas, 2002; Ferlander, 2007; Morrice, 2007). The biological mother became a life coach and a resource mobiliser which ended up shaping Masda into the man he was, and she played both mentorship and caretaking roles at different stages of her son's life. He stated:

I am very grateful because my mother encouraged me to seek means of having my own livestock. Also from time to time, I sit down with her for guidance on challenging life issues such as when I wanted to go for initiation and when I wanted to get married. When I decided to get married, she consulted my uncles – her brothers and they paid for my *lobola*. She is my role model. She taught me that, as a boy, I have to be resilient.

Bonding social capital is characterised by strong ties to people with homogenous characteristics such as "family members" (Morrice, 2007:162). The stories of the herders above highlight the important role played by the family members at different stages in life as teachers about life, shaping their identity to be someone different and providing guidance in life matters. While bonding social capital is about the collectively shared norms, linking social capital is about establishing a wider resource of networks.

A friend

Lekhala signified the importance of mentorship through a significant other, from whom he personally benefitted in learning the basics of the livestock trade. For him, what had really influenced his business skills was the constant follow up checks, provided by his homeboy friend. He stated:

> But the person who introduced me to the business is Sephali. He taught me that I should always make sure that I use my profit wisely and that for each sale I have to buy my own livestock to have something to fall back on in difficult times. He also introduced me to the sellers and taught me how to negotiate prices.

The mentorship that Lekhala received from Sephali was also evidenced in the photovoice clip which Lekhala presented. In the discussion he mentioned that the bull in Figure 15 below was one of his best breed and was sold to the highest bidder, one of the butcheries in Maseru, for R8000.00.

Figure 15: Lekhala's sold bull

Comrade from the highlands, with a strong background of understanding snakes, ascribed his success as a herder to an elder in the community who became a friend for his mentorship experience. He continued:

> The person who has really played a significant role in my life is *Ntate* Mak'hele. (*Ntate Mak'hele o nthusitse haholo bophelong baka. Ke eena ea ntataisitseng, a nthuta hore na ke tsamaise bophelo joang)*. He has been my educator on how to cope in life, and he has

also been my mentor. He keeps checking up on me to find out how I am doing and I really
value his support to me as a person.

In this case, the significant other became an educator and a mentor by establishing close ties
with Comrade.

Employer

Hawkins and Maurer (2010) describe linking social capital as an important part of bridging
social capital which deals with establishing relationships at institutional level. The important
role played by linking social capital is that it connects individuals to powerful structures
within the institutions. Linking social capital, as an important extension of bridging social
capital, is more extensive than bonding and bridging social capital. But nevertheless it serves a
distinctive role for helping people 'get on' and it does have implications for NFE.

Gift, whose employer had been instrumental in providing mentorship on animal husbandry,
felt empowered, as a result, to venture into owning an improved breed of livestock. He stated
that, after sharing his ambition with his employer of owning an improved livestock breed, the
employer applied linking social capital principles (Ferlander, 2007; Thomas, 2002; Hawkins
& Maurer, 2010). The employer used the connections that he had to assist Gift with access to
information sharing, knowledge and resources. This networking became a strong source of
power for Gift:

> Right now he is also grooming me to be a better livestock owner. During the times when I
> am working at his home, he introduced me to the livestock office and gave me an
> opportunity to ask about the potential challenges of engaging in livestock farming. He also
> allowed me to attend one community gathering that was organised by the livestock office,
> where I learned a great deal on strategies to apply, to ensure that my wool is of good
> quality, and the medications that they supply to keep the sheep healthy. What I liked was
> the ram pill which they said is given to a good quality ram to give it extra power during
> reproduction, to ensure that it can mate as many ewes as possible. They also talked about
> the common diseases that attack sheep such as gall, common cold, scabies and lung
> infection. Since that public gathering, I have been buying the ram pill and my livestock
> seems to be improving. Also, I no longer allow my ewes to mate with poor breeds
> (*lihlaahlane)* to maintain the high quality of my flock.

Gift's story distinguishes linking capital from other forms of social capital in that, it seemed to have less to do with social norms but, more to do with 'who you know' and access to wider forms of knowledge. In his case, he was able to access the western ram pill, which is not a form of Indigenous Knowledge, to improve his livestock.

Similarly, Linakaneng 2 the former security guard, explained how his former boss helped in establishing a business (Ferlander, 2007; Thomas, 2002). He continued:

> Among the people who have shaped my life today is one of my former bosses in *Ha Lesiamo* in *Leribe*. This boss introduced me to the livestock selling business where I buy animals from other owners and which I take to Maseru and sell . I have also managed to establish my own cattle post from the profits that I got from the business.

Much of the networks that were established by the herders through linking social capital were mainly business related where, the significant other linked the herder to other external networks, as a resource to tap into, and improve their business. For some, the significant other, through his external resources, was able to provide information on livestock rearing to the herder.

Another form of significant other that was mentioned by the herders was the late family members. This form of social capital network is not mentioned in the literature. Yet, for the herders, and as a reflection of many African notions of the collective (Preece, 2009; Ntseane, 2011), it was an important linking resource.

Late family members

This section presents stories of two mature adults who credited their late family members as being their significant other. They further stated how they maintained these relationships through divine and cultural ways. Tisdell (2010) and Merriam and Ntseane (2008) discuss the divine nature of spirituality and the metaphysical experience of being spiritual. Ntseane (2011) argues how the connection between the living and the dead through spirituality defines the

African culture. She refers to how the totems – the sacred animals used in the "Afrocentric paradigm" help in defining and influencing learning (Ntseane, 2011:312).

Spirituality is one of the values of the African culture which entails among others, "a sense of obligation to the community and encapsulated in spiritual obligation to one's ancestors" (Merriam & Ntseane, 2008:187). In other words, the connection between the sacred spirits, can inform actions that can be undertaken to appease the ancestors, as a way of maintaining the spiritual relationship with the ancestors in exchange for favour and protection from them.

Matelile, a widowed ex-miner, identified his late wife as his mentor. For him, he maintained the relationship by vising his wife's grave. Matelile continued:

> She never judged me but supported me even when I was unemployed. (*pausing a bit, shakes his head slowly and sadly,…then continues*) … However, whenever I go home, I take that opportunity to visit her grave and talk to her. I also make sure that her grave is always clean.

This story illustrated the belief which Matelile had in the existence of the divine spirit, (Tisdell, 2010) and the metaphysical powers (Merriam & Ntseane, 2008). For him, despite his wife being dead, he believed that, in the world not seen by the naked eye, she was still alive and able to communicate with him in a spiritual way.

In the case of Matukeng, one of the ex-mine workers, the same aspect of spirituality was expressed, where his late mother was seen as a mentor. He believed he was protected by his late mother's spirit. Matukeng stated that he held an annual ceremony in honour of his mother:

> My mother has been more like a mentor to me because she always made sure that I was on the right track and I lived by her principles. Every year around Christmas, I make sure that I do a ceremony back home to appease the ancestors. I believe that her spirit is alive and she is always guiding and protecting me wherever I go. This ceremony is done particularly in honour of her life.

Fasokun et al. (2005) identify spirituality as one of the African belief systems which attached high importance to the ancestors. The two stories above highlighted the important roles that

the dead relatives played for the herders both before and after death as supporters and mentors. From these stories, there is a strong demonstration of the herders' belief in the supernatural powers of the dead which came in different forms such as protection. They also emphasised the need to maintain the relationships with these powers in different ways.

7.4   CONCLUSION

The findings under this chapter reflect the largely positive, more private image of the herders. Despite the negative public image socially constructed by Basotho society (see Chapter 6) the herders have built up a collective positive sense of themselves, and how they interact with each other, and, in general a positive self-image of their abilities and potential. While the herders acknowledged the hardships that came with their herding role, they also expressed their desire for 'freedom to be' and their eagerness to learn new things when opportunities availed themselves. All these need to be taken into consideration for NFE provision.

Within that collective identity, the findings also revealed the importance of social capital amongst the herders and within the Basotho society in general. The most common forms of social capital identified in the findings were the bonding social capital, where the former existed amongst the herders who shared common interests as well as the close family ties amongst the herders' families, which contributed in shaping the herders' identities. The main ways in which social capital manifested itself amongst the herders included the following: protection, codes of behaviour, companionship, learning from each other and loyalty.

It was also discovered from the findings that some significant others played a crucial linking social capital role in shaping the herders' identities, which included a sense of connectivity to the dead.

However, there were also some forms of negative social capital influences identified from the findings. These included the way in which the herders were subjected to punishment for non-compliance with some herding norms, and bullying which was administered to the younger herders by the older and stronger herders.

The findings suggest that social capital might be a potential resource that has not yet been exploited to inform the NFE programmes for the herders, since the social capital connections were a rich source of learning. There were also indications in this chapter that the herders enjoyed access to forms of knowledge that non-herders would not know. The next chapter shows the use that herders made of such forms of knowledge.

CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY ON INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

What knowledge is acquired and why, where, when and how it is used represent fundamental questions for the development of individuals and societies alike (UNICEF, 2015:17).

8.0   INTRODUCTION

The chapter presents the findings on Indigenous Knowledge (IK) that the herders have acquired through their herding experience and how they have applied IK to improve their lives. These findings are derived from the interviews, the transect walk and the photovoice sessions. This study revealed two things: firstly, the herders possessed vast amounts of knowledge that has potential to be developed as a resource for further learning; secondly, that the most common form of learning was by doing and it was context specific. The chapter answers research question three: How have the herders applied IK gained through their life histories to advance their livelihoods? It also begins to address research question four in relation to recommendations for NFE policy in Lesotho. The findings in this chapter are divided into the following key themes: Traditional or Indigenous Knowledge, use of IK for economic empowerment, and the herders' recommendations on IK and NFE.

According to the Oxford Mini School Thesaurus Dictionary, knowledge is defined as: "…familiarity gained by experience". UNESCO (2015:16) defines knowledge as: "[t]he information, understanding, skills, values and attributes acquired through learning". UNESCO argues that knowledge is created and reproduced by socio-cultural, environmental and institutional contexts. Learning, on the other, hand is defined as:

> A process and the result of that process; a means, as well as an end; an individual practice as well as a collective endeavour. Learning is a multifaceted reality defined by the context (UNESCO, 2015:16).

In the context of Lesotho the close ties that the herders have as a community on their own, could enhance collective learning that would be closely linked to their herding context.

Another implication for the herders' learning could be that they have their own context specific needs which they share amongst themselves and which may not be known to the educational service providers in order to develop programmes that suit the herders' needs.

According to Sutherland (1999), when new information enters the mind's information store it is absorbed into the already existing information that has previously been processed. The new process results in the information being rendered either redundant, or assimilated and imitated. In line with Sutherland's line of thought, Baumgartner (2001:16) identifies two types of learning: informational and transformational learning where informational learning is an extension of the memorised information and "changes *what* we know". The transformational learning, she opines, gradually "changes *how* we know".

UNESCO (2015:14), in line with the 1996 De Lors Report on Lifelong Learning (UNESCO, 1996), identifies four pillars of learning: learning

a) to know
b) to do
c) to live together and
d) to be.

The UNESCO perspective takes a holistic approach to learning and education in that while the primary role of education is to provide functional skills, at the centre of the process is the ability of education to transform the person in totality. There was evidence that the herders had learned to live together and in that collective experience they had learned to know and to do in unique ways. Learning to be a member of wider Basotho society and live outside the herding community was still a challenge, as has been explored in Chapters 6 and 7. Nevertheless the findings in this chapter revealed enormous potential to make that transition if ways could be found to build on their existing knowledge.

The above concepts of learning are all relevant to the constructivist theory of learning. Fox (2001:24) summarises the constructivist perspective. In this respect learning and knowledge are understood to take place in six ways.

- Learning is an active process.
- Knowledge is constructed, rather than innate, or passively absorbed.
- Knowledge is invented not discovered.
- All knowledge is personal and idiosyncratic.
- All knowledge is socially constructed.
- Learning is essentially a process of making sense of the world.
- Effective learning requires meaningful, open-ended, challenging problems for the learner to solve.

What these mean in relation to the herders is that the nature of their job requires that they learn new knowledge by doing and through experiences that are informed by the context under which they serve. In other words, they have to make sense of their herding world and most of the knowledge is acquired orally through shared learning among the herders.

In order for knowledge to be absorbed, learning has to take place consciously or unconsciously through the process of education. Chapter 2 presented the three main forms of education as: formal, non-formal offered through some "degree of institutionalisation," and informal as reflected in lifelong learning UNESCO (2015:17). Chapter 1 discussed how the socio-economic factors impact on access to formal education for the male Basotho. They either remain illiterate or drop out of school in order to look for jobs mainly in the South African mines or as herders to provide for their families.

Chapter 2 also indicated how the current formal education system is not easy for the herders to access which leads to high illiteracy rates among the herders. Chapter 2 further suggested that informal learning was the most common form of learning for the herders, given their daily

environment. From the findings, the bulk of knowledge the herders have has been acquired through oral means either from their peers or elders. My study also revealed that this knowledge included a rich resource of Indigenous Knowledge that was shared amongst the herders as a coping mechanism for the hardships they live under.

8.1 TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE (TK) OR INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE (IK)

The literature refers to both Traditional Knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge although there is considerable overlap across these concepts. Poorna et al., define Traditional Knowledge as: "the knowledge that an indigenous community accumulates over generations of living" (Poorna et al., 2014:1240). In the African perspective, the value of TK or IK as a method of promoting the collective philosophy (as mentioned in Chapter 1) which brings Africans together cannot be overemphasised (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Ntseane, 2005; Nafukho, Amutabi, & Otunga, 2005; Ngozwana, 2014). IK is oral in nature and is passed on from the older generations to the younger ones. For Africans, IK is closely "tied [to] social life [both] spiritual[ly] and material[y]" (Nafukho et al., 2005:27). The concept of spirituality forms a substantial portion of African belief systems that has been in existence since before the introduction of Christianity (Wells, 1994). Tisdell (2000, 2010:127) distinguishes between spirituality and religion, arguing that the former is more concerned with what one values or regards as "sacred".

In this chapter, although the literature uses both terms, Traditional Knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge will be referred to as IK.

This form of knowledge still exists in Lesotho even today where the community members come together to participate in various community activities that result in the learning of a new skill (Ngozwana, 2014). It is also noteworthy that in Lesotho, IK is evident in different forms - folklores and poems, traditional music and proverbs, food and nutrition as well as learning and using the traditional medicinal and nutritional herbs. Basotho as a nation also still uphold their concept of spirituality and strongly believe in the ancestral spirits as the guiding

and protecting force behind their day to day encounters (Ngozwana, 2014; Moteetee & Van Wyk, 2011).

My study intended to find out the level to which the acquired knowledge had been applied to benefit the herders in Lesotho economically. Briggs (2013) argues that local people are a rich source of local knowledge. If the locals are involved and their knowledge is tapped into, the IK systems can richly transform the economy of the local people. The findings regarding the herders' different forms of local knowledge are categorised into the following sub-themes which were identified in Nyiraruhimbi's (2012:6) study in South Africa. Indigenous knowledge could thus be sub divided into:

1. Local science - use of local technologies, for example herbs as medicine
2. Local practice - cumulative knowledge base, for example literacy, and
3. Local memory - the shared customs and traditions and the spiritual beliefs that are transferred from generation to generation.

However, from the findings in this study there is very limited reference to local memory as a contribution to the herder livelihoods. Most of the findings can be categorised as local science or local practice.

8.1.1   Knowledge as local science

Nyiraruhimbi defines one aspect of IK as a local science which has developed from "a conscious place of knowledge and technologies, existing and developed around specific populations and communities" (Nyiraruhimbi, 2012:7). Nijar (2013) echoes the notion that IK is a science and his findings reveal how traditional herbs are often used to manufacture drugs for Western prescriptions.

The findings under this section revealed that the herders have a vast knowledge of traditional herbs. Some knowledge was acquired from the elders while most of the knowledge was acquired from other herders through their interaction with the environment. The use of local

science in using the traditional herbs is affirmed by Moteetee and Van Wyk (2011:211) who argue that:

> Medicinal plants are used in many forms. They are taken as decoctions – mostly with water - or infusions either orally or as an enema for various internal ailments. Plants are also incinerated, powdered and used as snuff, often to induce sneezing to get rid of head and chest colds. Another form is inhalation of either smoke from a burning plant or vapour from freshly crushed plant or fresh leaves. Others are strictly for livestock whereas others are used for both humans and animals.

The sub-themes under this local science section include knowledge of: medicinal herbs for animals, livestock improvement, human medicine, andnutritional herbs.

Medicinal herbs for animals

Moteetee and Van Wyk (2011) state that medicinal plants can be used to cure animals. The herders provided several examples of how they used the herbs for this purpose. Taiwan, who dropped out after completing Form C, explained how he learned to identify and take care of sick animals from his father. He explained the different herbs that his father and other herders taught him to mix and administer to the sick animal. He elaborated:

> He also taught me the signs to look for when one of my goats is sick. It usually does not graze and will be lying down tired; then I know that it has a problem. I then ask the other herders what I can give to the goat. Sometimes I give it the aloe depending on what we think it is suffering from because since it cannot speak, I have to think and look for any other signs that can help me to help it.

This story revealed that learning and knowledge among the herders is not individualistic but it is a collaborative effort which is shared. Taiwan explained how he knew how to use the herbs to cure his animals. He further mentioned how he consulted other herders as resources to tap into.

Unlike Taiwan, Ducks, the one brought up by the grandfather, explained how his grandfather taught him to treat the broken leg of an animal using traditional methods. Ducks did not mention consulting other herders on the traditional method to use; instead he relied on what he

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already knew. Ducks narrated the process from the onset of the treatment, and the care processes until the recovery phase of the animal. He explained:

> I have also learned how to treat a cow with a broken leg. I learned from my grandfather while looking after his animals. For instance if it's the rear leg I take some sticks and place them around the fractured area then I take a thin rope and a cloth and wrap them around the fractured area. The cow will not go out with others. After sometime when it is able to walk with the broken leg, I loosen the ropes and remove the sticks leaving only the cloth and the rope so that it is able to bend the tissues because if I do not do that the cow will be paralyzed and the tissues will be stiff for life.

Linakaneng 8, who decorated the grey blankets, described the different herbal combinations that he gave to his sick animals. He also added how he administered the medicine to the sick animal. He said:

> If the animal gets sick, I mix the following: *mohalalitoe, makhona tsohle* and salt and either give the mixture to the sheep, dry as it is, (*kea li komisa)* or mix with water. The other common herbs, depending on the illness for the sheep, would be *sehala hala sa matlaka and monatja*.

Comrade, the one interested in snake behaviour, explained that to cure his sick animals he mixed the traditional herbs with other non-traditional ingredients such as sulphur:

> When the animals are sick I also use some traditional herbs such as aloe, sulphur and blue *stene* to cure *papisi* on horses: and use *hloenya, mohalalitoe and mofifi* to cure sheep.

In the stories above, the herders explained how the knowledge that they had was acquired through being transferred from one generation to the other. The herders also revealed the different ways through which they applied their local science. For instance, Taiwan's decision making on which technology to apply was largely informed by the discussions that he had engaged in with other herders. Ducks was able to diagnose and apply the taught technology independently.

T-man, whose grandfather bought him a residential site, explained the herbs which he mixed to cure animal coughs: "For instance if my animal is coughing I know that it has a cold and I can mix green aloe and *khotolia* and then give to my animal to drink".

For Linakaneng 2, the former security guard, animal health care was a joint responsibility of the herder and the livestock owner. For him, the owner collected the relevant herbs to cure the animals. He continued:

> If the animal gets sick, I tell the owner who would collect *khoara* from home and boil for the animal to drink. Sometimes I just dig *sehala hala sa matlaka* and boil to give to the sick animal.

While the other herders consulted amongst the herder community, the case of Linakaneng 2 was different in that he collaborated outside the herding community where the livestock owner became the knowledge resource. Access to this type of collaboration is what is referred to as bridging social capital (Ferlander, 2007; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Thomas, 2002) as described in Chapter 3.

While medical care and treatment seemed to be a very important part of herding, the herders also shared knowledge amongst themselves on how to improve their livestock.

Knowledge for livestock improvement

The acquired knowledge, for instance, varied from identifying the correct shape of an animal to understanding how to increase wool production. Arbon and Rigney (2014) also acknowledge the importance of social relationships in adult learning, which is reflected in Comrade's story.

Comrade, the one interested in snake behaviour, explained that he learned from other herders how to improve his sheep breed. He narrated the qualities that he learned to look for in a ram before mating to ensure high quality wool. He explained:

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Other herders have taught me how to ensure the quality of my livestock when selecting a male one for mating. *(Smiling proudly)* They taught me that I do not have to take my animals to any male ram. Instead I have to look for the shape of the animal that I intend to select for mating (*ke sheba e setopo se setle*). I look for one that has a nice body. If I am planning for high production of wool, I look for a ram that has some wool on the forehead between the eyes (*e nang le boea ka mahlong*) that is a good one for high yield of wool. A ram that has a smooth forehead does not produce much wool.

Along the same lines, Taiwan, who dropped out of school after completing Form C, gave his father and other herders credit for the Indigenous Knowledge that he had acquired in learning to manage and care for his livestock. The knowledge came in the form of identifying the signs and symptoms for sickness and the curative measures to take, as well as the signs to look for when one of the goats was on heat. He elaborated:

My father taught me to know the signs to look for when a goat is ready for mating. When it is on heat, it does not graze like the others; instead it will keep on mounting on other male goats. Then I identify one male for mating.

The cohesive nature of the herders seemed to be a valuable resource for sharing and learning from each other. Huang (2002) reflects on how the environment enhances acquisition of experience that can later be tapped into as a learning resource. The herding context provided the herders with an opportunity to learn and share information within a closed social capital network. By virtue of having similar characteristics (Ferlander, 2007; Thomas, 2002; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010), sharing and learning together becomes easy amongst the herders.

The herders also stated that some herbs were used for human medicinal purposes which can also be seen to reflect how the herders used their own social capital networks for learning.

Human medicine knowledge

Moteetee and Van Wyk (2011) stipulate that traditional herbs can be used for human consumption as well, and that some are specifically for animal or human consumption while others can be used for both purposes. The hardships under which the herding role is carried out and their limited access to social services, including health, meant that the herders had to

equip themselves with the necessary skills to cope and care for themselves and their livestock using the available traditional herbs.

Semonkong 1, who sold traditional herbs, described how they accessed health care at the cattle posts using traditional herbs. He listed the herbs that they used and the ailments that are cured by those herbs. He also elaborated on how the herders used the herbs. He continued**:**

> If we get sick at the cattle posts suffering from common cold (*re cheka phate ea ngaka, phefo le kuena)* we collect some herbs and then boil them together and drink the mixture. We also cut some fresh leaves of the *kuena* and stuff them in our nostrils so that the minty smell can unblock the nose.

Similar stories were stated by Linakaneng 2, who added the use of *lesooko*, Linakaneng 8, Linakeng 9 and Ducks who also mentioned *moferefere* and the leaves of a Cyprus tree. The commonly shared knowledge amongst the herders seemed to be to use *phate ea ngaka* (figure 16) for curing the common cold.

Figure 16: A picture of a live phate ea ngaka plant

For Linakeng 11, the important knowledge that he acquired from his herding role included being able to know the traditional herbs and what they do to the body. This knowledge had been acquired from other herders. He explained:

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Other herders have taught me the different medicinal plants that I can use when I get sick, for instance *poho tšehla* to cure headache, *phate ea ngaka* to cure flu and *hloenya* [figure 17] to clean my stomach.

His story reflects the role of the herding community in supporting IK acquisition which includes knowledge of the medicinal herbs and what they can be used to cater for the herders' primary health care needs.

Figure 17: A live hloenya plant

Comrade, who is interested in snake behaviour, mentioned the different herbs he used and the ailments cured by those herbs. Comrade explained how he mixed the different herbs to cure the ailments in question. He also mentioned how he administered each of the identified mixture. He continued:

When I am sick I use the traditional herbs around here. For instance I use *hloenya* when I feel dizzy or I suffer from gall: Aloe when I suffer from stomach-ache or gall: I mix *letapisa, hloenya and lengana* to induce forced vomiting (*ho k'hapha).* I learned to take care of myself this way from my parents.

T-man mentioned how his grandfather had taught him to mix different herbs both for human and animal use. Like the other herders, he also identified the ailments that those herbs cured. He elaborated:

When I am sick, I mix *phefo*, and *bloukomo* in hot water and steam my body (*kea futha*). Sometimes I sniff *poho tšehla* if I am suffering from headache. My grandfather also showed me how to mix the different herbs to cure myself and my animals.

Comrade and T-man pointed out how the knowledge of traditional herbs extended beyond the immediate herding community and was embedded in previous generations where the parents and grandparents passed on the information to the herders.

The hardships that come with herding and the close interaction with the environment also taught the herders how to identify and use some herbs to supplement their nutrition needs.

Knowledge of nutritional herbs

Semonkong 4, who wanted to marry a white woman, elaborated on the herders' coping strategy to curb hunger during the day. He started by identifying when and how they would get access to the maize and stored it until the time that it was ready for consumption. His story elaborated on the use of IK as an appropriate local technology for roasting maize to the desired perfection. He narrated:

> We look at the fields where potatoes have recently been harvested (*ebe re cheka tsa matšoaboli rea besa)* then we dig out those that have been self-grown and roast them over the fire. Sometimes we steal maize from the fields and roast it over the fire. During harvest time, we also select *poone ea matšohlo*, then bury it deeply to keep it moist until the winter season passes. Once the winter season is over, we identify an anthill and drill some holes and then make a fire to roast the maize as if it were an oven (*re sheba seolo re bese mollo kahara sona ebe re phunya lesoba kapa masoba ho etsa hore re khone ho besa poone*). This maize is called *letsete*. The heat from the anthill enables the maize to roast perfectly *(leupa lena la seolo le etsa hore e butsoe hantle haholo)*. This would then be our lunch followed by drinking water to fill up our stomachs.

In this quote, the context and the environment have equipped the herders with coping mechanisms to supplement their nutritional needs. This shows how the environment influenced learning among the herders (Lappegard, 2007; Makoa & Zwilling, 2005). Nyiraruhimbi (2012) identifies IK as local science where there is the use of technical know-how. The quote above indicates the existence of local technology in the form of food

preservation where the herders use strategies only known to them to moisten and roast the maize out in the veld. This is one example of IK being a localised form of knowledge and closely linked with wisdom (Emery, 2000).

Linakaneng 2, a former security guard, shared his recipe of the relish he prepared at the cattle post. His explanation included the alternative ingredients that they used to supplement what is available in the community to ensure that they still ate a healthy diet. He explained:

> I get *bobats*i a wild vegetable and since we do not have cooking oil, I used fresh milk instead of water and then added salt. While it is true that *bobatsi boa hlaba* has some spikes we preferred *bobatsi ba lipela* as the latter is less spiky. However, where we could not get *bobatsi ba lipela* we also ate the spiky one and care had to be taken when picking this vegetable to avoid the spikes harming us. We have a skill on how to pick the vegetable.

The quote above indicated the herders' ability to learn to adapt and devise alternatives in different parts of the veld - the 'how' of transformational learning identified by Baumgartner (2001). The story also revealed how they learned to eat wild food in a way that did not endanger their lives. Stories like these two above indicate the high level of innovation that comes with the herding role. The stories further reinforce the argument that despite their negative public image (Chapter 6) the herders have their own private positive image in terms of skills and knowledge (Chapter 7).

The traditional herbal use in these stories includes using these herbs either raw, and sometimes unclean, or in prepared form as relish for *papa* as summarised in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Herders herbal nutrition options

Name of the herder	Name of the nutritional herb
Taiwan	Wild carrots (*lioete tsa naha), and likarana* – a potato like wild vegetable

Linakaneng 10	Wild carrots and *monakalali*.
Ducks	*Bobatsi*
Doctor	Wild unwashed carrots which include soil as part of the nutrition.
Comrade	*Likarane* a potato-like wild vegetable that is eaten raw.
Alex and Ace	*Papasane*
Matukeng	*Monakalali and lioe-li- oetla*

In addition to these illustrations of IK as local science, there were examples of knowledge which could be classified as local practice.

8.1.2   Knowledge as local practice

Knowledge as local practice is described by Nyiraruhimbi as "when the knowledge has been accumulated over generations within a specific culture and region" (Nyiraruhimbi, 2012:7). The practice barely represents any scientific value but has simply been acquired by trial and error or frequent usage. One such example of local practice is the herders' practices of basic literacy and numeracy.

Informal learning of basic literacy and numeracy

In Chapter 7 I mentioned the role of social support in informal learning provision for the herders. In this chapter, informal learning is identified as a form of learning in its own right. Hansman (2001) argues that an enabling social environment enhances learning. His argument highlights the importance of collaborative participation that enables the learner to become familiar with the subject matter and in the process to acquire relevant skills. The social environment as a collaborative relationship is a form of emotional support for the learner.

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Hansman concludes by highlighting that "real-world contexts, where there are social relationships and tools, make the best learning environments" (Hansman (2001:45). Along the same lines, Sutherland (1999) talks about the importance of taking into consideration the previous experience that the learner brings into the learning environment. The findings discovered how the herders learned both numeracy and literacy skills through the support of others around them: friends and family members.

Lekhala, the lowland herder who sold livestock, stated that one of the things herders are oriented to at the cattle post is the art and importance of numeracy skills to the herding role, which is reinforced through practical activities and repetition. He elaborated how the herders used the available local resources to enable learning to take place:

> I also learned counting skills from the cattle post. On my first day at the cattle post, the other herders realised that I could not read and write. They then took the sheep droppings and taught me to count from one to hundred. I had the whole day practicing and in the evening I was able to count my sheep when they entered the kraal. Counting when you are a livestock owner or a herder is very important because you are then able to check if your livestock is still the same number.

'Matšooana, the one who learned basic numeracy skills from his neighbour, explained how this neighbour had taught him. Like other herders, they also used the locally available resources to ensure that the learning occurred. He continued:

> Also, when I first arrived here, I could not read and write because I had never been to school. I am very thankful to my neighbour T-bose who really took his time to tell me how important it was for a herder to know how to count so that I can monitor the numbers of my livestock. He had been to school before coming here. Therefore during our spare time, he taught me to count from one up to ten using the sheep droppings. It was not difficult so within a week I was able to count without assistance.

Lekhala and 'Matšooana learned basic numeracy skills through actually counting according to the names of numbers.

Linakaneng 8, the one who decorated the grey blanket, had a similar experience. He also highlighted the use of the locally available natural resources in facilitating learning to occur. He continued:

> I was taught how to read by the other herders (*ka thonapa majoe eaba ke ema monyako oa lesaka ke ntse ke akhela lejoe faatše ha li kena ka sakeng*) I picked up some stones from around and used them to count the animals. I stood by the entrance of the kraal and counted the animals as they entered: for each animal entering the kraal I would drop a stone until they had all entered. The process would be done twice a day – morning and evening. If after all the animals have been counted one stone is still in my hand, that would mean I have either not counted correctly or one animal is missing. For verification, I would start the counting all over again.

In the case of Linakaneng 8, the learning was different from that of Lekhala and 'Mantšooana in that while the other two learned the numbers, Linakaneng 8 learned through visual matching where he matched the number of livestock with the number of stones that he had dropped.

For Doctor, the traditional herbalist, he explained the support that he had received from his daughter who taught him how to write. In his case, he learned while on the job to satisfy the requirements of the job that he did. He expressed how, through practice, he was able to get the desired outcome. He stated:

> I also write 'Lesotho' on them. My daughter has taught me how to match these letters to write Lesotho (*picking up one of the smaller hats*); you see educated as you are, you will struggle to write this '**s**'. That one I can bet on but for me it is very easy to do.

In the case of Doctor, unlike with the other herders, he learned basic literacy. For him it was through repetition that he was able to acquire the desired skill to his satisfaction, and it was for a specific purpose.

In the findings, it was revealed, therefore, that herders learned different forms of both numeracy and literacy. However, their learning styles were different. For some, the numeracy skills were acquired through the actual counting from one up to a certain number. For others,

numeracy was learned through visually matching the stones with the live animals as they exited and entered the kraal. For those who learned basic literacy, their learning was reinforced through repetition and practice and directly related to their lifestyles.

These different forms of numeracy and literacy are now commonly regarded as a social practice form of literacy, which is seen as a more relevant and useful starting point for learning the more formal form of literacy. Nirantar (2007:19), among others, explains the difference:

> Literacy has been, and often still is, perceived as an autonomous set of skills, but is gradually being seen as a social practice that can be explored through the observation and analysis of literacy events and practices situated in context (Nirantar, 2007:19).

Nirantar's explanation highlights a relatively recent recognition of the need to change the teaching methods of literacy and numeracy particularly to adults, to accommodate the uniqueness with which 'non-literate' learners may approach literacy and numeracy learning:

> This dilemma led to the development of a social-practice model of literacy. According to this model, literacy varies with social context; there are different uses and meanings associated with the activities of reading and writing, rather than one universal literacy (Nirantar, 2007:20).

The way in which the herders engaged with numeracy, for instance, illustrated that they do practice numeracy skills, but in unconventional ways. By building on the way they engage on a daily basis, with such practices, it is argued, learners can learn to apply and expand their understanding of literacy and numeracy in a way that makes sense to them and which is seen as relevant (Openjuru, 2011). The way in which the herders learned informally and acquired knowledge as a local practice has implications for how NFE teaching of literacy and numeracy might be applied.

The herders indicated that they could demonstrate other forms of knowledge which might be considered as local practice. One example was their acquired knowledge of snake behaviour.

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It was not passed down through the generations, but was acquired through their own trial and error experiences and observations.

Knowledge on snake behaviour

Fox (2001:29) argues that: "experience or activity may result in different learning." This is evidenced in the story of Comrade, the one interested in snake behaviour. He explained his quest for new learning on snake behaviour which he followed by engaging in an observational experiment on his own. He had acquired it himself as a result of his environment. The argument here is that this is an example of new IK that is not necessarily traditional but is acquired entirely from experience within the environment. He explained:

> I have also learnt the behaviour of the snakes. I have caught a Cobra and other snakes. Snakes do not blink, they have no ears, no breasts, and do not chew their food. They need a very clean environment or else they suffer from stress. That is why they do not excrete in the hole. Each snake takes a bath every fortnight and cannot drink the water that it has bathed in. Instead it needs fresh water for drinking. Some snakes lay eggs while some give birth. They also get married and would not produce children outside marriage [snakes keep to the same partner throughout their life and do not swop partners] (*ha e etse malinyane esa nyaloa*).

Comrade extended his newly acquired learning to another area where he studied a horse's reaction to the venom and critically analysed his findings by uncovering what caused the difference between the horse and other animals. He elaborated:

> If a horse is being bitten by a snake, it does not die. The reason being that, the horse's gall bladder is not close to the liver but, it is at the joints. Those animals that have the gall bladders at the liver die easily because the venom moves to the liver and damages the liver which is not the case with horses.

The story of Comrade reflects transformational learning in that this kind of learning extends beyond the information gathering activity since the new learning replaces earlier schematic understandings through a process of new meaning making.

Knowledge on motebo building

The *motebo* is the house where the herders at the cattle post stay. It is worth mentioning that *metebo* (plural of *motebo*) generally do not have doors.

Semonkong 1, who sold the traditional herbs, gave an explanation of how the *motebo* is built. The story indicated the unwritten steps that were so carefully followed in building this house. From this story, Semonkong 1 also indicated the conditions of hardship under which the herders served, particularly at the cattle post area, where the likelihood of being attacked by wild animals was not a secret to the herders. He continued:

> A *motebo* is a small house [figure 18] constructed to house a maximum of four people. The walls are made of stones. Half-way up, there is a strong iron rod inserted to protrude above the fire place so that it can hold the three legged pot above the fire place while cooking. As the wall reaches the roofing height, two flat stones (*matlapa)* are placed such that they will protect the roof from catching fire. The roof is made up of poplar poles covered with *makhapu*. *Mosea* [a certain form of grass] would then become the top layer to prevent the rain water from leaking into the house. Then some of the *mosea* would be woven to tie the roof together to prevent it from being blown away by the wind. This small house is not high enough for one to enter in an upright position *(rea kokobela hare kena monyako)* and it has no door. The reliable mode of security is the fierce dogs that are kept to chase away the thieves and the wild animals such as the jackal and the hyena.

Figure 18: A picture of a complete motebo

However, in Figure 19 below, the piece of corrugated iron sheet in front served as a door for this herder. This indicated the level of innovation that comes with herding. The grass roofing was said to be carefully selected so that the house would not leak during heavy rain. Ace explained how he learned the safety of his *motebo* on the job:

> Unlike other houses, that do not have doors, mine has a door. I use a piece of corrugated iron to close the entrance. It is safer when the house is closed because the animals cannot come in the house when I am not around.

Figure 19: The exterior view of the motebo

The interior roofing of this *motebo* was made up of nicely woven *cheche* poles and branches to collect the heat as in Figure 20 below. However, care had to be taken that the fire flames did not go high up towards the roof for fear of the roof catching fire. Also, one of the practices at the cattle posts is never to sleep with a lit fire, for the same reason.

Figure 20: The interior view of a motebo roof

The findings under local knowledge as practice indicated the different ways through which knowledge was acquired. For some it was a collaborative effort; for some it was through individual observation and critical analysis. Others benefitted through sharing knowledge and learning by doing. However, the common feature of all these examples is that the learning is relevant and purposeful which is an indication that any NFE curriculum needs to take account of these issues.

It might be observed that there is a potential for the building of *motebo* to become a tourism resource for income generation. However, in this study the herders had so far only used their craft and medicinal skills for income generation.

The following section looks at how the different forms of IK that the herders have acquired were used to generate income that can potentially transform the herders' lives for the better. The herders, as part of their inner identity beliefs, had identified the economic value of some of this knowledge.

8.2   USE OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE FOR ECONOMIC PURPOSES

Briggs (2013) emphasises that the context specific nature of IK is an opportunity for economically empowering the local communities in that the good practices that have been accumulated over time and space can be replicated "across geographic space into quite

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different empowerment, environmental and cultural settings" (Briggs, 2013:233). Chapter 2 discussed how the Maasai in Tanzania economically benefitted from IK. Similarly, the stories below demonstrate how Basotho herders generated income from selling traditional herbs, selling pebbles, and through arts and crafts in different geographical spaces in Lesotho. The herders' knowledge can therefore become a resource for income generation whch is economic empowerment.

8.2.1   Selling traditional herbs

The type of knowledge accumulated under this section is local science. Alex explained that he acquired his knowledge on the use of the traditional herbs from the other herders. They taught him how to mix the different herbs to cure different human ailments. He continued:

> I have acquired from herding the various traditional herbs that I can use to cure some minor illnesses. I know how to dig these herbs and I am also selling them to the tourists or people that pass by. This bunch is *ralikokotoana* or *monna motšo*- [Figure 21] it grows amongst the *cheche* bushes and we mainly use the black bark for 'servicing' the body. It is tasteless and can be chewed or boiled. The most important part is this black bark. If chewed it becomes a mild purgative. It is good for curing gall related problems and discharge. It also works very well when mixed with *sehala hala sa matlaka*.

Figure 21: A bundle ralikokotoana pictured

This one is called *moli* [Figure 22] in English it is called African potato. This one is good for cleaning the blood and promoting good blood circulation and opens the veins (*e bula methapo ea mali*).

Figure 22: A bundle of African potato

This other one is called *qobo* [in Figure 23] it serves the similar purpose as *moli* it is also very good to help healing for the women who have just delivered babies.

Figure 23: A bundle of qobo

I sell each of these bundles for R5.00 but *ralikokotoana* is the most effective. However we encourage people to use them together, where they will be crushed a little bit to allow the water to penetrate and then boiled for some time. Then you wait for the mixture to cool down and then you drink.

Linakeng 9, who trained horses to entertain audiences, explained how he sold the rabbit droppings for medicinal purposes to the tourists. He continued:

> When I have time I sell the rabbit droppings (*masepa a lipela*) to the tourists. I have been told by other herders that they are good to control high levels of gall (*a fokotsa nyooko*). One has to add them into the water and drink the liquid and then vomit (*onoa metsi ano ebe joale o oa k'hapha*). I sell a brick [of droppings] for R5.00.

Linakeng 11 stated that he sold the traditional herbs that he learned from other herders: "Even the *hloenya* I sell in bundles back in the village at R5.00 per bundle".

Semonkong 1 elaborated on how he prepared the various herbs that he sold. In his explanation he identified different methods that he used to prepare the herbs: drying, crushing, boiling and bundling. He also mentioned the different ways in which the herbs can be administered through sniffing and drinking:

> In order to prepare the medication before boiling, I have to (*tula*) crush the herbs and then put them to boil for some time to be ready for drinking. Then I let them cool and pour into this container to be ready for sale. I sell them either in (*lihlopha*) bundles so that the customer can prepare the medicine at home or I sell them already boiled and ready for drinking like what I have in this the 5 litre container.

This section presented the herders' knowledge on different herbs and the various ailments which the identified herbs cure. It was also discovered from these findings that the herbs were prepared differently for market purposes. Some herbs were boiled and prepared into concoctions in their natural state while others were crushed into smaller pieces using stones. Others were bundled as raw items. Moteetee and Van Wyk (2011) also comment on how traditional herbs are prepared differently for different purposes.

The herders' income generation activities varied based on innovation and availability of resources. Some herders identified pebbles as a source of income generation for decoration. This can be identified as a local practice.

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8.2.2   Selling of stones

One of the local practices that the herders engaged in is the digging of the pebbles from the bottom of the streams as in Figure 24 below. These stones were mainly popular in the foothills where the herders stated that they sold them to the tourists. The price depended on the size of thestone. Gift stated that he would sell that size [in Figure 24] for R10.00. Gift, the one who had a good relationship with his cattle owner, explained how they collected the pebbles, but also indicated some scientific awareness or interest in their formation:

> Although we are not quite sure how these stones have been formed, we assume that they formed out of the particles from the granite stones (*majoe a moralla*) during the heavy summer rains. We usually find these stones by the river banks buried under the rocks. We then dig them and wash them to look clean as this one so that people can be attracted by them and buy. Most of these pebbles *(mahakoe)* are bought by the white people. However of late even Basotho tell us they use them for decorations. This size I would sell for R10.00.

Figure 24: The herders dig up stones by the river side for sale to tourists

8.2.3   Arts and craft

Linakaneng 10, who dropped out of school for misbehaving, explained how the locally available resources coupled with learning from other herders have enabled him to sell some

products and make money. For him making grass hats and walking sticks are both local practices. He continued:

> The other herders have taught me to make hats using grass and when I go to the village I sell them for R120.00. I also learned to make walking sticks using *kolitšana* which I sell for R100.00 back in the village. Sometimes I cut *mosea* and tie it into bundles which I place them along the main road and sell to people. Ladies back in the community use *mosea* to make traditional brooms. I sell a bundle for R30.00.

Masda, who was raised by his step mother, confirmed that he also sold decorated walking sticks and that the price varied with the decorations.

Doctor, the traditional herbalist, explained that besides learning herbalism, which is a local science, from his grandfather, he also learned the local practice of how to weave the grass hats while he was a herder. He stated that during herding time, he was weaving the hats for himself. However, he came to Maseru and among the projects that he embarked on was the selling of sun hats in different patterns. He mentioned that his market was mainly people from outside of Lesotho. Alongside the hats, Doctor also sold decorated traditional mats (*meseme*), animal skin hats and Basotho hats (*mekorotlo*) as in Figure 25 below.

Figure 25: Part of Doctor's IK project

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These stories and their examples revealed the extent to which the knowledge acquired during herding was being used to transform the economic status of the herders. Levin (2010:36) argues for the acquisition of basic literacy and numeracy as the fundamental skills to allow other essential forms of "knowledge and capacity" but this did not seem to be the case with the herders. From the findings it was evident that despite their low (or lack of basic) literacy skills, the herders possessed a lot of knowledge, most of which was acquired informally. It was evident that social support and the social environment played an important role in enabling learning to occur amongst the herders. It was also evident that they did have an understanding of literacy and numeracy as a social practice which was directly linked to their lifestyles and context.

The herders' types of knowledge revolved around their herding role where they learned how to care and manage their livestock in various ways. Their expertise, according to the findings, extended to understanding the value of traditional herbs which were used both for human medicinal and nutritional purposes and also for animal medicinal care. The herders' projects drew on the knowledge acquired from herding where some sold the traditional herbs, others sold sun hats and some sold walking sticks.

One of the critiques of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) was its oral nature and that it is too context specific. However, scholars argue for the need to interrogate the applicability of such knowledge further as a resource for economic empowerment (Nyiraruhimbi, 2012; Briggs, 2013). Lekoko and Modise also argue for the need to apply the African Indigenous Learning (AIL) framework (a learning by doing approach through interaction with others) and through community "ways of living" (Lekoko & Modise, 2011:15) as a tool for creating a better understanding of the educational needs of the society. The implication here is that the AIL approaches that acknowledge the collective African nature can enhance further learning opportunities among the herders. Ratau (1988) and Ngozwana, (2014) highlight the importance of traditional institutions such as the *khotla* for males in Lesotho as a place where masculinity issues were discussed. The *khotla* instilled good morals amongst Basotho males

and also taught the young Basotho some handicrafts. In the context of the herders, the revival of institutions such as *khotla* or others with similar principles may help to give greater value to the acquisition of IK. Traditional institutions involve social support from the significant others in the form of parents, family members and other herders. Based on these findings there is a need to explore how to link IK acquired from herding in its different forms into the NFE programmes for the herders.

8.3 HERDERS' RECOMMENDATIONS ON IK AND NFE

Arbon and Rigney (2014) state how establishing an understanding of IK and specifically linking that understanding to culture are the central pillars of IK studies. What this means is that the understanding of IK has to be closely linked to its context. In the case of the herders, livestock has become their second culture and the knowledge that they acquire has to be closely linked to their herding culture to meet their herding needs and lifestyles. Arbon and Rigney further illustrate the importance that IK has in affirming and establishing new knowledge that can inform future research initiatives. The herders were invited to make their own recommendations for improving their access to education. Their responses included recommendations in relation to formal education as well as their context specific learning needs. These responses will be referred to again in Chapter 9 when recommendations are made in the light of the whole study.

8.3.1 Education to be legally binding in Lesotho

"I think the education has to be legally enforced". This statement, as made by Meks, seemed to be the consensus for the majority of the participants to enable all male Basotho children to be educated. The current formal education does not fully cater for the herders who, as males, are entrusted with decision making roles (Chapter 7) in the families.

8.3.2 Participatory curriculum review and design process

The herders highlighted that decision making on their education has not involved them in finding out what their educational needs are. Malimong stated:

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…the educated people are the ones who make decisions for us. However, I think it would be good if we get as much attention as we deserve and the government has to make sure that we access education indiscriminately.

The herders recommended that the herders' curriculum has to be reviewed annually in consultation with the herders to find out their needs and availability. As stated by one herder: "we have to be consulted annually". Another herder echoed that and added:

The government has to come to us to find out the kind of skills we would like to be taught so that when they make decisions, they have included our opinion.

The findings in relation to the herders' private identity (Chapter 7) revealed the value of collective social identity among the herders. This was also evident in this chapter as a way through which the herders shared and acquired new knowledge on IK. The herders recommended that the herders' programmes should provide them with the lifeskills to enable them to use the skills that they have acquired from their herding to come up with income generating activities. Ace stated that:

Herders do not like sitting in class; we want to make money. Therefore we need skills to help us improve our livestock and be able to make better sales.

8.3.3   Alternative NFE provision

Literacy as a form of knowledge acquisition is defined as "...a combination of technical skills that make it possible, with content and purpose, to interact with the specific environments in which people live and function" (Roberts, 1995:418). This notion implies that the various knowledge and skills which the herders have acquired through traditional means, and their abilities to use the knowledge beyond just literacy and numeracy, are evident. However, Burgess (2010) affirms the need for alternative forms of education that recognise the learners' literacy environments. Burgess relates the formal classroom type education to some form of imprisonment where both the learners and the teachers feel pressed by both the "clock and the calendar time" to achieve the objectives of the curriculum (Burgess, 2010:353). He stresses the need for alternative ways of accessing knowledge in which the learning opportunities are

taken beyond the normal classroom confinement and its concentration on decontextualized basic numeracy and literacy skills. Burgess argues that the types of instruction need to be flexible and open enough to build the capacity of the learner with skills that address their immediate needs within the context of their lifestyles and to address the social and relationships contradictions that the learners experience.

From the findings, it emerged that the herders wanted educational assistance that would help with their income generation activities. For example Nyakosoba said:

> We would like the FTCs to be used to provide periodic trainings for the farmers like it used to happen in the past on topics such as selling, marketing, buying and bookkeeping

A typical response was as follows, from Linakaneng 2:

> We would like to be capacitated with skills on how to market our livestock using the modern technology; such as internet.

Another suggestion was to be capacitated with more information on the common animal diseases, as stated by Gift:

> We also want to learn about the animal diseases so that we do not act when it is too late and lose our animals.

Their emphasis was on how to make money and improve their livestock, and not just sit in class to learn.

One of the challenges revealed in the findings was the high learner drop-out rate among the herders due to their migrant nature and due to the limited coverage of the evening or night schools which limits access and continuity of learning. The herders stated that if they had to move to another place where there was no evening school, they dropped-out. The herders therefore recommended that the programmes targeting the herders should be broadcast using radio and, since the majority of the herders have cell-phones, they could listen to the programmes on their cell-phones.

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8.3.4   Learner support

In Chapter 7 the herders identified the significant other as a valuable component of their lives. The notion was also highlighted in this chapter where the significant other played a role of passing on the IK to the herders. In line with this, the herders recommended mentorship and tutoring at home and at the cattle posts to motivate them to continue learning. Semonkong 4 suggested that:

> The government has to task the literate herders to teach those who are illiterate at the cattle posts.

The findings of my study revealed that the high illiteracy rates among herders seemed to be in the highlands (Chapter 5). The herders recommended that the learning posts (designated NFE sites) have to be widely spread out throughout the country and closer to the cattle posts for ease of access by the herders.

8.3.5   Herders support and inclusion

The findings suggested programmes that would solicit support from the herder community through learning together. Linakeng 7 stated:

> (*Laughing*) Khilik! If I was a Prime Minister, I would encourage that there should be schools up here in the mountain areas attended by the herders only because other people look down upon us and laugh at us saying we smell like sheep. So if we learn together it will be good and fun and we can support one another. I would also enforce that the education be compulsory so that the employers will have no choice but to allow us to go to school and they will not be able to cheat us when they pay us.

Another recommendation was articulated by Mosuoe:

> The government should design programmes that enable inclusion of the herders into the larger society.

These recommendations indicated that the herders needed to be amongst their own kind so that they did not get ridiculed. In Chapter 6, one of the definers of the negative herder identity was their low literacy rate which has subjected the herders to be 'othered' (Rule & John,

2008) from the rest of the Basotho society. Roberts (1995) further highlights how narrowly the decision-makers define literacy based on their schooling years. Nirantar (2007), for instance advocates that a social practices approach to literacy would recognise the way the learners used locally resourced materials to learn numeracy and build on these strategies rather than try to isolate their literacy and numeracy from their natural environment. Levin (2010) recommends that other forms of knowledge such as lifeskills should be included in such programmes, in line with UNESCO's (2015) holistic concept of education. These concerns all have implications for an NFE policy that is better able to address the herder needs.

8.3.6   Social cohesion

The preceding section highlighted the importance of social cohesion amongst the herder community. Ford and O'Hare (2013) claim that social identity theory helps to "explain people's tendency to discriminate in favour of in-group members" (Ford & O'Hare (2013:500). In other words, collective group identity often becomes more important than individual identity. The above recommendation by one herder that they should be allowed to learn together suggests that the cohesive nature of the herders can provide a sense of belongingness (Morrice, 2007), and reflect what La Guardia refers to as relatedness: "being significant in the eyes of others" (La Guardia, 2009:92). The social cohesion of the herders therefore is a potential strength if it can be used to contribute to learning motivation, although there is also the danger that too much segregation of learning provision could also reinforce the herders' sense of being othered.

8.3.7   Reconstruction of IK

One of the challenges mentioned by one herder in the foothills was that the traditional herbs were diminishing in numbers and variety due to the way the herders and the herbalists were digging them up. He stated: "*litlhare tsena ha li sale ngata*: so we have to travel long distances to get them which makes it difficult for us older herders".

Latulippe (2015:120) posits how in the 1980s IK was commended for its role in the management of "natural resources and … conservation of biological diversity". The dual challenge of sustainability of herder lifestyles and building on their knowledge of natural resources also has implications for how and what educational programmes should be delivered to herders.

8.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it has been shown that there are two main types of IK which the herders demonstrated in this study. First is the local science where herders learned different local techniques which included the use of traditional herbs as medicine for human beings and the animals as well as nutritional supplements. Second is the local practice where the herders learned basic numeracy and literacy skills, snake behaviour and how to construct the *motebo*. It is also important to note that there are certain safety and security precautions which the herders had learned and practiced where caution was taken to prevent fire hazards during the building of the *motebo* and whereby the dogs guarded the area against intruders.

The herders revealed how their acquired local science and local practice had resulted in some income generating activities. Under local science, the herders were selling the traditional herbs either raw in bundles or as a boiled mixture at different prices. On the other hand, the local practice projects included arts and crafts where the herders sold grass sun hats and walking sticks. They also sold pebbles to tourists for decorations.

The implications for NFE from the findings are that while the herders learned their own form of basic numeracy and literacy, the way in which they leaned, and how they used literacy and numeracy differed from the conventional understanding of these terms. Some learned through counting, others learned visually while others learned through practice. It was also discovered that social support played an important role in the acquisition of learning where the significant others, in the form of family members and other herders, became a resource to pass on the learning to other herders. It was also revealed from the findings that there was a rich resource

of IK among the herders which is not documented. There are implications for how NFE can maximise this knowledge as a future resource for other herders. Another important aspect was that the learning among the herders was a collective initiative rather than individualistic; an aspect which also has implications for how NFE might be developed.

The chapter identified some recommendations which the herders themselves made regarding NFE. These included proposals that education should be compulsory in Lesotho, herders should be consulted regarding the design of the curriculum, the cohesive nature of the herding society should be a resource for delivering the material, there should be greater use of technology in the delivery of the herders' programmes, and that appropriate learner support should be provided as part of the programme delivery.

Chapter 9 reflects on these recommendations in the light of the whole study and its findings. It then makes recommendations for NFE policy in Lesotho as well as recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.0. INTRODUCTION

This thesis reported on the narrative life histories of the adult male Basotho herders and focused on their socially constructed identities. It examined their public and private identities largely from the perspective of the herders themselves but also triangulated by relevant education provider perspectives. These perspectives included how the herders thought, acted and felt about their constructed identities. The study also explored how these identities influenced their learning activities and ambitions. The implications for NFE from the findings are that, while the herders learned their own form of numeracy and literacy the way which they learned and how they used literacy and numeracy differd from the conventional understanding of literacy and numeracy.

This chapter first reflects on the research questions that the study sought to answer and briefly summarises the background context, literature and theory which informed the findings. It then highlights the key findings that were derived from the data and the explanation of those findings in relation to inductively and deductively generated themes. This is followed by a summary of the study conclusions and finally the chapter presents the study recommendations for NFE and for future studies.

The main question of the thesis was to explore what the life histories of the male Basotho herders could reveal about who they are, their lifestyles, learning experiences and education ambitions in order to inform the NFE policy of Lesotho. The study answered the following four research questions:

1. What are the educational life histories of adult male herders in Lesotho?
2. How are their multiple identities (subjectivities) as herders constructed and how do these constructed identities influence their educational needs?
3. How have the herders applied IK gained through their life histories to

advance their livelihoods?

4. How could these life history experiences inform Lesotho's non-formal education policy for adult herders in Lesotho?

A summary of the first four chapters provides the context for the study as follows.

Chapter 1 highlighted that poverty is a major inhibitor for obtaining access to education in Lesotho. Lesotho's international ranking has fallen from 120 out of 162 countries in 2001 to 162 out of 187 countries in 2014 (UNDP, 2014). Poverty is estimated to be in the region of 58% of the population in rural areas. This situation particularly affects males who are often recruited as herders; at an early age and their schooling is either disrupted or non-existent. Participation in schooling for males is lower than for girls (Setoi, 2012). Some males remain herders as adults and, because of their lifestyle, they continue to be marginalised from adult education opportunities. Although NFE providers do target herders for literacy classes, there is insufficient information about adult herder identities and ambitions to enable such provision to address their needs sufficiently to help them move out of poverty and become more accepted within Basotho society.

In light of the above problem, the chapter identified the international policy context which laid the foundation for the development of Lesotho-specific policies on poverty eradication and on the provision of universal and compulsory education. The policies and mechanisms identified under this section include the following: Education For All; Millennium Development Goals; New Partnership for Africa's Development; and the Sustainable Development Goals. Since the inception of the EFA and MDG goals which focused on poverty reduction and universal primary education by 2015, the SDGs have highlighted the need for inclusive lifelong learning and sustainable livelihoods (Osborne et al., 2015). The international context has paved the way for more relevant learning provision for adults as well as recognition of the need to recognise the contribution of IK to lifelong learning.

National policy documents have identified the need for education to be made available to all and that the curriculum should promote entrepreneurial skills, and management of the environment, among others (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1993; GOL, 2000; MoET, 2005). NFE has been identified as the most suitable resource for herders and is provided through a Government sponsored agency, LDTC and a non governmental organisation, LANFE. However, although the providers understand the herder lifestyles, the indications are that they have insufficient in-depth knowledge about herder identities and ambitions and their existing knowledge to enable the organisations to devise a relevant curriculum that will address their general educational and income generating needs (Preece et al., 2009; Pitikoe, 2012).

Chapter 2 reviewed literature that helped to reveal existing knowledge about herding, herder lifestyles and NFE provision. The life histories in the literature revealed how the male Basotho start herding at a very tender age, depriving them of an opportunity to attend formal school because education is not legally binding in Lesotho. Hence the priority for livestock herding supersedes that of education (Rayner, 2010; Makoa & Zwilling, 2005; Mahe, 2009). However, basic numeracy and literacy skills play an important role in enabling the herders to keep stock of their livestock. The findings also indicated that the illiterate herders were able to access basic numeracy and literacy skills through the support of their peers. These suggest there is a need to find out how to make education appear more attractive to the herding population and to further explore how the peers can add value to the provision of NFE.

The findings illustrated that the public identity of the herders was of a very low status and that they had to struggle in order to fit into the larger Basotho society. Although the stories revealed a low public image, the stories were under-theorised and did not give a sense of how the herder identities developed beyond their public image or how they managed those public images. In addition, although the stories revealed the herders had access to Indigenous Knowledge, they did not detail what use the herders made of that IK for income generation or what further skills they needed to develop their economic empowerment.

Chapter 3 addressed three main theories: identity theory (Burke, 1991; Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Turner, 1978) and subjectivities (Weedon, 1987; Ortner, 2004; Winter, 2011); social capital (Bourdieu 1985; Ferlander, 2007; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010); and Indigenous Knowledge (Odora Hoopers, 2002; Nyraruhimbi, 2012; Akullo et al., 2007; World Bank, 1998; Fasokun et al., 2005; Ngozwana, 2014). In relation to identity and subjectivity it was evident that identities are multiple, complex and dynamic and are influenced by context, significant others, culture and the environment. Furthermore the chapter revealed how power and dominance were central to masculinity (Morojele, 2009; 2011a; 2011b; Alsop et al., 2002; and Bowl et al., 2012). In addition, the theory chapter discussed how the collective nature of Africans has influenced the shaping of African identity as discussed in Lekoko and Modise (2011), Carson (2009), and Kumah-Abiwu and Ochwa-Echel (2013).

The literature on social capital revealed that there are three kinds of social capital, each of which enables access to different forms of social support. Bonding social capital is narrow and localised in that it enables establishment of relationships among people with similar characteristics (Ferlander, 2007). Bridging social capital extends beyond the common group and explores networking externally (Ferlander, 2007; Thomas, 2002). Linking social capital extends externally into institutions and people who hold positions of power; it enables those who hold power to use their influence to enable access to information and resources (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010). It was evident from the literature that people with substantial networks have access to a bigger volume of resources that can contribute to lifelong learning and livelihood development (Bourdieu, 1985).

IK as a concept refers to the cultural and context specific knowledge that is developed orally over time and generationally inherited (Smit & Masoga, 2012; King, 1999; Emery, 2000; Nakata & Langston, 2005; Nyiraruhimbi, 2012). Nyiraruhimbi identifies three ways of looking at IK as follows. IK is a local science where IK is consciously developed over time using local technologies that bring about a significant change in the lives of the indigenous people, for example the use of traditional herbs. IK as local practice refers to the IK that has

been developed unconsciously over time through trial and error methods, for example the arts and craft activities. Finally, IK as local memory refers to the abstract memorised knowledge that resulted from the socialisation process such as folklore. The implication here is that by virtue of being communally owned, IK can be regenerated to economically benefit the local communities (Odora Hoopers, 2002; Briggs, 2013).

These theories provided a lens to explore how identities were constructed in multiple ways among the male Basotho herders; how those identities later influenced their ambitions to learn; how the male herders expressed, valued and perceived themselves; and how their different identities fitted within the overall Basotho culture. The social capital theory enabled me to categorise the different forms of social support that the herders had access to and how they used those forms of social support to contribute to their identity construction as well as income generation. The IK theory and its categorisations provided a way of categorising the different forms of local knowledge that the herders had access to, which in turn enabled them to function as herders as well as acquire skills for economic empowerment.

Chapter 4 explained how this was a qualitative study based on the interpretivist paradigm due to its descriptive nature and the desire to focus on the subjective reality of the herders. The study followed the narrative life history approach, drawing on the data collected from thirty herders aged between 18 years and 45 years who came from the lowlands, foothills and highlands, and had some experience in cattle post herding. The rationale behind the age range was to examine the level of access that the herders aged between 18 and 30 years have had of the FPE that was introduced in Lesotho in 2000 and to explore what other form of learning the older herders had been exposed to.

The data collection tools included interviews, the transect walk and the photovoice, all of which contributed to building up an in-depth picture of the life histories of the herders. The herders' data was triangulated through the perspectives obtained from the NFE service

providers. The descriptive nature of my study enabled me to explore the herders' educational values, sense of self and their ambitions.

Data was initially analysed inductively, looking for patterns and themes that reflected their identities, educational experiences and life ambitions. The theoretical framework was then used as an additional lens through which to further categorise and explain the findings at a more abstract level.

The subsequent chapters presented the findings from the data according to the inductively and deductively derived themes and the chapters were organised in relation to the research questions.

9.1   ANALYSIS OF KEY FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The findings indicated the different ways in which herders' identities were expressed in Basotho society. Here the quote used by Casey (1993) in relation to a study on women teachers is very apt, as the herders illustrated they have been called many things by people without those people hearing how the herders identify themselves. The herders have been externally labelled by others in different ways. But each of these labels, which were external representations of themselves, were also accompanied by herder rationales for how they were, due to the nature of the job.

Chapter 5 was largely descriptive and answered question one of the study. It aimed to identify the common trends and patterns amongst the herders by looking at their demographics, including their schooling experience, according to the three geographical regions.

Chapters 6 and 7 answered question two of the study and chapter 8 answered question 3. Chapter 6 explored the public identity of the herders which was largely negative and multi-layered but also included issues that reflected Basotho culture and masculinity. The findings in Chapter 6 were therefore categorised under the headings of culture, masculinity and othering.

Chapter 7 looked at the private image of the herders which was gerally positive. The purpose of this chapter was to examine how the herders perceived themselves despite their public identity from the general society. The findings on the private herder identity were divided into: innersense of self, freedom to be and social capital.

Chapter 8 examined how the herders acquired indigenous knowledge through herding and how that herding knowledge was later transformed into some form of economic empowerment for the herders. In this chapter, the findings were categorised into traditional knowledge, use of knowledge for economic purposes and the herders' recommendation for NFE provision.

The key findings of the study are presented in the next sections as follows. The herders' life histories discussed the herders' educational background which generally reaveled low literacy levels among the herders. The findings also explored the herders' ambitions where it was discovered how they aspired to move out of the herding responsibilities and live better lives coupled with financial security.

The identity findings revealed two forms of herder identity; one of public identity and the other of private image. Under public identity, it was discovered how culture influenced the construction of identity. The findings also revealed how the traditional instututions played a significant role in shaping the masculine identity. The 'othering' concept also revealed how Basotho society subjected the herders to resentment and that in the process the herders were distanced from the larger Basotho society. The findings on the private identities reflected how the herders' inner sense of self presented a generally positive self perception among the herders. Their sense of freedom to be was discussed on the basis of their perceived freedom from the routines and cultural norms from the society although it also presented a challenge of lack of knowledge on how to fit in into the larger Basotho society. Under this section, the findings revealed how social capital became a resource for learning support for the herders both at home and at the cattle posts.

The findings on knowledge identified the two major forms of IK which the herders had access to and used for income generation purposes. These knowledge types were IK as local science and IK as local practice. The local science knowledge was generally based on the knowledge of the traditional herbs and how the herders transformed these herbs using the local techniques into both human and animal cure. The local practice findings revolved around the trial and error knowledge acquired through herding and how this knowledge was later turned into income generation projects for the herders. The chapter also presented the herders recommendations on how Lesotho can provide NFE that will be relevant to the herders' needs and suitable to their herding lifestyles. The findings on the herders' life histories were as follows.

9.1.1. Life histories

Educational background

The literature indicates the generally low literacy levels amongst the herders (Lefoka, 2007; Morojele, 2009, 2011b; Setoi, 2012). However, the findings also discovered differences in the literacy across the different geographical settings where the lowlands herders had better opportunities to access education than the highlands herders. There were also differences in literacy levels between the younger and the older herders where the younger herders seemed more educated and ambitious to attain tertiary level education while the older herders were mainly completely illiterate or had dropped out of school at low grades.

The herders' strategies for counting the animals confirmed the strategies identified in the literature but these strategies had not been linked to the theory of literacy and numeracy as a social practice (Nirantar, 2007) which explains how context specific literacy activities can be used to facilitate further learning. While the literature highlights that education is given a lesser status by the herders, the findings revealed that basic numeracy and literacy were requirements for the herders to enable them to monitor their livestock. However the herders felt intimidated by the daily formal routine that came with formal education.

Herders' ambitions

Despite the lack of education for many (as identified by GOL, 2000; Makoa & Zwilling, 2005; Mahe, 2009; Rayner, 2010; Lefoka, 2007; Morojele, 2009, 2011b; Setoi, 2012), the study found out that the herders would not want their children to remain uneducated. However, for most, they observed herding as the rite of passage into manhood which their sons must be exposed to for them to be 'real Basotho men'. The herders also aspired to be financially empowered and most of their projects' aspirations were closely linked to herding, such as owning a cattle post, producing high breeds of livestock or selling livestock. The study discovered that despite being illiterate, they wanted to marry an educated wife. The literature (Makoa & Zwilling, 2005) and the study findings noted how much male Basotho long for females to the extent that, any time they spent together as males, they discussed females and how to attract their attention. The literature discussed how the high literacy rates among females could have compromised the herders' choice in marrying someone who was uneducated. The herders' responses however indicated that they felt an educated wife could take full responsibility for the children's education and make decision-making and planning in the house easier. Education according to the herders was associated with socialisation and enlightenment. Their public identity images had implications for NFE programme development in a number of ways.

9.1.2 Public identity

Culture

In chapter 6, the analysis of the herders in terms of their cultural identity drew on Bourdieu's (1985) notion of culture as a reflection of patterns of behaviour that are closely linked to personal practices and belief systems. The general cultural image of the herders is unhygienic, because their skin is usually covered with a thick black layer or crust of dirt which is visible on their legs, hands and to some extent on their faces. The findings on culture revealed that while the poor personal hygiene was perceived negatively by the society, the thick black layer or crust on the herders' bodies acted as a shield or insulator which helped them to cope better

with the harsh weather conditions. The findings also affirmed the assumption that 'the higher you go the cooler it becomes' in that the higher the altitude the less care was taken about personal hygiene amongst the herders. The majority of the herders in the foothills and in the lowlands had better hygiene than those in the highlands. Similarly, the more educated herders were more careful about their hygiene as opposed to the illiterate herders.

There is also a wide-spread sense of public resentment towards the herders which is closely linked to their unruly behaviour associated with some deliberate petty crimes which the herders undertake. The herders' internalisation of their public perception influenced how they related to the wider society. For instance, in some cases they behaved according to the public perception that they were antisocial. One example was where Semonkong 4 narrated that "we [herders] do things that are not acceptable in our communities such as taking the animals to the preserved grazing land (*maboelleng*)" almost to reinforce their public image in the wider society.

Dress code

The findings also suggested there was a need for change in the herders' dress code. For instance, Linakaneng 2 argued that the current dress code brings with it a sense of not moving with the times – reinforcing their public image of being backward. It was also not compatible with the cold weather conditions especially in the cattle post areas where most of the herding is conducted in Lesotho.

Masculinity

Culturally, herding also reinforced a core Basotho concept of masculinity which saw herding as a rite of passage where the herders learned how to be 'real men'. The herders argued how the herding experience taught them bravery, self protection and resilience skills that were associated with masculinity but which could also be closely associated with aggression. This notion often contradicts the normalised expectation of 'gentlemanly behaviour' in terms of social skills which are required outside of the herding fraternity.

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Power and dominance

The findings indicated that power and dominance were socially constructed phenomena which the male Basotho were taught and learned from others and that there was a social hierarchy among the herders which informed the manifestation of command and authority over the weaker herders. Morojele (2009) confirms this notion and further highlights the impact that this has on how males behave in formal education settings which could potentially have an implication for NFE.

Resilience

The herders demonstrated resilience in a number of ways. For instance, Meks learned to survive by being resilient to the social challenges that he was faced with, such as sacrificing school work to support a sick mother. It became evident from the herders' stories that through herding Basotho males learned how 'manhood' is perceived in Basotho culture and that livestock wealth was one way of defining 'manhood' for Basotho.

These stories on the herders' images of how they learned their masculinity reflected recent literature on how male Basotho have been socialised to take responsibilities in important matters regardless of their low literacy levels (Morojele, 2009, 2011b). The findings in part also affirmed the literature in Mncwango and Luvuno, (2015) and Ratau (1988) regarding the role played by the traditional institutions (such as the *induna* and the *khotla* in Chapter 2) in reinforcing male power and male dominance. However, from the study findings, the role of the traditional institutions was not clearly outlined. Instead the findings highlighted the role of the other herders, the society and family as teachers of power and dominance. For instance the herders described rigorous training sessions by their peers, aimed at teaching the herders skills in fighting, learning and earning respect and aggressive behaviour.

Othering

The herders also revealed how they were treated as the 'other' (Rule & John, 2008) so that they were seen as other than normal human beings in Basotho society. Although the concept

of othering was not described in the literature on herder life stories, the findings' stories of how the herders were ridiculed and discriminated against by the society through name calling have been confirmed, for instance by Makoa and Zwilling (2005). One of the factors highlighted in the literature as influencing this perception was again the herders' poor personal hygiene which led to the society to call them names such as *qholo-ntšo*. While the literature highlights the poor personal hygiene among the herders, it did not tell us how the herders felt about the poor hygiene and the factors that perpetuated the poor hygiene. In my study the reason for poor personal hygiene was explained in the context that lack of care about hygiene was also closely linked to the herders' sense of self-degradation as if they have given up on themselves. In some cases the herders talked as if they did not see themselves as part of 'normal' society. Linakaneng 2 described the herders' feelings of being degraded.

The literature also revealed that the herders resented being 'othered' by the public (Mahe, 2009; Makoa & Zwilling, 2005) but my study was able to elaborate on the impact of this othering on the herders' self esteem which in turn made them hate their herding role.

Othering is a term that I have been able to apply to my findings on the basis of my wider reading about how, for example, people with disabilities or HIV-positive people are othered. It has not been highlighted as a form of discrimination among Basotho in the literature about herders.

The findings regarding the herders' understanding of their public image revealed that generally, the society perceived the herders negatively. There were also some contradictions regarding the public negative image of the herders' identity so that, despite their low literacy rate, they were still expected to perform certain masculinity roles that could be better performed by someone who was more literate and informed. Some explained the demeaning effect that lack of education had on them and that, irrespective of how intelligent they believed themselves to be, their illiteracy gave them a negative public identity and denied them the power to negotiate and or advocate for their rights. Some themes that emerged from

these public identity descriptions with implications for a revived educational curriculum addressing herder needs, included concerns to do with public health and social behaviour; the complementary value of education in relation to poverty and herding needs; the potential to draw on the herders' own skills; and a need to address their negative public images vis a vis their private images. Chapter 7 provided some insights into how these often contradictory images might be supported by the herders' private identities.

9.1.3   Private image

Burke and Stets (2009) argue how if one receives disconfirming reactions from others, then interpersonal prompts may be used to counteract this disconfirmation. However, the herders did not seem to have a public opportunity to do that. This lack of opportunity may have influenced the way they perceived themselves privately. It was significant in Chapter 7 that the herders' inner sense of self was more positive than that which was perceived by the outside world. Their private image revealed the inner values that the herders had about themselves (Keba, 2010). The chapter categorised these private identities under the headings of inner sense of self, freedom to be and social capital.

Inner Sense self

The findings in Chapter 7 which reflected a positive self-image, partly affirmed the literature findings, for instance in Metzinger (2000, 2010), but the opportunity to explore this self image in more depth revealed the different ways in which the herders' multiple identities emerged and the different influences on how they saw themselves.

The findings revealed that the herders' self identity was based on their social values. They did not consider themselves negatively, rather they viewed themselves in terms of their personal introspective values known to them alone as stated by Lekhala: "*ha ba ntsebe kahare*" – they do not know me inside. Also unknown to others was their value of wisdom as stated by Doctor: "*ke bohlale*" – I am clever; and their self care as stated by Ace: "I do not like being dirty". The literature does not tell us how the herders challenged that perception in order to fit

into the larger society. In my study, Ace identified himself from the othering perspective but he developed means to socially fit in by taking care of his personal hygiene. This also reflects the findings in Ashforth and Mael (1989). The contradictions for the herders between the need to protect themselves against the elements and at the same time recognising the significance of addressing their appearance for more public interactions, was a constant thematic thread throughout their stories.

Freedom to be

The herders' freedom to be was almost a reaction to not being able to fit in. This is supported by Ratcliffe's (2003) notion of how identity is constructed. Their enjoyment of their freedom on the mountains was shaped by their aspirations to be away from broader cultural norms and expectations in spite of the loneliness that came with the cattle post life. The literature on herders in the Basotho context (for example Rayner 2010) does not provide insights into how the herders talked about themselves, it only indicated that they had multiple identities. Burke and Stets (2009) suggest people's private identities are not necessarily accurate – yet for the herders this was their only source of positive imagery. Their portrayed external image masked their more private descriptions of their inner selves and who they wanted to be. These deeper insights showed the complexity of the herders' identities and the strength of their learning capabilities within their contexts beyond what has been discussed by the literature.

Role of social capital

By drawing on social capital theory, it was possible to identify that the herders themselves relied on a strong bonding network of support and social norms amongst themselves which served to build a sense of collectiveness and act as a social and practical resource for living in the veld. However those who were able to generate income or were better educated also appeared to have access to bridging or linking social capital networks.

It emerged that bonding, bridging and linking social capital resources often came in the form of significant others – either as family members, employers or friends, or, on occasions, more

extended business contacts. In addition some herders revealed a further significant other resource in the form of spiritual connections to ancestors.

There are therefore implications for NFE to explore the potential of building on the existing social norms - as a positive recognition of how the herders interrelate with and learn from each other, as a starting point to develop new skills and attitudes within more formalised programmes. There are also indications that education programmes that facilitate access to bridging and linking social capital would be able to maximise the herders' use of IK for income generating purposes.

9.2 USE OF IK

The question regarding the forms of IK that were used by the herders was answered in Chapter 8. IK is defined as the contextual local knowledge accumulated by local people over generations (Poorna et al., 2014). Briggs (2013) highlights that generally, indigenous people have a rich reservoir of IK and he advocates for inclusion of such knowledge as a means of transforming the economy of local people. Nyiraruhimbi (2012) identifies three forms of IK: Local science; local practice and local memory. The study findings indicated that the main forms of IK used by the herders were local science and local practice.

IK as local science

Nyiraruhimbi (2012) argues that local knowledge becomes local science when it has consciously developed from its initial form through local knowledge and local technologies used by local people. One example of local science that the herders generated income from was the use of traditional herbs.

Knowledge and use of traditional herbs

Moteetee and Van Wyk (2011) affirm that traditional herbs can be used in different forms. The findings indicated how herders learned about traditional herbs through different methods. Some learned through watching their elders or being taught by other family members or by

other herders. The knowledge included how they could use the herbs either for animal or personal use or even further, as nutritional supplements.

The significant others in the findings were identified as influencing medicinal knowledge among the herders. Their knowledge acquisition had also been influenced by their herding environment and this link between IK and environment is supported by Huang (2002). The findings also affirmed how the herders were able to establish networks amongst themselves on medicinal knowledge. Their IK therefore was useful in their herding contexts but only some were able to package it for use outside the herding community. This indicated that programmes that broaden linking social capital networks would extend the potential for growth and development.

The findings however also indicated that the herders were depleting some herbs. The implication for NFE is that there is need to provide education on plant propagation and preservation of the traditional herbs.

IK as local practice

IK becomes a local practice when it involves the use of cumulative local knowledge (Nyiraruhimbi, 2012). Hansman (2001) talks about how an enabling environment and the positive role played by social support and availability of tools enhance learning to take place. Briggs (2013) emphasises how the localised nature of IK becomes an opportunity for local empowerment through shared knowledge and experiences that have accumulated over time and space. From the findings, the local practice was acquired by doing repeatedly, by oral narration from others and by visual means. The acquired skills for income generation included arts and crafts, stones (Chapter 8) and livestock sale (Chapter 7).

A second form of local practice was evident in the way the herders acquired and used localised forms of literacy and numeracy. This is now described as literacy as social practice

(Nirantar, 2007) and recent studies have argued that such social practices should be built into more conventional forms of literacy education (for example Openjuru, 2011).

While the findings revealed that the herders possessed a rich source of IK, which can be tapped into and taught widely amongst Basotho, its oral nature (Ngozwana, 2014: Nafuko et al., 2005) meant that IK is generally accorded a lower status (Gill, 1993). Osborne et al. (2015) argue for the need to explore further how IK can contribute to development and this suggests that IK should be recorded in a more formalised way so it can be used as an educational resource.

In response to the findings above, the study has generated a comprehensive list of recommendations which need to be taken into consideration in the design and the delivery of the NFE programmes that address the herders. The herders made their own recommendations some of which may be applicable for NFE policy while others were more relevant for future national education policies. The following paragraphs summarise their recommendations.

The herders recommended that education has to be legally binding in Lesotho to enable the males to attend school and be educated enough to carry out the family leadership roles that define masculinity in Basotho culture.

The herders recommended the need for an annual review of the herders' curriculum and that it has to be done in consultation with the herders to ensure that it suited their needs and availability. They also highlighted that all herders have access to cellular phones and radios and such technology should be incorporated into distance learning programmes, especially for those who are herding in remote areas. This recommendation is echoed by Andronic (2014) and Vázquez-Cano (2014) where cell phones have been recommended as an alternative mode of provision for adult learners.

In view of the high illiteracy rates seemingly found in the highlands, they also recommended that the learning posts should be spread countrywide and closer to the cattle posts for ease of

access by the herders. The herders also recommended that the number of evening schools should be increased to accommodate their lifestyles and to reduce the high learner drop out.

One herder suggested that since the herder lifestyles are so distinctive they should be given schooling that specifically addresses them as a collective so their experience of 'othering' would not deter them from attending school. However, at the same time there was a strong sense that efforts should be made to include them more positively in the wider society. This would also include providing them with networks that would facilitate opportunities for income generation.

9.3.   RECOMMENDATIONS

This section discusses the recommendations for the NFE policy of Lesotho. The section builds on the herder recommendations to accommodate their own identified learning needs and includes my own assessment of how these recommendations could be enhanced in the light of my interpretation of their interviews. The section finishes with a recommendation for further studies.

Some key aspects that need to be considered for an NFE policy and curriculum for herders in Lesotho, reflect a holistic approach to learning, rather than a narrow focus on literacy and numeracy. There was evidence that the LDTC and LANFE had already initiated some efforts to incorporate income generating skills in NFE learning posts but this was often under-implemented, perhaps reflecting, in part, the lack of detailed understanding about herder identities and the use of their IK. Two key features of any adult learning philosophy, as articulated by Rogers (2004), for example, is that education should build on the learners' own experiences and start from where they are at, in order to move to a transformational learning stage; and that adults like to have the practical application of their learning. In other words learning needs to have immediate applicable value (Baumgartner 2001).

The recommendations for informing NFE policy and improving NFE provision and informing NFE policy, therefore, are as follows.

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9.3.1 Participatory curriculum review and design process

A key feature of NFE as articulated in the literature has always been that NFE is a participatory process which involves the learners in the design and content of their own curriculum. It is therefore recommended that a strategy is implemented to enable effective consultation with the herding community, perhaps through the *Monna Ka Khomo* Herders Association. This would include creating opportunities for raising awareness of the complementary value of education for herding and poverty reduction so that herding is not prioritised over education.

9.3.2 Incorporate technology as a learning resource

The herders indicated they already have access to cellphones and radios – and are able to charge their phones regularly through informal arrangements with cellphone providers. It is therefore recommended that NFE providers broadcast their programme over the radio, especially during the day, which is when the herders are most likely to have time to listen to their radios.

9.3.3 A more holistic curriculum

As has already been mentioned, there were indications that topics such as environmental awareness, public health and hygiene and business skills should be included as part of the NFE curriculum. Such topics could be taught as relevant literacy and numeracy content.

Social literacy approach

Nirantar (2007) and Openjuru (2011) among others indicate that technically illiterate people use a different approach to learning basic literacy and numeracy skills. The findings revealed that the herders' main form of knowledge acquisition was informal, using different methods. These different methods of acquiring knowledge imply a consideration for using context specific learning approaches that will be applicable to the herders in order to enhance their literacy and numeracy learning. It is also important for NFE to identify the different social

learning methods that the herders use in learning and consider coming up with programmes that will help to nurture these skills.

Herder identity

The findings revealed the general negative public perception of the herders which later influenced the negative behaviour of the herders. The study recommends that in addition to the literacy and numeracy programmes, there is a need to develop an NFE curriculum that will address the herders' identity contradictions in order for effective literacy and numeracy learning to occur. For instance, it should take account of their social capital strengths of loyalty, support and caring, but also develop understandings of wider social skills and ways to build their public image.

Power relations

Power and dominance have been identified as critical elements that define masculinity. Ratau (1988) further talks about how power among the herders manifests itself through the herder hierarchy, a notion which was affirmed by the herders' stories of how they learned aggression as part of the herding orientation. Morojele (2009, 2011a) further posits that in the context of Lesotho, the male dominance and power results from the socialisation process. The study recommends that the design of the NFE programmes has to take into consideration how they address these power relations in the curriculum.

Skills for immediate application

In addition it is recommended that NFE programmes involve the Farmers Training Centres to assist with livestock and business management skills, so that their learning is seen to have positive livelihood benefits.

9.3.4 Inclusion of significant others for learner support

The herders explained the role played by significant others in shaping their identities. These came in the form of mentors and educators both at home and at the cattle posts. It is

recommended that NFE programmes use the literate herders to develop basic numeracy and literacy skills for those who are illiterate since they will understand the herder learning contexts. The study also recommends that an NFE lifeskills programme should include significant others in the form of family members, local chiefs or the initiation school principals to harmonise the relationships between the herders and the larger community.

9.3.5   Social capital

In appreciation of the cohesive nature of the herders the study recommends that the neighbouring cattle posts be grouped together as learning posts to provide a source of motivation among the learners and a sense of belonging. Then NFE staff can identify learning coordinators among the learning group members. The findings illustrated that the herders' main form of social capital is bonding which keeps them together as a group and provides opportunities to learn from each other. This form of social capital may also have resulted from the negative perception that they have received outside the herding community which may further promote their negative perception of the current NFE provision and of the kind of support they have received so far. While the findings did not reveal much access to linking social capital among the herders, the study recommends the consideration of linking social capital (such as access to businesses and other training providers) in designing NFE programmes for the herders, as it can play an important role in helping the herders to 'get on' with the NFE programme and their future aspirations.

9.3.6   Promotion of herders' IK

The literature highlights the oral nature of IK and the lack of documents that can be widely shared. The study recommends developing a collection of the Lesotho specific IK which the herders acquired through herding and documenting the findings in English and Sesotho so that it can be taught in schools and shared widely. For instance the herders could document their IK as part of literacy learning so that they have a sense of ownership over their learning and can see the relevance of literacy.

The findings identified two main sources of income generation amongst the herders, namely, different forms of IK and livestock, which is another form of knowledge for the herders. The recommendation from the study is to develop economic empowerment programmes for the herders that will take into consideration the bulk of IK knowledge that the herders have acquired and also reflect livestock as a financial resource for the herders.

The common feature of all these recommendations is the need for learning to be relevant and purposeful for the herders - which becomes the key factor in the design and delivery of the NFE curriculum. The recommendations also imply the need for policy reform in order to be able to provide learning that meets the social context of the herders.

9.3.7   Future studies

There is a need for a more in-depth, ethnographic study of IK practices which will preserve the wealth of knowledge that the herders have acquired from their herding role. This will contribute to creating a deeper understanding of Basotho herding culture and its potential contribution to wider Basotho society.

9.4   CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the conclusions and the recommendations of the study. The chapter firstly presented the summary of the study findings in relation to the research questions that the study sought to answer. These were followed by an outline of the findings where the following areas were identified: the herders appeared to be trapped by their public identity. Social capital was a resource but needed to be expanded from bonding to bridging and linking networks, and there were concerns about an un-inclusive decision making process and uncoordinated use of IK.

The recommendations for NFE included: the need for a participatory curriculum design and for the use of technology in delivering programmes. Learner support needs were also highlighted as well as the need for the herders to be included in the wider society. The close

relationships amongst the herders were acknowledged as a resource for learning and support where cattle posts can be grouped together for learning purposes. Another recommendation was on the need for including in education programmes recognition of Lesotho-specific IK acquired through herding.

This calls for a need to look at alternatives for the universal acquisition and provision of knowledge where the learning opportunities are taken beyond the normal classroom confinement and the concentration on basic numeracy and literacy skills is more flexibly interpreted. The types of instructions need to be flexible and open enough to build the capacity of the learner with skills that address their immediate needs within the context of their lifestyles. It also needs to address some of the social relationship contradictions that the herders experience.

The potential remedial role of DE can counteract the shortcomings of the conventional education system by exploring the use of technology in the delivery of NFE programmes tailored for the herders for ease of access. There is a need to design appropriate learning programmes that can also capitalise on their acquired Indigenous Knowledge (IK) through herding, for the herders' empowerment.

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APPENDICES

UNIVERSITY OF
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INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

33 January 2014

Mrs SP Phikoe-Khau 213568176
School of Education
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mrs Phikoe-Khau

Protocol reference number: HSS/1514/013D
Project title: Male herders in Lesotho: Learning Lifehistories, identities and Educational Ambitions

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.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Julia Preece
cc Academic Leader: Dr MN Davids
cc School Admin: Mr Thabo Mthembu

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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**: Male herders in Lesotho: Lifehistory, identities and their educational ambitions.
- **Principal investigators**: Selloane Pitikoe 5943 8787 or mofumahali@gmail.com

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 members of your organization 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 find out the commonalities of the life-histories, the multiple identities and ambitions of the herders in order to inform the Non-formal Education provision as well as provide a good learning experience for students.

Your organisation/community has been chosen because of its direct involvement in the provision of out of school learning programmes for the herders in Lesotho in acknowledgement of education as a basic human right. We will interview the staff members who are/were directly involved in working with the herders. The interviews will be conducted individually and the meetings will last between one to two hours. I will seek the consent of the respondents to tape record and jot down some notes during the discussions. The study will take place between February/March 2014 and July 2015.

Is my organization compelled to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not you want your organization to take part in this study. If you do decide to take part, I will give you this information sheet to keep and I will ask you to sign and stamp the consent slip attached at the bottom of this information sheet. If you decide that your organization will participate in the study, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawal from the study will not have any negative consequences for anyone choosing to do this.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

I will not include any personally identifying information of the participants so that nobody can recognise them from the information that they will give.

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 is organising and funding the research?

The University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Who has reviewed the study?

The University of KwaZulu Natal – research funding committee and ethics committee

Address: Private Bag X01, Scottsville, 3209
Website: http://cae.org.za

Founding Campuses: ▪ Edgewood   ▪ Howard College   ▪ Medical School   ▪ Pietermaritzburg   ▪ Westville

Name Date ……….

I /We……………………………………. Consent to being interviewed in relation to research project **[ethical clearance reference number].**

I/We understand that my/our real name will not be used in any public report, unless authorized by our/myself and that I/we are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequences for my/our status at the university or in the community.

………………………………………….   …………………………….

Signature   **date**

RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMATION LETTER/CONSENT FORM FOR THE HERDERS

1. Study title and Researcher Details

- **Department**: Adult Education

- **Project title**: Male herders in Lesotho: Lifehistory, identities and their educational ambitions.

- **Principal investigators**: Selloane Pitikoe 5943 8787 or mofumahali@gmail.com

2. Seratsoana sa memo

U menngoa ho nka karolo lipatlisisong tsa boithuto. Pele u nka qeto, ho bohlokoa hore u utluisise hore na lipatlisiso tsena li etsoa hobaneng le tse tlang ho etsahala. Ke kopa u bale litaba tse latelang kahloko u be u li qoqe le ba bang haeba u ikutloa ho etsa joalo. Mpotse haeba hoena le moo u sa hlakeloang teng. Nka nako ea hau ho etsa qeto ea hore na u batla ho nka karolo kapa che.

Kea leboha ha u balile mona.

3. Ebe sepheeo sa boithuto boo ke sefe?

Sepheeo sa boithuto bona ke ho fuputsa lintho tse ts'oanang lipaleng tsa bophelo, mekhoa e fapaneng ea boikamohelo le litabatabelo tsa balisana ele hore ho nyenyelletse Thuto ea Kantle ho Sekolo le ho fna ka monyetla oa boithuto ho baithuti.

4. Hobaneng hake khethiloe?

U khethiloe hobane o sebetsa o le molisana ea ntseng ale meraka kapa ea kileng aba meraka.Lipuisano tsa rona retla li etsa le batho kabo mong.

5. Na ke tlameha ho nka karolo?

Ona le boikhethelo ba ho nka karolo kapa hose enke. Haeba u khetha ho nka karolo, ketla u fa leqephe la litlhakisetso hore u ipolokele lona ebile ketla u kopa ho saena setlankane sa tumellano. Haeba u khetha ho nka karolo u ntse u lokolohile ho koeneha nako efe le efe u sa fane leka mabaka. Ho koeneha hoo hoa hau hokeke hoa u tlisetsa litlamorao tse bosula hohang.

6. Hotla etsahala eng ho 'na haeba ke nka karolo?

Ketla botsa lipotso ho molisana ka mong eseng ka lihlopha.

Liphutheho litlaba bolele ba lipakeng tsa hora hoisa hot se peli. Ketla kopa tumello ea hau hore ke hatise lipuisano. Ketla boela ke nke tlaleho ea lipuisano tsena.

Boithuto botla tsoela pele ho lipakeng tsa Hlakola/Hlakubele 2014 le Phupu 2015

7. Na ho nka karolo hoaka boithutong boo hot la sebetsoa ka tsela esa ntotobatseng? Ha kena ho hlahisa lebitso la hao le aterese boithutong bona. Ketla etsa sena ele ho qoba hore motho e mong atle a khone ho u amahanya le litaba tseo u tlang ho fana ka tsona.

8. Hotla etsahala eng ka litaba tse tlang ho fumanoa liphuputsong tsee?

Tlaleho ea mapomelo ea liphuputso tsena etla fumaneha University ea KwaZulu-Natal

9. Ke mange a hlophisitseng le ts'ehetsa lipatlisiso tse ka lichelete?

University ea KwaZulu-Natal.

10. Ke mange a hlahlobileng boithuto boo (Who has reviewed the study)?

University ea KwaZulu Natal – komiti ea lihlapiso tsa liphuputso le komiti ea melaoana e tsamaisang lipatlisiso (ethics committee)

11. Boitsibitso bakeng sa litlhakisetso

Haeba ho ena le moo osa hlakeloeng mabapi le morero ona oa lipatlisiso ka kopo ikopanye le:

Professor Julia Preece: Professor ea Adult Education e Sitsing sa Adult Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Moahong oa Education Building, Pietermaritzburg, Email: preecej@ukzn.ac.za

HSSREC Research Office contact details Ms P Ximba, Tel: 031 260 3587, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Kea leboha!

Lebitso_____ Letsatsi_____

Hlokomela. Ka kopo saena setlankana se qhoaelletsoeng haeba u lumela ho botsoa lipotso.

'Na……………………………………. ke lumela ho botsoa lipotso tse amanang le morero ona oa lipatlisiso
[ethical clearance reference number].

Kea utluisisa hore lebitso laka la 'nete ha lena ho sebelisoa haho phatlalatsoa tlaleho, ntle leha ele ka tumello eaka le hore ke lokolohile ho ikhula ho nka karolo boithutong bona ka nako eohle, ntle le litlamorao tse bosula ho 'na.

…………………………………….. …………………………….

Motekeno **letsatsi**

<u>**Research Instruments**</u>

<u>SEMI-STRUCTERED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE SERVICE PROVIDERS</u>

Greetings, I am <u>Selloane Pitikoe</u>, I am a student at the University of Kwazulu Natal. I am here to conduct a research as a requirement for the completion of my Doctoral Degree in Adult Education. I am understudying the **life histories, identities and educational ambitions of the male herders in Lesotho**. During this interview, I would like to discuss the following topics: the lifestories of the adult male herders, how they learn about and use the Indigenous Knowledge, how their identity is formed and constructed, their life ambitions and achievements and how all these can inform the Non Formal education policy of Lesotho.

INFORMING THE NFE POLICY IN LESOTHO

Main questions	Probing questions	Clarity seeking questions
What is your role in NFE provision in Lesotho?	How well do you get to know the herders in your role	
What programmes does your organization offer for the herders?	Why do you offer them those particular ones?	Please elaborate
What guides the NFE curriculum design process in your organization?	(content, mode, location and why)	Please elaborate
Please share your experience in delivering the content to the herders.	Can you elaborate on the level of motivation/retention rate of the herders in your programmes? Which sessions/activities do they feel more	

	and less motivated to attend?	
	What are the challenges of providing NFE to herders?	
	What would you like to provide that you do not provide?	

LIFEHISTORIES OF THE ADULT MALE HERDERS

Main questions	Probing questions	Clarity seeking questions
Can you tell me of one success story from herders that you have educated?	At what age did he start looking after the animals? What experience did he have of living at a cattle post?	Please elaborate

LEARNING ABOUT AND USE OF IK

Main questions	Probing questions	Clarity seeking questions
How does one become a herder in Lesotho?	What kind of training do they get in preparation for their herding role? Who provides the training?	Please elaborate
How different is herding at the cattle post to any other herding?	How do they access social services; (health care, information, education)? What coping mechanisms do they use for	Please elaborate

Main questions	Probing questions	Clarity seeking questions
	survival?	
What kind of knowledge and skills do the herders acquire on the job?	How applicable are those skills to their life outside the herding role?	Please elaborate

IDENTITY LEARNING AND CONSTRUCTION

Main questions	Probing questions	Clarity seeking questions
In Lesotho how can one easily identify a herder?	How involved are they in development and decision making activities?	Please elaborate
What is the general perception that people have about the herders?	In a family/community/general public setting, how are the herders regarded?	Please elaborate
How well does the community perceive them as part of them?	What role can they play in community development activities?	Please elaborate

LIFE AMBITIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Main questions	Probing questions	Clarity seeking questions
What aspirations do they have about the future?	Any plans to change their lives?	Please elaborate
What potential development opportunities does Lesotho have for the herders?		Please elaborate
Thank you very much for your time		

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<u>**UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE MALE HERDERS**</u>

INSTRUCTIONS

- **INTRODUCE YOURSELF TO THE PARTICIPANTS**
- **REVIEW THE ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO THE PARTICIPANTS**
- **COMPLETE THE CONSENT FORM/S**
- **ASK ALL THE QUESTIONS WITH FOLLOW-UPS AS AND WHEN NECESSARY**
- **RECORD THE RESPONSES USING A TAPE RECORDER AND A NOTE BOOK**

1. **LIFEHISTORIES OF ADULT MALE HERDERS: Tell me the story of how you became a herder and what you do on a daily basis: Prompts**
   - Please tell me the most interesting part of your herding job;
   - When did your interest in herding first begin? What motivated you to look after the animals?
   - When does your day begin and end? What kind of activities, besides looking after the animals, do you do during the day?
   - Are there any particular memories that stick in your mind about your herding experiences?

2. **LEARNING ABOUT AND USE OF IK: What kind of knowledge have you gained as a herder? Prompts**
   - What kind of learning or knowledge did you get in order for you to be a herder? How did you get that knowledge? What were the learning challenges?
   - Give some examples of how you look after the animals
   - How do you look after yourself (e.g. food, health, hygiene)?
     - Suppose you were to get sick while looking after the animals in the cattle post, what do you do?
     - Suppose one of your animals gets sick while at the cattle post and your employer has travelled, how do you help the animal?

3. **IDENTITY LEARNING AND CONSTRUCTION: What do you like most about yourself and why? Prompts**:-
   - How do you feel about being male Mosotho?
   - What are the advantages of either being a male or a female?
   - How do you feel about being a herder?; please elaborate;
   - How do Basotho regard the herders?

      o   How do you feel about that?

4. **IDENTITY AND INCOME GENERATION: Do you find ways of earning your own income? If so, tell me about it**. **Prompts:-**
   - What resources do you use to earn income?
   - How does your employer treat you?
     - How does your employer pay you?
     - Are you happy with the pay that you get?
     - How do you spend/save it?

5. **IDENTITY AND PLACE**: **Tell me about the different places where you herd**. **Prompts:-**
   - What do you like about those places?
     - What challenges do you come across – how do you deal with them?

6. **IDENTITY AND SOCIAL SUPPORT: Tell me about the people you meet while herding & how have they influenced your life. Prompts:-**
   - Are there any people who are particularly significant in your life? In what way?

7. **EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES: Tell me about any experiences you have of going to school Prompts:**
   - **What kind of schooling?**
   - **How many years of attendance/level of achievement?**
   - **What did you like/dislike about schooling?**

8. **LIFE AMBITIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS: Where do you see yourself in five years time from now? Prompts**:-
   - If you were to be given a second chance in life, what would you do to live your life differently?
   - How could you apply the experience that you have acquired from your herding job to generate income?
   - What are future plans about a) starting a family b) the wife you would like to marry c) raising your children?

9. **INFORMING THE NFE POLICY IN LESOTHO**
   - How easy is it for you to access information and services at the cattle posts?
   - If you were to advise the decision makers; what would you recommend to be included in Lesotho's out of school learning programmes for the herders?

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE MALE HERDERS –
SESOTHO TRANSLATION

INSTRUCTIONS

- **INTRODUCE YOURSELF TO THE PARTICIPANTS**
- **REVIEW THE ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO THE PARTICIPANTS**
- **COMPLETE THE CONSENT FORM/S**
- **ASK ALL THE QUESTIONS WITH FOLLOW-UPS AS AND WHEN NECESSARY**
- **RECORD THE RESPONSES USING A TAPE RECORDER AND A NOTE BOOK**

1. **LIFEHISTORIES OF ADULT MALE HERDERS; Nqoqele pale ea hau hore na ho tlile joang hore ube molisana le hore na u etsa eng letsatsi ka leng: Prompts**
   - Aku nqoqele ka karalo eo u e ratang haholo ea mosebetsi oa hau oa ho alosa;
   - Thahasello ea hau ea ho alosa e qalile neng? Ke eng se ileng sa ho susumelletsa ho alosa liphoofolo?
   - Letstatsi la hau le qala neng ebe le felella neng? Ke mesebetsi efeng eo u e tsang ka letsatsi ntle le oa ho alosa liphoofolo?
   - Na hona le lintho tse ikhethang tseo u li hopolang tse kileng tsa u hlahela ha u alositse?

2. **LEARNING ABOUT AND USE OF IK: Ke malebela afe ao u ithutileng eona mosebetsing oo oa ho alosa? Prompts**
   - Ke thuto efeng kapa tsebo efeng eo ileng oa e fuoa hore u khone ho alosa? U e fumane joang tsebo eo? Ke liqholotso life tseo u ileng oa kopana le tsona ha u ithuta?
   - Aku fane ka mehlala ea kamoo u alosang liphoofolo kateng
   - Uena I itlhokomela joang (eg lijo, bophelo, bohloeki)?
     - Ha hoka hoa etsahala u kule ha u ntse u alositse liphoofolo meraka, u etsa joang?
     - Ha hoka etsahala hore e 'ngoe ea liphoofolo e kule ha ule meraka joale ebe monga hau ha a eo, u ka e thusa joang?

3. **IDENTITY LEARNING AND CONSTRUCTION Ke eng eo u e ratang haholo ka uena mabaka ke afe? Prompts:-**

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- U ikutloa joang ka hoba Mosotho e motona?
- Ke makhabane afeng a tlisoang ke hoba motona kapa motšehali?
- U ikutloa joang ka hoba molisana?; aku hlalose haholoanyane;
- Basotho ba nka balisana joang?
    - U ikutloa joang ka seo?

4   **IDENTITY AND INCOME GENERATION**. **Na una le mekhoa e meng ea ho iketsetsa chelete; haeba ho joalo aku nqolele ka eona Prompts:-**
- U sebelisa lisebelisoa life ho iketsetsa chelete?
- Monga hau o u tšoere joang?
    - Monga hau o u lefa joang?
    - Na u khotsofetse ke patala eo u e fumanang?
    - U e sebelisa/boloka joang?

5   **IDENTITY AND PLACE**. **Nqoqele ka libaka tse fapaneng teso u alosetsang ho tsona. Prompts:-**
- U rata eng haholo ka libaka tseo
- Ke liqholotso life tseo u kopanang le tsona – u li hlola joang liqholotso tseo?

6   **IDENTITY AND SOCIAL SUPPORT: Nqoqele ka batho bao u kopanang le bona ha u alositse le hore na ba bile le tšusumetso efeng bophelong ba hau. Prompts:-**
- Na hona le batho ba bohlokoa ka h khetholoha bophelong ba hau? Ka tsela efeng?

7   **EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES: Nqoqele ka boiphihlelo ba hau ka ho kena sekolo Prompts:**
- Ke mofuta ofe oa sekolo?
- U kene lilemo tse kae/u felletse sehlopheng sefeng
- Ke en geo u ileng ua e rata /ua seke ua e rata ka sekolo

8   **LIFE AMBITIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS: U ipona u le hokae lilemong tse hlano tse tlang ho tloha joale? Prompts**:-
- Ha une u ka fuoa monyetla oa bobeli bophelong, u ne u ka etsa eng e fapaneng ho tlisa phetoho bophelong ba hau?
- Ekaba tsebo eo u e fumaneng bolisaneng u tla e sebelisa joang ho iketsetsa chelate?
- Meralo ea hau ea kamoso ke efeng a) ho qala lelapa b) ho nyala obe le molekaned c) ho holisa bana ba hau

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9. INFORMING THE NFE POLICY IN LESOTHO

- Ho bobebe hakae ho uena ho fumana tsebo le litšebeletso ha u le meraka?
- Ha u ne u ka fuoa monyetla oa ho eletsa ba etsang melao; ke eng eo u neng uka khothalletsa hore e kenyelletsoe Lesotho thutong ea kantle ho sekolo e fuoang balisana?

<u>**PHOTOVOICE GUIDE FOR THE MALE HERDERS**</u>

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 AND A NOTE BOOK**

STEPS

a. Graphically present the camera use instructions to the herders
b. Demonstrate the camera operation to the herders
c. Leave the cameras with the herders over a week to take pictures of their environment
  - The places they hang out
  - The leisure activities they engage in
  - Their household chores
  - The places where they graze the animals
  - Their houses
  - The commonly found wild animals
  - The commonly used herbs
  - The important things they have learnt through herding
  - The people they admire in their lives
d. After a week, collect the cameras to print and download the pictures
e. Print the pictures in duplicates 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 herder a set of their pictures and give them a moment to discuss what has been captured in the pictures and the significance that the picture has to their herding life and why
i. Record the discussions
j. After the discussions, allow each herder to keep their pictures as a momento

TRANSECT WALK GUIDE FOR THE MALE HERDERS

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 AND A NOTE BOOK**

STEPS

Step 1: Select Local Analysts. Identify the herders who are; familiar with the place, willing to walk and to share the personal perspectives about the resources available in their environment.

Step 2: Identify a cross section of the area. Together with the herders, identify a cross section of the area through which you can walk, be able to see/observe familiarize yourselves with the area. This should be an area that will enable you to walk from a lower point to the highest point diagonally.

Step 2: Provide Introductions and Explanations. Before you begin the walk, explain the objective of the transect walk as being to familiarize yourself with the conditions they work under. Explain to the herders that you would like to have as many discussions and as possible and learn as much information as possible during the walk. As you walk, take notes. To make it more fun and participatory you can also provide a disposable camera and allow one of the herders to take pictures of the places that you pass by during the walk. Check and ensure that the herders understand and feel comfortable with what will be discussed.

Step 3: Do a Transect Walk and Producing a Transect Diagram. Discuss with the herders the route they would like to follow during the walk. This decision could be based on the Photovoice they would have already produced. Ask the herders to think carefully and plan a route that covers the main topographical variations and significant features they would want to see and discuss while walking. Make sure they understand that that the route may not necessarily be a straight one, as long as it covers as many resources as possible.

With the herders, start at the edge of their grazing area and begin the walk. As the walk progresses, stop at key features or borders of a new point of interest (such as change in grasses, incline, grazing/farming usage, and so forth) and record the distance from the last zone. As an alternative, stop every 100 paces (or another suitable interval).

Make sure to facilitate the discussion by probing for answers at any point that that you see or stop by during the walk and record the details. Make notes of all vital information gathered and draw sketches where necessary. In order to get the detailed information, ensure that you

walk steadily and slowly and probe as much as possible to try and understand all the physical features that you come across along the way. If you happen to meet some people along the way you should interview them as well to get their perspective.

After the walk is complete, identify a suitable place to sit with the herders to discuss and record the information that comes from the walk.

Then present the findings diagrammatically ensuring that the route is as close to the one you took as possible. Ensure that the diagrams are drawn on a large sheet of paper or on the ground and illustrate all the different ecological zones, as observed during the walk. Ensure that you prepare an illustrative diagram of the transect walk using the information. Where more than one, make a comprehensive list of the headings of the areas of interest (plants, land use, problems, drainage system, and so on) and then fill in the details of what was observed in each zone. Make a legend of the key features that have been presented on the diagram.

Step 4: Analyze a Transect Diagram. To ease the analysis phase, it is very important to brainstorm a list of the key questions that you will use to guide your discussion during the transect walk. Some of the questions that could help to gather the useful information could include the following:

- What resources are abundant or scarce?
- How do these resources change through the area?
- Which resources have the most problems?
- Where do people obtain water and firewood?
- Where do livestock graze?
- What constraints or problems are in the different areas?
- What possibilities or opportunities are in the different areas?
- Where do the herders live?
- Where do they spend most of their time?
- Where do they get medicinal herbs?

Transect walk Adapted from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTTOPPSISOU/Resources/1424002-

1185304794278/4026035-1185375653056/4028835-1185375678936/1_Transect_walk.pdf