Understandings of Democracy and Citizenship in Lesotho:

Implications for Civic Education

Nomazulu Ngozwana

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how Lesotho citizens (Basotho) understand democracy and citizenship in Lesotho. It also explores the nature of civic education for adults in the country. Positioned within the critical and interpretive paradigms, using a qualitative research design, this small scale study was conducted in Qachas' Nek, representing a rural context, and Maseru District, representing an urban area. Data collection methods were in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with a total of 49 participants across both districts and the examination of documents that are used to provide civic education in Lesotho. Three conceptual frameworks were developed from the literature and were used to analyse the different understandings of democracy and citizenship, and the different forms of civic education that emerged from the findings.

The community leaders, civic education providers and citizens revealed understandings of democracy in Lesotho which include a form of democracy through its traditional leadership structures. In these structures adult males participate democratically in the chief's courtyard, known as *khotla* where collective decisions are made through consensus. There is a sense that the introduction of modern democracy after colonial rule gave people freedom and some advantages when compared with the traditional regime. However, this democracy is perceived to have also brought several tensions that have eroded the traditional cultural values. These include attitudes towards children's behaviour, exercising of rights by both children and women and the enhanced status of women in the society. The study demonstrates that democracy is inadequately taught and misunderstood and many participants of this study were dissatisfied with the way democracy is abused by politicians.

Participants' understandings further illustrate that citizenship is understood in many ways: as a sense of belonging through legal status, as a mobile status linked to residence within the country, through exercising of rights and responsibilities and through community engagement in a communitarian way of living. Citizenship is further understood as identity, either individually or collectively, and identity is fluid and vulnerable particularly in relation to Basotho's status with the surrounding country of South Africa. Citizenship is perceived as the behaviour of maintaining good relations through harmonious neighbourhoods and through connections, which include caring about others as reflected in the African concepts of ubuntu and botho where people are understood to be interconnected in a communal relationship. However, the ubuntu concept of 'respect' has potentially had a negative influence on encouraging passive citizenry.

The study reveals that respondents who reside in Maseru illustrate a civic republican notion of citizenship by suggesting that citizenship activity includes exercising rights by having a voice, and through active engagement and voluntarism in community development issues.

As its third major contribution, this thesis demonstrates that the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho is shallow, fragmented and time bound because civic education in Lesotho is provided as voter education, a once off activity that takes place before elections. The type of civic education provided for adults in Lesotho is generic because it is provided to all adult citizens alike irrespective of their different ages, interests, educational and social backgrounds. Moreover, the informal means of political campaigns, the media and public gatherings, which are one way learning methods, are mostly used while the prescribed curriculum does not promote conditions that can enable active citizenship in a democratic society.

The findings suggest that there is need for: harmonisation of the transition from traditional to modern democracy; nurturing of an historically fragile democracy and peace; restraint of corruption, a patronage system and a domesticated citizenry; and the drawing on the African concept of ubuntu as a way of nurturing democracy through its ethics of caring as a feature of civic education.

Recommendations for how civic education programmes for adults can be provided in Lesotho include: targeting the audiences and timing of civic education, revising the civic education curriculum and the need for multiple civic education providers who can adopt adult education skills when providing civic education. In summary, this study recommends that conversations about democratisation should take note of efforts to promote good and effective governance in African countries, particularly Lesotho, and that a synergy is sought between the modern notions of democratic governance and traditional African forms of political and social organisation because the two systems are not mutually exclusive. If this is done, then Lesotho could make some progress towards its visions of becoming "a stable democracy, a united and prosperous nation at peace with itself and its neighbours" (Government of Lesotho, 2004 p.1)

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Declaration

I, Nomazulu Ngozwana declare that:

(i) The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.

(ii) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

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As the candidate's Supervisors we agree/do not agree to the submission of this thesis

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    Prof. Julia Preece   Dr. Vaughn John

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABC	All Basotho Convention
APLA	Azania Peoples' Liberation Army
AU	African Union
BAC	Basutoland African Congress
BEDCO	Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation
BCP	Basotho Congress Party
BNP	Basutoland National Party
CBO	Community Based Organization
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DA	District Administrator
DC	Democratic Congress
DPE	Development for Peace Education
FBO	Faith Based Organisations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FPTP	First Past the Post
GOL	Government of Lesotho
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Interim Political Authority
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LCN	Lesotho Council of Non-governmental Organizations
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
LLA	Lesotho Liberation Army
LPC	Lesotho People's Congress

LWP	Lesotho Workers' Party
MFP	Marematlou Freedom Party
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional
MOLGC	Ministry of Local Government and Chieftainship
MOTCE	Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Environment
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
NID	Namibian Institute for Democracy
NIP	National Independent Party
PAC	Pan African Congress
PR	Proportional Representation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TRC	Transformation Resource Centre
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US	United States

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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

> By 2020, Lesotho shall be a stable democracy, a united and prosperous nation at peace with itself and its neighbours. It shall have a healthy and well developed human resource base. Its economy will be strong, its environment well managed and the foundation for its technology well established (Government of Lesotho, 2004, p. 1).

In 2004 the Lesotho Government produced a national vision policy with seven pillars to be achieved by the year 2020. The above policy statement covered all the seven pillars, the first being a stable democracy. The question is: How is Lesotho going to achieve all this? The implementation of local government in 2005 was seen as a strategy to address the Lesotho vision that focused on decentralization of services with a political structure that appoints leaders through a democratic process of local government elections (Government of Lesotho, 2011). Education generally and citizenship education specifically, was planned to provide support to the Lesotho vision, to promote democratic forms of society and to serve as a unifying factor for the nation.

Lesotho is at present a democratic country led by a monarch as the head of state and a prime minister as the head of government. Since the first democratic elections in 1993 that brought military rule to an end, the country has experienced a range of political dynamics and instabilities. Lesotho, like other countries, has embarked on the path to democratisation by holding frequent free and fair elections. The latter are important for shaping political participation and competition among citizens. Even though elections are intrinsic to building democracy, they do not determine whether or not the country is democratic. Therefore, democracy is only possible with multiple political parties, which can form modern governments to translate voters' interests into national policies (Likoti, 2008). This is why political parties compete for power. In addition, a democratic society requires educated citizens who can make informed decisions, opinions and evaluations on public policy, and hence the need for citizens to access information and knowledge and have the understanding to do so (Kelly, 1995; Kymlicka, 2002; Pacho, 2013). However, Abdi (2008), Kapa (2013), Shizha and Abdi (2013) point out that in most African countries, including Lesotho, people rarely exercise their citizenship rights, since they are not involved in

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providing input in the preparation and formulation of public policies, including the national budget, because there are limited channels for them to participate; as a result the citizens' needs are not reflected.

Five multiparty elections have been held in Lesotho: in 1993, 1998, 2002, 2007 and 2012. The first two (1993 and 1998) were held on the basis of winner-takes-all, meaning that the first past the post (FPTP) system was used for fielding the national assembly. The three elections of 2002, 2007 and 2012 were based on the new Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system that was devised in 2001 as a post-election conflict resolution process. However, the extent to which these elections have added value to democratisation is difficult to determine in the country because of the internal power struggles of the ruling political parties that have resulted in splits and the proliferation of more political parties, resulting in a weak democracy

Lesotho's political system is characterised by conflicts, often arising around election times. These conflicts have not been successfully managed by the local mediators, thus resulting in Lesotho becoming more dependent on external assistance to manage its conflicts. Matlosa (2008) and Makoa (2014) state that political polarization runs deep, even in a socio-culturally homogenous country like Lesotho, saying that it is explained by centralization of power within small elites in the ruling and the opposition parties, which Matlosa associated with lack of intra-party democracy in Lesotho. Matlosa (2008, p. 21) further explains that polarization is reinforced by "personality cults – a trend that reduces political institutions to individuals and turns individual politicians into institutions."

Education in general and citizenship education in particular play an important role in enhancing democracy and political empowerment. The purpose of citizenship education is summarized by McCowan and Gomez (2012) as that which enhances the means of participation in political life and promotes better understanding of human rights by learners. On a similar note Kelly (1995) states that citizenship is a concept that promotes a unifying factor and identity at all levels: national, regional, local and global (see Chapter Three and Six for more discussions). Kelly further explains that education for citizenship extends the democratic form of moral education by moving from theory into practice, where people are enabled to make informed decisions, evaluate policies and effectively participate in the

governance of a democratic society. According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) (2006) Training Manual civic education is a medium through which the social, political and economic culture of a certain society is transmitted. Civic education, therefore, deals with rights and duties of citizens and how these rights are realised. Civic education encourages citizens to participate in governance and demonstrates how to do it effectively, meaning that it promotes the participation of informed and responsible citizens, thus enhancing democracy.

It is argued that educational programmes used in post-colonial Africa, including Lesotho, have not enhanced citizenship rights of the people (Abdi, 2008; Pacho, 2013; Shizha & Abdi, 2013). Also, during the post-colonial era the new ruling class deliberately failed to develop viable locally-informed political education programmes that would affirm citizenship engagement, but instead provided citizenship education that created passive subjects whose loyalty to military rulers and civilian dictators would be sustainable (Ibid). That resulted in the type of education, in general and citizenship education in particular, that increased and sustained subjugation by and dependence on Europeans (Maathai, 2009; Shizha & Abdi, 2013). There appears to be no study in Lesotho that has so far been conducted into how adults acquire their understanding of democracy and citizenship to ascertain what kind of adult education may be necessary to deepen understandings of the relationship between democracy, human rights, citizenship rights and responsibilities and political participation in the local and national elections.

Therefore, if the people's understandings of democracy and citizenship are weak, especially amongst adults, and the schools are not providing enough education about these concepts, then this means that the following generation of children cannot learn about these concepts sufficiently from schools and adults. Hence, there is a need for this study to determine what Basotho[1] people understand about democracy and citizenship. Furthermore, the study looks into the implications of these findings for civic education programmes in Lesotho, which are elaborated in Chapter Eight.

This chapter outlines the Lesotho context and its historical political evolution from one of traditional chiefdom to that of the missionary and colonial intervention, followed by the

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[1] Basotho means citizens of Lesotho

struggles for independence and the events leading to the present political structure in the kingdom. The following sections discuss the focus and my motivation for the study.

1.2 Focus of the Study

This study investigates, in-depth, the understandings of the concepts of democracy and citizenship amongst selected rural and urban communities. It examines how they feel about democracy and citizenship in relation to traditional leadership structures and values. Additionally, the study investigates the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho by closely examining the concepts of democracy, citizenship rights and responsibilities as they are discussed in the education materials that are used for providing civic education (see Chapter Seven for details). The findings enabled me, as the researcher, to make recommendations for more relevant civic education programmes in the Lesotho context.

The literature was reviewed with regard to different theoretical perspectives of the concepts of democracy, citizenship and civic education; thereafter conceptual frameworks were developed that are used to form the basis for analysing the research participants' responses to the following research questions:

1. How do ordinary citizens[2], civic educators and community leaders understand the concept of democracy?
2. How do ordinary citizens, civic educators and community leaders understand the concept of citizenship?
3. What is the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho?

1.3 Motivation for the Study

For a democracy to survive and flourish, a critical mass of its citizens must possess the skill, embody the values, and manifest the behaviours that accord with democracy. They must know enough about the basic features of a democratic political system to be able to access it when their interests are at stake, and they must believe in the importance of certain key democratic values, such as tolerance for divergent viewpoints and support for the rule of law. They must also be willing and able to participate in local and national politics, and they must believe that their participation is important to the continued viability of the democratic political system (USAID, 2002, p. 7).

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[2] "Ordinary citizens" refers to citizens who are the common electorates, who do not hold any special office such as IEC or parliamentary member.

There were a number of different motivations for this study. First, it was partly motivated by my experience of local government elections that were held in Lesotho in October 2011 where there was low voter turnout. Furthermore, the motivation was influenced by a report on the negative responses in the country to concepts of democracy, human rights and the election of leaders that appeared to reflect discourses that do not necessarily sit easily with the traditional leadership structures and their lifestyles (Preece, Lekhetho, Rantekoa, & Ramakau, 2009). There is anecdotal evidence of a lack of trust in local governance systems as a new development in Lesotho that has eroded the traditional leadership powers and roles in the name of democracy. Democracy is understood to have played a role in the perceived reduction in values related to rights and responsibilities of citizens.

My motivation for this study also included a realization of the limited role of civil society in Lesotho, particularly in regard to democracy dynamics that are taking place (Kadima, Matlosa, & Shale, 2006; Kapa, 2013; Likoti, 2008; Makoa, 2014; Matlosa, 2008). There is a lack of funding to support civil society or to strengthen the private media on which people depend for information about what transpires, especially in issues that involve government. This makes Basotho vulnerable to political manipulation. There is a perception amongst Basotho that the concepts of democracy and human rights are Western terms that are imposed on Basotho society and are destroying traditional values of caring (Preece et al., 2009). Therefore, I wanted to understand precisely what people understand about these concepts in order to provide relevant civic education.

It has been argued that new democracies require targeted civic education interventions to facilitate the acquisition of 'skills, values and behaviours' that are thought to be necessary for a stable democracy (McCowan & Gomez, 2012; USAID, 2002, p. 7). The Office of Democracy and Governance (USAID, 2002) suggests that civic education has three goals: to explain the features of a democratic political system; to highlight the values associated with democracy; to encourage informed and political participation. Others include voting and other active roles and interactions with officials, which are lacking in the Lesotho context.

My study was also motivated by the confusion that appeared regarding the definition and boundaries of the functions, responsibilities and roles of chiefs and the local councillors, especially within the contradictions between the Chieftainship Act and the Local

Government Act (Government of Lesotho, 1968; 1997). For example, the Chieftainship Act gives the power of land allocation to the chiefs, whereas the Local Government Act gives the functions of land and site allocation to the councils. Both the chiefs and the councils have the function of allocating land (Zenawi, 2010). Having discussed my various motivations for the study, the next section provides the background context.

1.4 Background: Scene Setting

Lesotho is a small mountainous country, which is landlocked by the Republic of South Africa. Its population is estimated at 2 million people, of which three quarters (76%) live in the rural areas and are poor (Government of Lesotho, 2008). Lesotho's capital city is Maseru. There are two official languages, Sesotho and English, although there are some other ethnic groups that speak Xhosa, Zulu, and Chinese and form the minority of the population. The country has an area of 30,355km square. Lesotho's climate remains cool all year round, with heavy rains in summer and cold winters with snow, especially in the highlands.

Lesotho is geographically surrounded by South Africa and economically integrated with it. Lesotho exports wool, mohair, clothing, footwear, livestock, agricultural products and water to South Africa. The majority of the people subsist on farming and migrant labour, primarily mine workers who go to South Africa. Almost half of the population earn some income through crop cultivation and animal husbandry. Agriculture is the main source of income for the country; with small remittances from South Africa due to migrant workers.

Water and diamonds are currently Lesotho's main natural resources. Both are exported to South Africa, while the diamonds are also exported to other countries. Lesotho also receives tariffs from its membership of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), and, of course, the revenue taxes that are collected countrywide. Apart from this, Lesotho receives economic aid from a variety of sources, such as the United States, the World Bank, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Germany and the European Union among others, for developing massive projects like the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) and the Lets'eng-la-Terae mine. Lesotho is also a member of the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU). It subscribes to the principles of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which is a pledge by African leaders, based on common vision and a shared conviction, to eradicate poverty and sustain growth and development in their countries.

For administrative purposes, Lesotho is divided into ten districts, each headed by a district administrator. The districts are Berea, Butha-Buthe, Leribe, Mafeteng, Maseru, Mohale's Hoek, Mokhotlong, Qacha's Nek, Quthing and Thaba-Tseka. These districts are further divided into 80 constituencies. Currently, Lesotho consists of 77 councils (11 urban, 65 community, 1 municipal), according to new boundaries that were developed prior to the 2011 Local Government Elections.

The study was conducted at the district of Qacha's Nek, which represents the rural communities where many tensions between the traditional and modern leadership structures exist (Preece et al., 2009). The study extended to Maseru, Lesotho's capital city, where parliamentary infrastructure is located. This represents urban communities where there is rapid modernisation.

Figure 1.1 Map of Lesotho
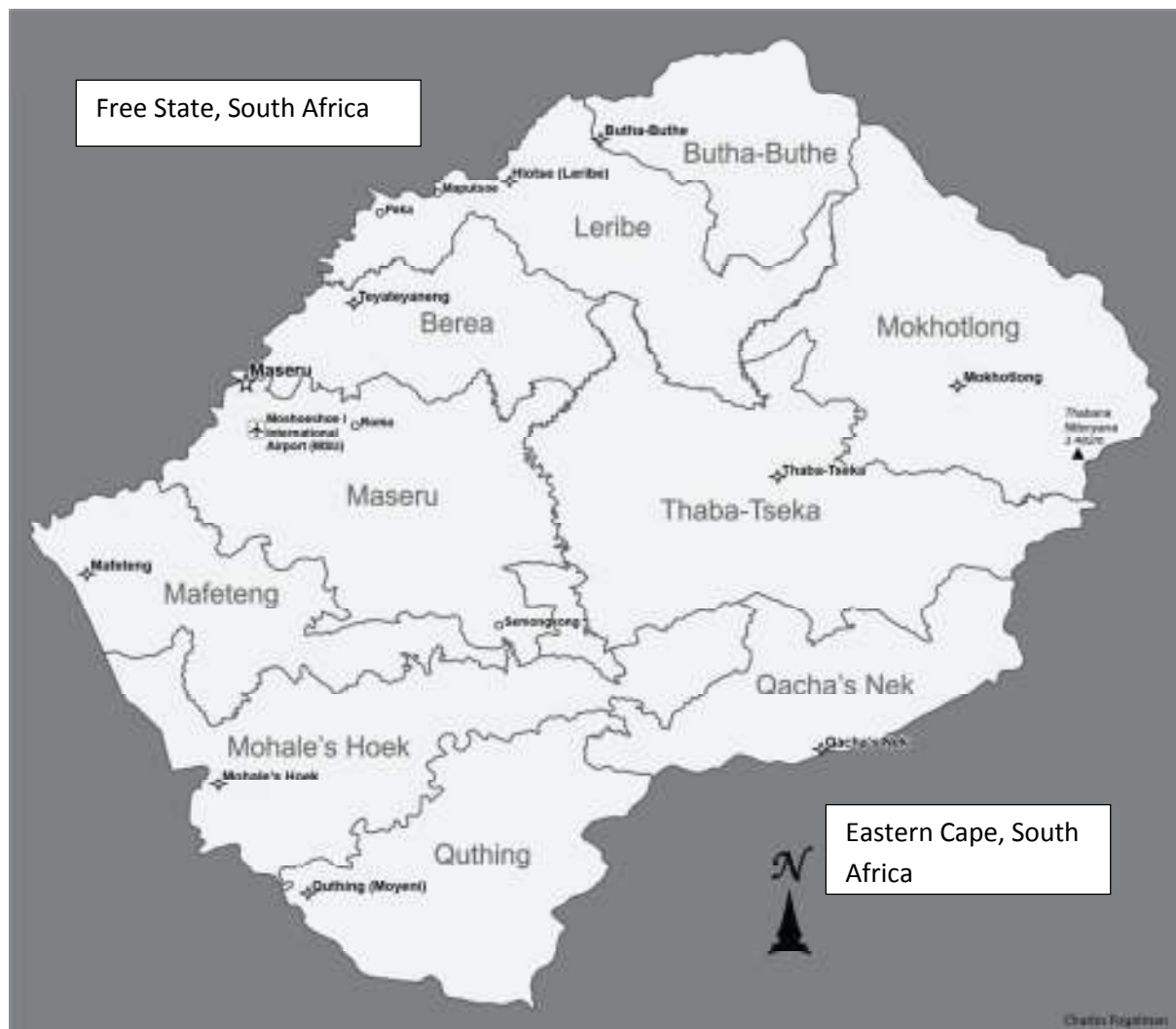
1.4.1 Qacha's Nek District

Qacha's Nek is a remote mountainous camp town in the district of Qacha's Nek, in the south-east of Lesotho. It has an area of about 2, 349 square kilometres. There are three constituencies: Qacha's Nek, Tsoelike and Lebakeng. The district has four councils with a population of about 71, 879. It has one government hospital and a church- owned hospital, which is about forty kilometres from the town. The languages spoken are Sesotho, Xhosa, SePhuthi and English. The religion is Christianity and traditional, which means praying to their ancestors. Qacha's Nek is a border, tourist town and port of entry into Lesotho from the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, and a short distance from KwaZulu-Natal province (Government of Lesotho, 2008). Qacha's Nek was selected because it is a rural community in which most people rely on traditional sources of information such as public gatherings and the radio, unlike urban areas where citizens are exposed to multiple sources of information such as television and printed materials. Most non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are based in Maseru (an urban area) and are not found in Qacha's Nek.

1.4.2 Maseru District

Maseru was transformed from a small trading post to the Basotho capital town in 1869 (Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Environment, 2008). Maseru is situated close to Maseru Bridge, the customs and immigration gateway on the South African border. The border is an access to the major South African harbour of Durban, to the academic and judicial centre of Bloemfontein, and Johannesburg, South Africa's business and industrial hub (which is an hour's flight away).

Maseru has experienced steady population growth since Lesotho gained independence in 1966. According to the Population Index (Mundi, 2014), in 2000 the population growth was 1.65 per cent; in 2005 the population growth dropped to 0.08 per cent and in 2011 and 2012 it remained stable at the rate of 0.33 per cent. During the population census in 2006 (Government of Lesotho, 2008), Maseru Municipality had a population of over 200,000. Maseru has eighteen constituencies. Its manufacturing sectors are textiles and clothing, and electronics assembly. It has multi-storeyed modern office blocks, banks, and ministerial complexes, which are situated along the main street, Kingsway Road. Maseru has international hotels and restaurants, casinos and a variety of entertainment, chain stores,

supermarkets and boutiques, with outlets for handicrafts and weaving for tourists. The streets are lined with flea markets and informal traders.

Although the Kingdom's democracy has been punctuated with political disturbances, efforts have been made to curb the situation. In 2001 a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system was put in place (Elklit, 2008; Makoa, 2014; Matlosa, 2008). It served as a central part of the political and consensual solutions to the post 1998 elections. This electoral system was implemented by the IEC in the 2002 elections, to strengthen democracy and it enabled representation of ten political parties in parliament. However, according to the IEC (2012b), education in general and voter education in particular does not explain how democracy operates and how the citizens could contribute meaningfully to political life, nor does it ensure their understanding of the concepts used (further discussed in Chapter Seven). On the same note, civic education programmes in schools and through the media do not reflect an understanding of democratic rights, responsibilities and procedures by the masses as there is no feedback mechanism, nor is there public monitoring, as this is not even included in the education policy of Lesotho (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005). A discussion of the historical political development in Lesotho follows.

1.5 Historical Political Development Pattern in Lesotho

The present Lesotho was founded by Chief Moshoeshoe I in 1822. Moshoeshoe I invited the missionaries into Lesotho in 1833 to convert Basotho into Christians in order to instil peace among his people and to establish schools to teach people literacy, that is, to read, write and do arithmetic (see Chapter Three) (Gill, 2010; Khaketla, 1971). The first missionaries to arrive were the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, settling in Morija in the South of the country. The missionaries were the first people to develop printed works in the Sotho language. They acted as translators, provided advice on foreign affairs and helped to set up diplomatic channels with other tribes, especially the Europeans that were encroaching onto the country.

A series of wars initiated by the Boers, who claimed land rights from Basutoland in the western borders, followed. Eventually, in 1867 Moshoeshoe I appealed to Queen Victoria to be protected from such invasions and thereafter Lesotho became a British Protectorate in

1868. The treaty which was signed by the British and the Boers defined the boundaries of Basutoland, now called Lesotho, and reduced Moshoeshoe's kingdom to half of its previous size, after ceding the western territory. A history of the traditional leadership of Lesotho follows, which precedes the political developments before Lesotho gained her independence from colonial rule.

1.5.1 History of Traditional Leadership in Lesotho

The traditional leadership in Lesotho emerged early on during the formation of Basotho nation as a single polity under king Moshoeshoe I in 1822. Moshoeshoe I was the son of Mokhachane, a minor chief of the Bakoteli clan. During those days, each group of people, or clan, had their own chief. There were a number of chiefs who all served under the founder of the Basotho nation, Moshoeshoe (Gill, 2010; Kapa, 2013). During those times chiefs had more power than in the current democracy and their work included settling minor disputes among their clan members. Chiefs ensured and enforced acceptable behaviour within their clans, their communities and society as a whole. They did their work through collective effort; hence they promoted team work among their members. Traditional leaders ensured that they transmitted their culture from generation to generation for every society through traditional education. This is more comprehensively discussed in the section under Traditional Civic Education in Chapter Two.

According to Khaketla (1971, p. 8), a "chief was a chief because of the people; he remains chief as long as he protects the interest of the people, and rules them according to their wishes and not his own whims and idiosyncrasies." This meant that chieftainship was the product of the wills, desires, sympathies and thoughts of people over whom he ruled. This was the traditional democratic way of life in which citizens lived harmoniously with their leaders and exercised their moral rights where there was a sense of belonging and sharing of common purpose, as is reflected in the communitarian concept of citizenship that is discussed in Chapter Three (Kelly, 1995; Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2014). Such harmonious living, however, was also at the expense of gender relations and age difference because society was hierarchical, with women and children at the bottom (This is further discussed in Chapter Three under Traditional Leadership Values) (Pule & Thabane, 2002).

In the pre-missionary days, education was delivered through word of mouth (orally), from one person to another and from generation to generation. Parental education transmitted values of respect, trust, and loyalty, among others, to the young generation. Peer-to-peer education was managed in a system in which girls or boys would learn from each other at "*thakaneng*" for girls and "*khoaling*" for boys. Initiation schools for both boys and girls also played the role of socializing them into becoming adults. Furthermore, there were, and still are, secret ordeals and songs of what and how everything is actually carried out in the initiation schools. Public gatherings at the "*khotla*," (chief's courtyard) were the normal method of delivering information and knowledge (see Chapter Three for details) to the general public (Bwatwa, 1997; Kapa, 2013). Traditional education during these times enhanced a sense of belonging that reflected African values. Gboku and Lekoko (2007) outline that this type of education was relevant to the life and culture of the communities and helped citizens to cope with realities of life, meaning that this education was purposeful, functional and practical.

When the missionaries came, the first printed texts were experienced and from there education shifted from a traditional to a Western style. This subsequent colonial phase resulted in a number of changes in the way societies operated; Europeans arrived with their culture that was different from Basotho culture. Modern education, which was colonial education, destroyed the functional aspect of traditional education and therefore did not provide for development, as the colonialists were not eager to promote a literate population for fear of being threatened by Africans (Abdi, 2008; Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Indabawa & Mpofu, 2006; Shizha & Abdi, 2013). The power of the chiefs was reduced and the colonial system replaced the chiefs' courts with local and central courts. The number of chiefs was reduced because the colonial rulers claimed that they were too many. The fines that were earlier paid at the chiefs' courts and kept by chiefs were later paid at the treasury as taxes. Many functions of Moshoeshoe I were initially transferred from his home of Thaba-Bosiu to a police camp in Maseru, until the administration of Lesotho was transferred to the Cape Colony in 1871. This was the beginning of the colonial era, soon after the death of Moshoeshoe I in 1870, and signified the end of the traditional era. However, some internal power was still retained by the traditional chiefs, as Paramount Chiefs (This was a historical term and principal chief is the term used after independence).

As has been discussed, the chiefs' powers were reduced and so too their numbers. However, today they still play a role in Lesotho's governance structure, as illustrated in section 1.5.9 below. Their positions are hereditary. When a new chief's position is filled, the king, in his ceremonial function, swears them into the crown by making them take an oath of allegiance (Government of Lesotho, 1993; 1966). The principal chiefs also attend ceremonies that are held within their places of jurisdiction. In the pre-colonial days, the chiefs' roles were to allocate land, whether for housing, business, cemeteries, public buildings or grazing land. They solved minor disputes within the community, ensured the security and safety of their people and maintained order. Chiefs communicated their decisions and information by conducting public gatherings at the *khotla* along with village opinion leaders and headmen (Kapa, 2013).

Today, information about current affairs is disseminated through the radio stations, one state owned and others which are privately owned. There is also Lesotho Television and local newspapers, which provide some information about voter education as part of larger civic education. An associated issue for the changed democratic system is the way in which the legal system operates at two levels in Lesotho. The following section shows how this legal system operates.

1.5.2 Lesotho's Legal System

According to Khaketla (1971) and Gill (1993, 2010), Lesotho has a dual legal system consisting of customary and Roman Dutch Law. The customary laws are made up of the customs of the Basotho, written and codified in the Laws of Lerotholi. The Roman Dutch Laws were imported from the Cape and the statutes existing during colonialism. At that time the Basotho customs and laws were passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition. This changed after 1903 when the codification of customary law came about after a chiefs' council was appointed by the British Resident Commissioner to deliberate on the best systems of laws that would govern Basotho (Khaketla, 1971). In 1955 the Basutoland Council was mandated to pass the customary laws that were approved by the Paramount Chief. The first constitution was enacted in 1960 prior to independence that came in 1966 (Kapa, 2013; Khaketla, 1971). Today customary laws are still applied in the customary courts (now called local courts), even though the majority of them are now

outdated during this democratic era because they often conflict with international human rights laws.

The laws of Lesotho are still written in English, but then debated in Sesotho in parliament. This shows how Western life has affected the traditional practices of Basotho. It is not surprising to find that almost all activities performed by Basotho are dual; for example, in religion, where there are Christians and those who follow the customary or traditional religion (praying to their ancestors, and going to the mountain to pray for rain during drought seasons and so forth). Basotho use dual medicines, those from the Western tradition that are manufactured and sold in pharmacies, and the traditional medicines or herbs; there is also dual music: Sesotho music and Western music (hymns), and dual forms of dress, dual culinary dishes and many more.

Almost everything operates in this dual system: the customary/traditional practice and the Western tradition. The traditional culture of Basotho is honoured in several ways such as recognising traditional musical instruments, for example, *lekolulo*, a kind of flute used by herd boys, *setolo-tolo*, played by men, while women used the stringed *thomo*. The traditional style of housing is the rondavel, commonly called the hut. Traditional attire includes the Basotho blanket, ubiquitous throughout the country in all seasons, and the *seshoeshoe* dress. The Morija Arts and Cultural Festival is a prominent Sesotho arts and music festival that is held annually (though was not held in 2014 due to political instability in Lesotho) in the historical town of Morija where the first missionaries arrived in 1833. In the festival most of the cultural songs and dances are performed with the aim of demonstrating the values and culture of Basotho to the younger generation. This summary thus shows how the legal context has impinged on Lesotho's cultural context.

The next section outlines Lesotho's political development before independence.

1.5.3 Lesotho's Political Development: Before 1966

Prior to Lesotho gaining independence from its protectorate status the first national government elections were held in 1960. They were won by Basutoland African Congress (BAC), which was originally founded in 1952 and is now called Basotho Congress Party (BCP). The BAC was led by Ntsu Mokhehle (Kapa, 2013; Matlosa & Sello, 2006; Weisfelder, 1999). In 1965 the second elections were held a year before Lesotho's independence in 1966.

Basutoland National Party (BNP) won the elections. Factors that may have contributed to the win of BNP were that the majority of its Catholic members who were women were accorded the chance to vote, while in the 1960s the Basutoland Congress Party did not allow women to vote. Most people who favoured BNP were women. There were no absentee voting rights for people who were outside the country (migrant labourers were shut out from voting). During this time the system used was winner-takes-all in the then 60 constituencies (Kapa, 2013; Matlosa & Sello, 2006; Weisfelder, 1999). Traditional civic education, which socialised citizens into their society, importantly, was used through public gatherings (pitso) and the chief's courtyard (*khotla*) as citizenship education that enabled people to participate in voting.

However, leaders of the first political parties to emerge in Lesotho did not like the traditional chiefs; and consequently, they linked to the Association of the Lekhotla la Bafo, which had been formed in 1919 by Josiel Lefela to agitate against the Chief's Council that was established in 1903 to restore the authority of Paramount Chiefs (Kapa, 2013; Khaketla, 1971; Machobane, 2001; Matlosa & Sello, 2006). Machobane further reveals that the opposition parties, BCP and Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP), to the ruling BNP supported the former association (Lekhotla la Bafo), which criticized the abuses of colonial administration and was vitriolic against white supremacy. Machobane (2001) shows that opposition parties fought against racism, and the practice of white domination that was spilling from South Africa into Lesotho. The author argues that the political parties detached people from their dependence on chiefs, traders and the Roman Catholic Church (Ibid). According to Machobane (2001), BCP leaders were concerned that the chiefs' love of their subjects had deteriorated. These were largely BNP members; therefore it was difficult for the 'commoners' to know where to take their grievances. The BCP leaders advocated for direct and collective decision making and consensus in public gatherings, a practice that had been taken from the people, rather than the prescribed regulations from colonial officers and some chiefs (Machobane, 2001; Waghid, 2014). Thus, it can be seen that, the early days of political independence were already fraught with tension between traditional and modern systems of governance. The next section discusses Lesotho's post-independence political process.

1.5.4 Lesotho's Post-Independence Period: 1970 – 1985

In 1970, the ruling BNP lost the first post-independence general elections to Basutoland Congress Party. The prime minister, who was Chief Leabua Jonathan, refused to cede power to the BCP. He declared a state of emergency and ruled by force after declaring himself as the leader (Kapa, 2013; Khaketla, 1971; Makoa, 2014). The BCP leaders were imprisoned while others went into exile. A good number of the rebels went to Libya to train as the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) under the pretence of being the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA), soldiers of the Pan African Congress (PAC). Several Basotho who sympathized with the exiled BCP were threatened with death and attacked by the BNP government (Kapa, 2013; Khaketla, 1971; Makoa, 2014). Therefore, citizens acted passively in fear of being intimidated and sent to exile.

The post-independence period by the BNP government of Chief Leabua Jonathan lasted from 1970 to 1985 when surprise elections were called, but failed, as they did not gain favourable support from the citizens and the civil society at the time (Kapa, 2013; Machobane, 2001). During that time, citizens were not allowed to participate in political parties, as they were banned, and could not exercise their political rights. Soon after that, the country was subjected to military rule.

1.5.5 Lesotho's Military Rule: 1986 - 1993

In 1986 a military coup by Major General Metsing Lekhanya forced Leabua out of office. The military council granted King Moshoeshoe II executive power, because by that time the king's status was only that of a ceremonial monarch. According to Machobane (2001, p. 13) the Independence Constitution of 1966 "has turned a King into a toy that Chief Kaizer Leabua can toss around to serve his own ends and for his friends...". That meant that the king was made a ceremonial monarch with less power. However, in 1986 the king's relationship with the military government was defined in Lesotho Order No 2 of 1986 (Government of Lesotho, 1986) under section 9, where it said "the executive and legislative authority in Lesotho is vested in the King and may be exercised by him either directly or through Military Council, or the council of ministers (cabinet)." (Machobane, 2001, p. 13).

In 1991, Major General Metsing Lekhanya was removed by force by the lower military ranks, that claimed the government malfunctioned in its operations, and was replaced by Major

General Phisoane Ramaema (Kapa, 2013; Machobane, 2001). Lesotho then experienced an economic crisis during the military rule, which lasted from 1986 to 1993 before the first democratic rule.

1.5.6 Lesotho's First Democratic Rule: 1993

The first democratic elections after military rule were held in 1993, using the First Past the Post (FPTP) system of electing where the BCP won all the then 65 constituencies. This took place as a result of a large amount of pressure being placed on the military government to return Lesotho to civilian rule. The influence came from both the civil society locally (for example, the National Unity and Democratic Rule Conference held by Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations at Lesotho Sun Hotel on 29-31 October 1991) and the international community (Commonwealth Secretariat, Southern African Development Community, United Nations Development Programme). This was due to implications of political instability that generated high inflation, reduced welfare, hindered domestic investment and foreign direct investment, retarded economic growth, increased ever-growing trade imbalances and contributed to unsustainable national debt burdens (Kapa & Theko, 2008; Makhetha, 2008; Matlosa, 2008).

All these challenges resulted in a vulnerable government that was unable to cater for its citizens with basic social services and to pay its civil servants (Makhetha, 2008, p. 162). Therefore, Major General Ramaema, and other political elites, adopted the proposed programmes of poverty reduction by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and the pursuance of sustainable human development by the United Nations Development Programme in order to get access to international aid, trade and foreign direct investment (Matlosa, 2008). Major General Ramaema handed over power to a democratically elected government of the BCP that was headed by Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle in 1993. According to the report by Lucas (1993) prior to the 1993 elections, mass media (radios, TV, print) education was provided to the citizens in order to educate them about the question of democracy and the need to vote, and to familiarize them with electoral law and voting procedures. During that time, voter education was provided by the District Electoral Officers in collaboration with the Principal Chiefs and Military District Officers. The Constitution of Lesotho 1993 (Government of Lesotho, 1993) came into effect and replaced the Lesotho Independence Order of 1966 (Government of Lesotho, 1966).

During that time, The Chief Electoral Officer, established under section 68 of the Constitution of Lesotho and based in the Public Service, was the one who conducted the general elections assisted by District Secretariat officers (now called District Administrators) in all the ten districts. The second democratic elections were held in 1998 as discussed in the next section.

1.5.7 Lesotho's Second Democratic Rule: 1998

In 1997 the ruling BCP split over leadership disputes just before the 1998 elections. Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle formed a new political party named the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) from within the national assembly members. He was followed and supported by the majority of members of parliament to form a new government of forty members while the remaining twenty-five formed an opposition (Kapa, 2013; Matlosa & Shale, 2008). The BCP felt cheated and treated unfairly, and this resulted in political bitterness. In 1998, LCD won the elections and Pakalitha Mosisili succeeded the previous prime minister. The electoral system of First Past the Post was used to elect representative members in the 65 constituencies that formed the national assembly. The IEC, which was established by the second amendment to the Lesotho Constitution of 1993, conducted the 1998 election, and was therefore mandated to run civic education and voter education programmes. Voter education was provided as a form of civic education. The IEC held workshops for its staff and candidates, while the community members were reached informally through public gatherings (IEC, 1998).

Although the 1998 elections were pronounced free and fair by local and international observers, and by the subsequent special commission by the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the opposition parties rejected the results. They claimed there was voting fraud in the elections that put Prime Minister Mosisili in power. They demanded that government should step down and hold new elections. They complained that the First Past the Post electoral system was unfair. This electoral system's weakness was that it did not allow for the inclusion of opposition parties in the parliament in case all the constituencies were won by one dominant party (winner-takes-all). That was the situation in the 1998 general elections, despite all the safeguards that were used by the IEC. The citizens exercised their rights and took action by protesting against the elected government.

The opposition parties protested outside the Royal Palace in August 1998 and the army mutinied (Kapa, 2013; Makoa, 2014), showing that the army was sympathetic to the opposition; it therefore rebelled against orders instructing it to move out of the Royal Palace. It was during this time that troops from the Botswana Defence Force and South African National Defence Force, under the auspices of SADC, entered Lesotho to stop the riots and to put down the Lesotho Defence Force mutiny. Soon after their entrance, looting started in Maseru where many of the shops were burnt down. As a result, there was fighting between the SADC troops and Lesotho Defence Force and several people were killed. After successful SADC intervention the forces withdrew in 1999 as a result of a political agreement, which was influenced by the international community, to settle the post elections conflict (Elklit, 2008). By that time the capital towns of Mafeteng and Mohale's Hoek had also lost their commercial estates and here, too, several people died in the fighting.

In December 1998, an Interim Political Authority (IPA) was formed with the intention that they review the electoral structure of Lesotho. The newly proposed institution was made up of two members from each of the twelve political parties that had participated in the 1998 elections. IPA was introduced by the South Africans, who had negotiated for settlement talks (Elklit, 2008; Matlosa, 2008). Negotiations were done in the presence of a German political scientist, Jorgen Elklit, SADC, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the Commonwealth Secretariat, among others. The IPA devised a mixed member proportional electoral system to ensure that the opposition would be represented in the national assembly. The system retained the boundaries of the 80 newly formed constituencies to elect national assembly seats, but then added 40 seats to be filled in a proportional manner, thus making a total of 120 parliament seats.

The Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system was introduced to compensate the smaller political parties, who lacked the political majority to obtain sufficient votes to capture constituencies yet had enough support throughout the country to warrant participation in the national assembly (Kapa, 2013; Makoa, 2014; Matlosa, 2008). In 2001, agreement by IPA was reached through which the constitutional amendments were made, that specified an MMP system and the changes to the electoral law in preparation for the 2002 elections. LCD was still in government under Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili, and the opposition parties were BCP, BNP and Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP). Arhin's report (2002) indicates that

the IEC trained the voter educators on the new model and they in turn trained citizens about that same model, including civic responsibilities in regard to voting and other electoral processes.

During this period the concept of 'civic education' was used interchangeably with 'voter education' as a once- off event that is provided to citizens for a period of two to three months preceding an election (Arhin, 2002; Smiddy, 2009). However, citizens were given information by different bodies such as IEC, local non-governmental organisations (NGOs), religious bodies, civic groups and political parties, who undertook public awareness campaigns (Arhin, 2002). According to Arhin, political campaigns mostly concentrate on the rural communities, while massive mobilization of supporters for rallies usually occurs in the urban areas (Arhin, 2002).

1.5.8 Lesotho's Third Democratic Rule: 2002

In 2001 just before the national general elections, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice, Human Rights and Constitutional Affairs, Kelebone Maope, split from LCD and formed a new political party, Lesotho People's Congress (LPC). This took place within the parliament where LPC gained twenty-seven members from LCD. LPC assumed the role of an opposition party (Matlosa & Sello, 2006; Matlosa & Shale, 2008).

Elections were held in May 2002, using the revised method of MMP that includes First Past the Post (FPTP) and Proportional Representation (PR). LCD won the elections under the revised political system and had 79 out of 80 constituency based seats. Nine opposition parties held all of the 40 proportional seats, with BNP holding the largest share of 21 seats. That was the first time opposition parties won a significant number of proportional seats in what were peaceful elections. Therefore, a unitary parliamentary democracy was formed, parallel to the constitutional monarchy. According to the report by Arhin (2002), there had been, during this period, extensive voter education that was supported by the donor community and was carried out through mass media and civic groups. The report further states that during those 2002 elections, voter turnout by citizens during polling day was high. Arhin further indicates in his report that qualified/entitled citizens were given access to voter education and information that enabled them to make reasonable judgments about the merits of their candidates; and that "the electoral procedures were simple enough for

citizens to understand and participate fully in the process" (Arhin, 2002, p. 6). The IEC had conducted the new registration of voters in collaboration with political parties (Arhin, 2002). In addition, the IEC had worked in continuous dialogue with IPA over the new electoral system, and with civic groups to ensure direct interaction with the electorate, conducting question and answer sessions, which took place through the local radio station phone-in programmes and political party representative interviews (Arhin, 2002). The current Lesotho government structure is discussed next.

1.5.9 Lesotho's Government Structure

Lesotho currently operates in a dual system, which is the elected leadership forming 120 national assembly seats (the lower house of parliament) and the Chieftainship (the upper house of parliament), usually called Senate. The Senate is composed of twenty-two principal chiefs, whose membership is hereditary, and eleven appointees by the king, acting on the advice of the prime minister. This parallel or dual system has been practiced since the colonial era when colonists related well with chiefs during the traditional leadership era. The constitution of Lesotho institutionalised the constitutional monarchy, reaffirming the traditional system of governance which respects Basotho historical values and customs, a structure which is unique in Africa (Government of Lesotho, 1993; Zenawi, 2010). The monarchy is the king who is a descendant of Moshoeshoe I and represents the institution of chieftainship, which unites the Basotho nation.

The following diagram illustrates the structure of government.

Figure 1.2: Structure of Lesotho Government

Constitution of Lesotho (Supreme Law)

The King

Executive Branch	Parliament / Legislature		Judiciary
Authorities of Government	1. Senate (33 members)	2. National Assembly	Court of Appeal
Prime Minister and Cabinet	22 Principal Chiefs, 11	(80 constituency members	High Court
Constitutional Officers	Appointees by the King	40 PR members)	Martial Court
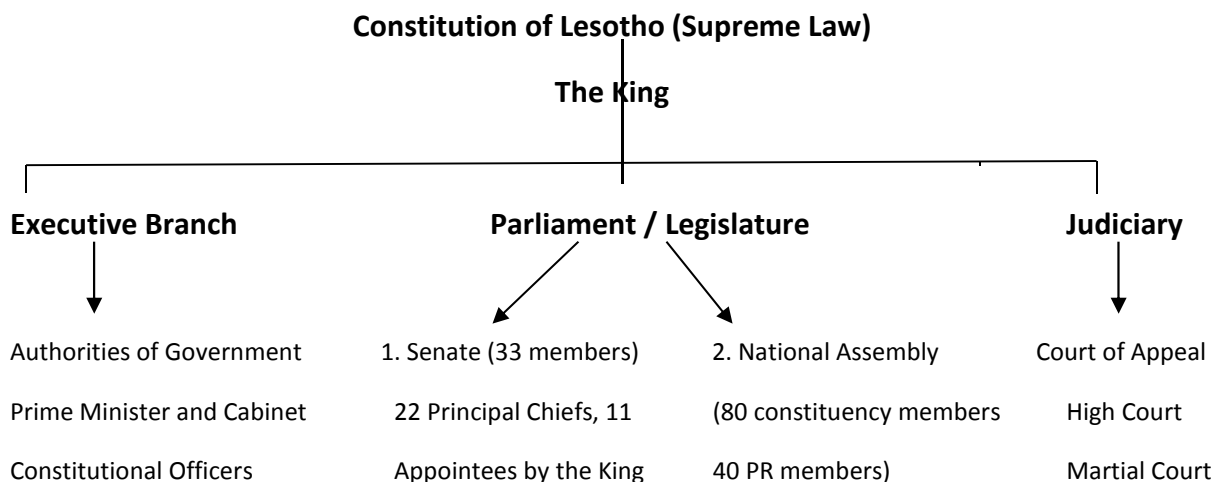
The constitution of Lesotho is the supreme law. The Prime Minister is head of government and has executive authority. The King is a sovereign head of the country with no executive or legislative powers, but is consulted by the Prime Minister. The legislature is composed of two houses: the national assembly, which has 80 elected members and 40 proportional representatives (making 120 members). The Senate has 22 hereditary principal chiefs with 11 appointees by the king (making 33 members). The judiciary consists of the court of appeal, the high court and other courts.

1.5.10 Lesotho's Fourth Democratic Rule: 2007

In 2006 there were ten political parties in Lesotho. Prior to the 2007 elections, one of the LCD members, the Minister of Communications, Science and Technology, Tomas Motsoahae Thabane resigned from being minister and from being a member of LCD. Thereafter, he formed a new, eleventh, political party, the All Basotho Convention (ABC) just before the national elections. In 2007, snap elections were held and ABC brought about a dramatic change in the parliament make-up because it won 17 out of 80 constituency seats (mostly in Maseru). ABC became the second main opposition party, while LCD controlled the majority in the national assembly with 62 seats (Kapa, 2013; Matlosa & Shale, 2008).

During the 2007 elections political parties formed alliances, a strategy which is not officially allowed by the electoral system. The two big parties of LCD and ABC became informal allies of the National Independent Party (NIP) and the Lesotho Workers' Party (LWP) respectively. The agreement made by LCD and ABC with their allies was that they would both field their candidates in all the 80 constituencies, while they would also use their smaller partners to field their candidates on the PR lists, disguising their identity. Of the 40 PR seats, the National Independent Party (NIP), a parliamentary ally of the ruling party, won the highest number of 21 seats. The Lesotho Workers' Party (LWP), an ally of ABC, won the next highest number of 10 PR seats. BNP was the biggest opposition party to lose, with its representation reduced from 21 in 2002 to 3 seats in 2007. Eleven political parties were represented in the 120 member parliament (Matlosa & Shale, 2008). However, the decoy party list distorted (manipulated) the MMP system, removing from its image its initial principle of representation of political parties; affecting reconciliation and harmony and compensation for small parties (Elklit, 2008; Matlosa, 2008). Table 1 below reflects the final outcome results of the 2007 national assembly.

Table 1: 2007 National Assembly Results

PARTY NAMES	CONSTITUENCY	PR SEATS	TOTAL SEATS
LCD	62	-	62
NIP	0	21	21
ABC	17	-	17
LWP	0	10	10
BNP	0	3	3
ACP	1	1	2
PFD	0	1	1
BCP	0	1	1
BDNP	0	1	1
BBDP	0	1	1
MFP	0	1	1
TOTALS	80	40	120

Source: Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/lesotho-2007-national-assembly-election-results.

The 2007 election conflicts arose because the MMP system was transformed into a parallel model and that defeated its original purpose. The system had distorted the election results and political party representation in parliament, which became a hotly contested issue after the elections (Kapa, 2013; Matlosa, 2008). The LCD/NIP alliance won the elections together, but parted ways after the elections, with LCD becoming the ruling party and NIP taking the opposition benches. LCD gained 61 constituency seats, but 10 of the NIP PR seats out of 21 went to LCD members, some of whom had lost the constituency contests. Similarly ABC won 17 constituency seats while its ally, LWP won 10 PR seats, and the majority, 8, went to ABC candidates, some of whom had lost the constituency electoral contests (Matlosa, 2008). The small parties of NIP and LWP reaped what they had not sown (meaning that the election results did not reflect their true political strength) because supporters of LCD and ABC had been instructed to vote for their own parties in the constituency ballot and to vote for the NIP and LWP in the party list ballot (Matlosa, 2008).

In the same manner, the IEC had provided voter education as a way to empower the citizens about their civic rights pertaining to the electoral process and the election period (registration, nomination and polling) (IEC, 2007). The two alliances were considered independently by IEC during the process of translating votes into seats, despite the fact that they campaigned and won elections together as an alliance. Despite the problems of seat

allocation when translating votes into seats, the observers declared the electoral processes to have been credible with a legitimate elections outcome. Thereafter Lesotho experienced the usual post-election court cases lodged by opposition parties, while citizens engaged in stay away action (not going to work) in support of their political parties. The SADC Executive Secretary intervened with the goal of exploring the possibilities of settling the political crisis in Lesotho. However, the conflict was still not resolved when Lesotho went to the next elections that were held in May 2012, following the 2007 unsettling political crises.

1.5.11 Lesotho's Coalition Government: 2012

Lesotho's coalition government was formed in 2012 with the three political parties of ABC, LCD and BNP. However, in February 2012, prior to the May elections, internal feuds within the ruling party resulted in the split within the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) party and the formation of the Democratic Congress (DC) with a breakaway majority of 45 seats. At the time, the Speaker in parliament decided that the DC was now the ruling party. However, the 2012 election results placed the DC as the main opposition party with 48 seats out of 120 in parliament. LCD won 26 seats, while the All Basotho Convention (ABC) party got 30 and the Basotho National Party (BNP) got 5 seats. These three parties formed a coalition government under the leadership of Prime Minister Tommas Motsoahae Thabane, leader of the ABC. The formation of a coalition government was intended to be more inclusive and to reduce violence. In effect it has contributed to further instability and lack of political unity within the coalition parties, resulting in ministerial reshuffling, and outbreaks of violence towards government appointed post holders and changes of policy without engaging the public.

In March 2014 there was an attempted vote of no confidence in the coalition government leader, which was placed in the national assembly by opposition party members. That unprecedented action failed due to improperly followed procedures. Following that, in May 2014 two of the ABC members from the ruling coalition government changed "complexion", by crossing the floor in parliament and joining the opposition Democratic Congress (DC), floor. The Deputy Prime Minister and leader of LCD held a press conference briefing in June 2014 where the leader of LCD officially announced that the party was pulling out of the coalition government, but that he and other LCD Ministers would remain as cabinet ministers in the Executive Branch. He stated that they had had a communication breakdown

with the Prime Minister, who, as the ABC leader, seemed to be making decisions and other changes without involving the other leaders of coalition. In view of this, the LCD leader announced that they would continue to approach other parties with the intention of collaborating. The LCD had, however, entered into agreement with the DC as an opposition party, with the intention of forming another new coalition government. On a similar note, the Prime Minister and leader of the coalition government held a press conference where he clarified that he had written a letter to the king in early June 2014, asking him to prorogue parliament for nine months, meaning that it would resume in 2015. He stated that the reason for such a prorogue was to enable the three leaders of the coalition government to resolve their conflict of interest in issues of governance. In the meantime the Namibian president arrived in Lesotho with the intention of holding a dialogue that would lead to a resolution of the conflict amongst the coalition government leaders.

At the time of writing this thesis, Lesotho was experiencing political instability that has led to the ongoing preparations for snap elections, to be held in 2015, as a followup to the 2012 elections which brought in the coalition government (see Chapter Eight). This was a resolution brought in by SADC to resolve the instability and political challenges in August 2014 that had resulted in the attempted coup by the military. The latter had raided some police stations in the urban Maseru District, confiscated their weapons and brutally assaulted those who were on duty, with one officer being killed. The military then surrounded the State House of the prime minister, the leader of the ABC party, who then went to the residence of the coalition BNP leader. These leaders sought protection in South Africa, followed by the commissioner of police and other citizens seeking similar refuge. All the local radio station transmitters were closed. The Lesotho coalition government had collapsed for about a week. The police services were unavailable countrywide and consequently the correctional services and the judiciary, also linked to the police services in their daily operations, also stopped working (Zihlangu, 2014). This meant that security was jeopardised in Lesotho. These tensions began the day after a termination of service letter was issued to the commander of the Lesotho Defence Force, who refused to resign (Zihlangu, 2014).

Durng these occurances the LDF spokesperson announced over different radio stations that the military had carried out a successful operation where they had managed to confiscate

illegal weapons from the police stations. The military had attacked the commissioner of police several times at his residence. Speculation by citizens on different radio stations suggested that the operation followed an allegation that the weapons had been intended to kill innocent opposition political party members who were protesting against the decision of the closing of parliament by the prime minister. At present, the incumbent prime minister seems to be committed in fighting acts of corruption, apathy and laziness in government. There have been several incidents regarding the exposure of government officials and the politicians who are involved in corruption, where they have been taken to the courts of law where justice has been implemented. In his proclamation, Makoa (2014) suggests that the present coalition government has to work hard as an alternative to the 'Big man's rule' (the one dominant party by former Prime Minister Mosisili) by ensuring discipline and the goal of political maturity that will involve the masses of the population in policy and decision making. Makoa's further aspirations are that the coalition government addresses corruption, roots out nepotism and patrimonialism, which propel inequality and poverty; and that it rules differently from the past regimes, thus restoring "citizens' confidence in government" (Makoa, 2014, p. 109).

It can be seen from this catalogue of events that Lesotho is a small country with a fragile political party system that is marked by faction fighting and characterised by multiple party splits. This also shows the weakness of the opposition parties and their struggles for power, a more frequent occurence just before holding national assembly elections. This calls into question the extent to which members of parliament are accountable to the electorate. From the political history of Lesotho, it is clear that democracy is a fragile vulnerable process, it undergoes changes from time to time and it requires active civil society with informed citizens that are able to critically analyse the situation around them and make informed choices, especially during general elections when they are required to participate in political life and effect changes.

The implications of political migration (splitting of parties) for democracy, and how and where it is done, should also be considered because this leaves markers of unfairness and betrayal in the perceptions of the voters; hence there is declining public trust in political activities or in constituency members and their parties. It is upon this basis of mistrust that I investigated, in-depth, what people understand about the concepts of democracy,

citizenship rights and responsibilities, because the modern democratic process is different from the nation's traditional heritage of governance.

There has been a paradigm shift of political roles, from the traditional chiefs to the elected leaders, after the local government structures that were put in place in 2005 (discussed in Chapter Three). Most of the functions that were performed by the chiefs have shifted to the elected councillors (modern leaders). The chiefs' roles have been narrowed to those of providing safety and security for their people, maintaining order and acting as official witnesses in respect of their people. This has caused great confusion among the rural Basotho who give more recognition to the action of chiefs in relation to their entire needs and interests, for example, the allocation of land, which is now done by elected leaders. Although this research aims to provide insights that could lead to recommendations for civic education in Lesotho, there are limitations to the study which are discussed below.

1.6 Limitations

The study is limited in scope, covering only two districts: Qacha's Nek, which represents responses of a rural population of Lesotho; and Maseru, representing an urban population. The conclusion is illustrative rather than generalizable, but patterns of the results may be applicable to other areas and parts of the country. Recommendations are made for the type and forms of civic education to be implemented and these are likely to be applicable for all the districts.

Finance was another limitation that affected the scope, as mentioned above. There was difficulty in engaging people like ministers and other members of parliament as participants of the study, especially in trying to document their way of understanding these concepts of democracy and citizenship. Nevertheless, politicians and chiefs were included as research participants, thus providing a cross-section of views.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter discusses Lesotho's historical political development from its traditional chiefdom to the colonial period, followed by the struggles for independence, military rule and the democratic period that includes the current political structure of coalition government and the challenges it faces. In the discussion of how traditional African structures were eroded and replaced by the elected leaders, emphasis is placed on how

Lesotho contains a duality of several systems that arose as a result of colonialism. The chapter ends by discussing the limitations of the study.

Chapter Two focuses on the literature reviewed with respect to civic education. Civic education is discussed, showing how it was traditionally provided, in comparison with the African and the international perspectives. The chapter discusses civic education critiques and uses a conceptual framework that serves as a tool to use in the analysis of the participants' responses regarding the general provision of civic education in Lesotho.

Chapter Three reviews concepts of citizenship and democracy and discusses the background to traditional leadership, showing how it operated together with the societal values that the system instilled and uplifted. A review of theoretical perspectives for the concepts of democracy and citizenship is provided in order to develop a conceptual framework as a basis for analysing the responses from the participants of the study in relation to the research questions of how people understand these concepts.

Chapter Four focuses on how the participants of the study engaged with this research to investigate how the concepts of democracy and citizenship are understood in Lesotho. The chapter explains how the empirical data collection was conducted. It discusses the research paradigm, research design and methodology, sampling and sample instruments that were used in data collection and the ethics that were observed. The strengths and weaknesses of the fieldwork process are elaborated.

Chapter Five presents the findings with respect to the first research question of how participants of the study understand the concept of democracy. In the analysis the concept of democracy is investigated from the participants' perspectives with the focus on what Cawthra, Du Pisani, and Omari (2007) discussed as values, social process and political practice.

Chapter Six presents the findings on how the concept of citizenship was understood by the respondents of the study. Responses from the participants indicated a dominance of two forms of citizenship that people showed awareness of: communitarian and civic republican behaviours, which reflected the differences in rural and urban contexts with respect to the respondents' lifestyles, the environment and what practically happens therein.

Chapter Seven offers an analysis of documentary materials that were collected from different institutions that provide civic education concerning the research question three: what is the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho?

Chapter Eight concludes this thesis. It provides a brief synthesis of what was found in the study reflecting on the responses to different research questions and how they were answered. Implications are drawn from the findings and recommendations made for future civic education programmes in Lesotho.

Chapter Two

Civic Education

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one outlines the Lesotho context and its historical political development from traditional chiefdom to missionary and colonial interventions, followed by the struggles for independence and the events leading to the current political situation of a coalition government in the country. The Basotho recognize and accept their traditional form of governance that coexists with the colonially bequeathed system of governance. This is achieved through the adoption of a constitutional monarchy that complements, rather than competes with, the modern state, an example of how Basotho culture and traditions are complementary to an imported form of democracy. In view of Lesotho's political history, the ways in which people are educated about and understand citizenship and democracy in the current context need closer scrutiny.

In this chapter the literature concerning civic education is assessed and evaluated, looking at how this kind of education was traditionally provided in African contexts in comparison to African and international perspectives. International civic education literature and civic education critiques provide the basis for a conceptual framework that serves as a tool for the analysis of the research participants' responses and the general provision of civic education in Lesotho. The chapter concludes by discussing critiques of civic education.

2.2 What Civic Education Entails

Civic education, according to Andrews and Cowell (2005, p. 8), is seen as "embracing a host of communication, capacity and culture-building activities which can support the practice of effective citizenship." It therefore involves the promotion of human rights and responsibilities that are associated with the practice of citizenship. According to McCowan and Gomez (2012) civic education is the means to increase citizens' participation in political life and for promoting better understanding of their human rights. This is supported by Mahafza (2014), who asserts that civic education in a democratic society should focus on self-government and therefore has to promote peoples' understanding of democracy ethics and the rational obligations towards the values and principles of democracy. Civic education

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falls within the parameters of adult education and lifelong learning. Andrews and Cowell (2005) noted that civic education at local government level also embraces educational learning and promotional activities that are carried out in a local context by or on behalf of local councils, to enable people to become more involved in democratic processes. This is relevant to the impetus for this study, as it addresses the falling turnout in elections (local government) that aim at promoting democracy, which have raised a concern about support for political participation and the ability of government to stay in connection with its people.

Branson (1998) and Kelly (1995) refer to civic education as the education component that prepares citizens to actively participate and fulfill their responsibilities, using their rights, knowledge and skills for their democratic public life. This definition tallies with what Shizha and Abdi (2013) call citizenship education, which is expressed as:

> … the means by which adults acquire knowledge, skills, dispositions and attitudes that are vital for political participation or engagement (Shizha & Abdi, 2013, p. 342).

Foley (1999), on the other hand, refers to a more radical aspect of civic education as the involvement of social groups and social struggles, together with political activities of every kind which provide learning opportunities, and which can be nurtured through adult education. In pre-colonial contexts, however, civic education was a feature of traditional community learning.

2.3 Traditional Civic Education in Formerly Colonized African Countries

African traditions are still practiced, particularly in rural areas. The following description of traditional civic education, therefore, reflects the past in Africa, but the findings Chapters Five and Six show that many of these sentiments still hold value today. Traditionally, civic education socialized citizens into their culture and provided skills, information and knowledge to assist people on what was right, as expected by the society they lived in. This is supported by Octti (1994) in his illustration that civic education in East Africa focused on giving people information about practical life skills. The goal of civic education was to integrate an individual into society (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Octti, 1994; Pacho, 2013; Preece, 2009). This type of education took place in the home, community and in the wider society, with adults virtually playing the role of teachers as well as learners (Bwatwa, 1997; Octti, 1994; Preece, 2009). To illustrate this, Preece (2009)

highlights that in African countries, it has been the responsibility of the whole society to raise a child, this being an indication that traditional civic education was a collective affair, emanating from the grass roots. It was known as traditional or indigenous education in the pre-colonial era.

The content that was delivered in the traditional indigenous education mostly addressed culture, traditions, norms and values that people were expected to adopt as a lifelong learning exercise that was society-oriented. The mechanisms used to deliver this type of education were, among others, storytelling, proverbs, riddles, music and songs, and dances, during festivals and ceremonies (Bwatwa, 1997; Octti, 1994; Preece, 2009). These mechanisms reflected the oral and participatory nature of learning, and its informal and non-formal nature. Furthermore, Abdi (2008) and Shizha and Abdi (2013) note that different forms of education – traditional and pre-colonial learning in African countries and current forms of learning, including formal, informal or non-formal - involved citizenship training. The above authors argue that everything that is learnt shapes the way people understand and respond to their entire environment. These authors note further that, through learning, people improve their way of interacting with others and how to comprehend and exercise their rights and responsibilities in different sections of life (political, social, educational, economical, cultural), which promotes citizenship education (Abdi, 2008; Shizha and Abdi, 2013).

Civic education during the traditional era before colonialism was not limited to time, place or any group of people (Preece, 2009). In a traditional society, an individual was urged and expected, as part of group loyalty, to have a strong sense of lifelong obligation to service for the benefit of the family, the neighborhood and the community (Preece, 2009; Waghid, 2014). Traditional formal education was offered through initiation schools; while informal education was offered through peer-to-peer transmission, parental education and incidental education through ceremony and festivity attendance (Bwatwa, 1997; Octti, 1994; Preece, 2009). Kaschula, cited in Preece (2009), explains that songs and poems were even used for political education. Okafor (2004) concurs that traditional civic education was demonstrated through oral poetry, praise-songs and praise-poems as educational media in traditional societies, reflecting the African indigenous ways of learning.

2.3.1 African Indigenous Knowledge

Traditional African values reflected the indigenous knowledge that people possessed and reflected the way they learnt. Duncan, Bowman, Naidoo, Pillay, and Roos (2007) show that in the indigenous system of learning, community assets were utilized: human beings, physical structures (land, buildings, water), local institutions like schools, health clinics, community groups, including care givers, children and farmers. Community practices of farming, building and constructing houses, cooking, child-rearing and traditional healing were learnt through communication, where skills and knowledge were transmitted through a collective rather than an individual (Fasokun, Katahoire, & Oduaran, 2005; Waghid, 2014). This African value system has sustained national and cultural histories and their worldviews with information that has been passed from generation to generation. According to Duncan et al. (2007), this has been done through the oral tradition and through a traditional formal process of initiation schools, which are still practised today, especially in the rural context of Qacha's Nek District in Lesotho. Informally, learning occurs through daily interaction within different groups of people and with their environment (Duncan et al., 2007; Fasokun et al., 2005). Examples of this informal traditional knowledge include the construction of huts and kraals for animals and the use of plants and herbs as traditional medicine for healing, which people still perform even today.

In this indigenous knowledge system, mentoring played a key role in the transmission of skills and knowledge and this mentoring relationship promoted learning through the process of modelling, and supervised guidance. Duncan et al. (2007) postulate that learning in this context traditionally happened by doing, sharing and teaching one another in a social process. This took place in a collective manner where the goal was to empower and develop people to exercise their socio-cultural and political life. Knowledge was stored in memories and in the activities they performed, being expressed through the stories told, songs, proverbs, dances, and cultural values and practices, among others. Other strategies that were used, as outlined by Duncan et al. (2007), encompassed the emphasis on people and their interrelationships, and learning through trial and error where people learnt from their experiences (either their own or from the experiences of others). In the traditional community, learning and meaning making occurred primarily through language. This included verbal and non-verbal communication, shared experiences, common interests, and

cultural practices where social interaction with others and the use of cultural resources like objects and symbols, took place (Duncan et al., 2007). Learning occurred through modelling that involved imitation of others' behaviour and through apprenticeships.

Furthermore, in this indigenous system, spirituality was central to people's lives, which was understood as connectedness with the living and the dead. The 'Sangoma' or' Ngaka' (meaning healer or doctor) talked to the ancestors (Duncan et al., 2007, p. 326). The healing practices were embedded in a network of relationships within families and their communities. The incorporation of ancestors in the African worldview provided an important role, as they served as guides and guardians of the family. They acted as "messengers who provide a bridge between the living and God as a source" (Duncan et al., 2007, p. 333). Africans viewed the world as a community of living organisms. They espoused respectful and conscious relationships with humans, rivers, trees, rocks, plants, animals, birds and ancestral spirits, which were all regarded as members of the wider community of life. African ways of knowing were reinforced by the ideology of *ubuntu* (in the African language of isiZulu) and *botho* (in Sesotho) that are discussed in the following section. All these practices, although mentioned in the literature as happening in the past tense, still apply for many people in Lesotho.

2.3.2 Learning Through Ubuntu/Botho

The African philosophy, which was practiced historically/traditionally, is known as *ubuntu* or *botho*. Gade (2012, p. 484) describes *ubuntu* as the "moral quality of a person" on the one hand, and on the other hand, as a "phenomenon." *Ubuntu* as a moral quality meant showing a sense of connectedness and respect as a central value that was promoted together with the notion of compassion in traditional African societies (Waghid, 2010, 2014). The value of *ubuntu* laid emphasis on the relationship of a person with others, highlighting that there was a strong association between an individual and the community where the issue of caring for one another was emphasized (Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2010). The traditional educational approach, expressed through these southern African concepts of *ubuntu* and *botho*, focused on ideologies of communalism, connectedness, interdependency, and intersubjectivity, which all emphasized the importance of humanness and prioritized human relationships over individual gain, with a view to encouraging respect, sharing, caring and concern for others (Duncan et al., 2007; Metz, 2014; Preece, 2009;

Waghid, 2014; Waghid & Smeyers, 2012). This attitude in Africa is reflected in the Sesotho proverb 'a person is a person through other persons' *(motho ke motho ka batho)*.

Moreover, Waghid (2014) asserts that *ubuntu*, understood as caring, suggested that people should be resourceful and familiarize themselves with societal principles and practices for the empowerment purposes. In other words, people should also try to help themselves in making a living rather than relying on others in everything. For instance, Gboku and Lekoko (2007) explain that, traditionally, Africans worked in cooperation and in collaborative ways that socialized people into their societies and children were steeped in these values, which entailed the following:

-       The principle of acting together against acting alone.

-       The principle of cooperation against fragmentation or competition

-       The principle of unity against friction

-       The principle of collectivism against individualism

-       The sense of belonging or connectedness to a group against isolation (2007, p. 10).

In the African context, these principles served as a guide when performing social activities and enhanced a sense of belonging, which reflected the African values that were culturally acceptable in peoples' lives. Due to this functionality of traditional education that equipped learners with skills, knowledge and competencies that were useful in their daily lives, people coped with realities of life. Therefore, the ideology of *ubuntu* helped Africans to cultivate cooperation and interdependence (Waghid, 2010), which was used to preserve human dignity and respect and also brought people into unity, with a sense of equality in times of domination and exploitation, especially during the post-colonial independence era.

However, it can also be argued that the issue of *ubuntu* or *botho*, which placed a heavy emphasis on the notion of respect, had the limitation of not promoting a democratic citizenship in African cultures in that the authority of the elderly was not challenged. This is affirmed by Waghid (2010) in his description of *ubuntu*, exemplified in his reference to the authority of leadership positions in the education system that are not challenged by students:

It is commonly accepted in many African cultures that the authority of people in leadership positions should not be challenged. This viewpoint is evident from the behaviours of several of my students from Southern African countries who seem to be hesitant to challenge university professors at the institution where I work as a mark of respect for academic authority (Waghid, 2010, p. 111).

Waghid (2014) asserts that respect, in the African context of *ubuntu*, was associated with relying upon the truth of the elders because of their wisdom, which was used as a yardstick for collective decision making. However, the suggestions by the elderly were still open to deliberation and thorough scrutiny (Waghid, 2014), that was done through caring for one another. The current day contradictions articulated by Waghid are supported by Maathai (2009, p. 25), who holds that African people have embedded their "trust" in their leaders although only a few of the latter honour that trust. Maathai (2009) asserts that most African leaders mirrored the colonizers' tactics of divide and rule, in other words, setting apart the people of one country. This author argues that citizens undermine their own ability and responsibility to take action, which is a persistent trait inherited from colonialism. Maathai (2009, p. 44) states that because citizens were educationally and economically disadvantaged, they could not "hold their leaders accountable, while the latter took advantage of that fact." Moreover, African leaders have continued with their culture of disempowerment that they learnt from the colonizers that kept people ignorant, fearful, passive and obedient, as expressed by Maathai (2009) when revealing that:

They exploited their peoples in the name of progress, employment, and a better quality of life, and accumulated wealth for themselves, their families, and their friends, often corruptly and at the expense of the majority of their citizens … They adopted the attitude of the former European master and did whatever they deemed necessary for their peoples and then shed crocodile tears over their continued poverty, conflicts, and all other ills associated with the continent (p. 44).

The above contention supports what Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013) affirm, concerning African leaders' practice of the elitist notion of *ubuntu*. This also supports Shizha and Abdi (2013) in their assertion that there is little that the first elite political leaders have done to enhance citizenship rights of the people. Instead they have provided citizenship education that creates passive subjects whose loyalty to military rulers and civilian dictators is sustainable. The above authors' view is that political education that was provided by these elite leaders promoted the dependence of the people on Europeans and encouraged

Africans to suppress their own views and opinions while looking upon the wisdom of wise advisers (Maathai, 2009; Shizha & Abdi, 2013; Waghid, 2010). Similarly, Morrow (2009) highlights that the post-colonial type of education totally failed to support citizens in their fight against social injustices. Instead, Morrow states, this education has facilitated:

> A society drifting towards greed and competitive individualism, where market forces seem to override all other social ties (Morrow, 2009, p. 1).

This suggests that there is a trend in which self-centered individuals advance their own interests. This is a disturbing, continuing signal of the historical political divisions (see Chapter One) in a democratic society, which this study explores in the findings Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Although traditional education emphasized the importance of the connections between people in the society as a value that was obeyed, practiced and recognized by all, that value appears to have changed in the urban setting due to the influences of modernisation, industrialization and globalization (Mamdani, 1996; Matolino & Kwindingwi, 2013; Morrow, 2009; Root, 2007). The emphasis, today, is on individualism – expressed as one person for himself or herself. Today, people speak of the politics of economy, where they put income or reward first, as expressed by Root (2007) and Morrow (2009), before they can think of extending their services to their relatives, neighbours and the society at large. Therefore, the notion of citizenship is transformed into one that is associated with modernisation (Mamdani, 1996; Morrow, 2009; Root, 2007). This is in contrast with the African traditional context, where extended families had influence, the strong and well-off provided for the weak with a view to harmonizing individual interest with community interest (Mamdani, 1996). It is argued that these modernisation values stem from Western knowledge - a system which promotes individualism, self-actualization and wealth creation, so that the purpose of lifelong education is for industrial production within the capitalist framework (Abdi, 2008; Crick & Joldersma, 2007; Mamdani, 1996; Morrow, 2009). In this context, Waghid (2014) and Pacho (2013) propose that civic education has to re-foster the engagement of people with one another and respect the views of others. Waghid further suggests that *ubuntu* has the potential to connect critical thinking and deliberative conversations. Waghid (2014, p. 57) asserts that, "collective decision making was not alien to traditional African society," and illustrates that Africans have always used *ubuntu* throughout their lives.

The next section examines the international perspective on civic education that derives primarily from Western values. It can be seen that there are some overlaps with African perspectives in terms of the contribution to community life.

2.4 International Perspectives on Civic Education

In different countries across the globe civic education is an integral part of the provision of lifelong learning. Boggs (1992) and Downs (2012) outline the importance of adult civic education in the U.S context in assisting citizens to learn how to engage with qualified professionals and in influencing the experts that make public policy decisions to review their policies. In this manner, adult civic education contributes to the quality of community life, while also encouraging a commitment to democratic values and its practices (Boggs, 1992; Downs, 2012; Higginbottom, 1986, 1991). Higher education in America is known for preparing students (young adults) for civic roles and responsibilities as articulated by Morse (1989), Schaub (2012) and Patrick (1995, 1996; 1997).

For young Americans, community service is a way of fostering civic engagement (Ehrlich, 1997; Kanter, 2012; Schaub, 2012). It has been argued that the educational components of civic learning motivate people to serve their countries and become knowledgeable about their institutions. Community service is often provided as part of university education. It takes place as a school course that uses the instruction of service learning, collaborative learning and problem solving to strengthen students' civic skills, attitudes and behaviours (Ehrlich, 1999; Schaub, 2012). This is supported by Barber (1994), Kanter (2012) and Downs (2012), who illustrate that in the United States the practice of encouraging community engagement through service learning courses for students in higher education institutions (a system that also operates in South Africa) effectively rejuvenates civic education. Service learning is used by schools where participants spend time in their communities, become involved in political action such as attending political meetings, protests and gathering signatures for petitions. Similar community activities are practiced in South Africa where the Department of Education (1997) prescribes community service as a feature of the higher education curriculum. Barber, Kanter and Downs also advocate that people need to be educated for productive citizenship through community service. According to Shanker

(1997), Weatherman (1984) and Mahafza (2014) formal education that also entails community service plays a key role to developing democratic citizenship in America.

According to Dahal (2002, p. 4), in the context of Nepal, the primary work of civic education is to create "civic culture", which is committed to broaden and deepen democracy in the public and private lives of the country's citizens. Dahal (2002, p. 4) further notes that civic education serves to "widen the relationships among individuals, communities and the nation." In his observations, civic education in Nepal was introduced as an optional subject into the school's curriculum, due to the realization that the Nepalese patrimonial nature of political leadership was unable to become either truly representative of the society or responsive to the citizens' needs. Dahal (2002, p. 8) concludes that the Nepalese experienced the cultural shift from "sovereignty of the state" to the "sovereignty of the people", from representative democracy to participatory democracy, in an effort to liberate its citizenship.

In the UK, Nepal, Turkey and Greece, civic education is provided to encourage people to reconnect with their communities and with the government (promotion of active citizenship); to prepare citizens to rule and be ruled (Andrews & Cowell, 2005; Crittenden, 2007; Ersoy, 2014). According to Andrews and Cowell, Crittenden and Ersoy civic education is seen as informal and non-formal educational means, with learning or promotional activities that are done locally by local councils, to increase people's participation and involvement in democratic processes (Andrews & Cowell, 2005; Yucel, 2013).

In most countries like Great Britain, the United States, Poland, Nepal, Argentina and others, citizenship education is offered in schools as a form of civic education to promote personal and political development and to promote national identity (Astiz & Mendez, 2001; Crittenden, 2007; Dahal, 2002; Faulks, 2006; Gutmann, 1987; Mahafza, 2014; Meyers, 2003; Ritter, 2013; USAID, 2002). Political participation is strongly emphasized with content that includes, but is not limited, to the following: how a democratic system works, knowledge of rights and obligations, purpose and procedure of elections, development of public community and the virtues needed (Andrews & Cowell, 2005; Crittenden, 2007; Dahal, 2002; Gutmann, 1987; Mahafza, 2014; Meyers, 2003). For instance, in America civic education is provided to children to assist them in skills and attitude development that is

needed for effective voicing of opinions and for acting on their beliefs (see global citizenship curriculum below). As Adams (2003) states, civic education begins at an early stage, where children develop a sense of personal responsibility, learn that they can make a difference in their lives and in their communities, and become cognizant of the value of their participation (Adams, 2003; Downs, 2012; Schaub, 2012). Schlesinger (2006) supports Adams, but goes a step further to show that when teaching children the history of democracy, it is important to make them see government in action by encouraging them to meet with their elected officials.

In Malaysia, community participation, like in the United States, was found by Farouk and Husin (2011) to have increased students' understanding of public policy and of the general democratic processes. They also found that the use of their rights as citizens promoted better functioning of their communities.

Gutmann (1987) is of the opinion, however, that although civic education is commonly provided in schools through formal settings, it is also offered through informal settings like in families, communities, libraries, churches, workplaces, civic organisations, unions, sports teams, campaigns and elections, mass media and others. Gutmann (1987) further notes that these formal and informal provisions integrate with each other for effective civic education, since informal settings and methods are associated with political socialization and help prepare citizens for public participation and engagement. The above contentions by Gutmann are examined in the context of Lesotho in order to see how Basotho have developed their knowledge of democracy and citizenship.

According to Hughes (2006), countries with strong democracies are characterized by strong and independent civil society, trade unions, business, media, church and civic movements. Hughes asserts that the diverse elements of civil society represent and articulate the interests of their specific constituencies, support and membership bases, and serve as alternative and competing centres of power and political influence. He further notes that the diverse media also serve as a powerful check on the abuse of public power, and in that way media is less manipulated in these countries.

Sears (2008), in a study of 'Children's understandings of democratic participation lessons for civic education', contends that in any learning environment, prior knowledge has to be

considered by those who provide education. This means that people who teach or provide information about civic education should recognise that learners already have knowledge with regard to what they have to learn. Sears (2008) and Jarvis (2008) affirm that learners' schema in a learning situation may sift through any information that they receive and accept the knowledge, twist it or adjust it. In this instance learning has to be repeated for learners to grasp the intended outcome. Sears (2008) goes ahead to emphasise the need for effective pedagogical approaches which should allow for numerous outlooks or focus on increasing deep understanding of the content so that learners can engage in their situations in an inspiring manner.

Sears postulates that learners have to be taken seriously and their full potential developed in a learning situation. In addition, the author contends that materials have to be linked and attached to reality rather than being taught in an abstract manner. This enhances more understanding and sound judgement within learners, especially if the information provided is correct, provided in collaborative ways where they are engaged in problem solving and is applicable in their environment. It follows, therefore, that civic educators have to be knowledgeable in terms of what they teach as content and also respect leaners' knowledge and build on their past experiences (Jarvis, 2008; Sears, 2008). Sears (2008) states that in a learning situation context matters, meaning that for civic education 'one size does not fit all.' There are various social and cultural differences that outline citizens' knowledge, attitudes and skills; hence the need for a curriculum that fits different contexts and that is learnt and taught differently. Therefore, this study seeks to observe the extent to which Lesotho's civic education programmes address these pedagogical concerns.

According to the curriculum offered by Oxfam (2006), civic education is provided for the purpose of enhancing the development of skills, knowledge, values and attitudes of different people in order for them to exercise their capability in life. Oxfam further notes that civic education enables the younger generation to become resilient throughout their life span. This enables people to become critical citizens about complex global issues. The curriculum, as stipulated in Oxfam (2006), involves knowledge and understanding, skills development, values and attitudes that are offered to different age groups, as illustrated in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Curriculum for Global Citizenship

1. Knowledge and Understanding					
Topics	**Foundation (less than 5 years)**	**Ages 5 – 7 years**	**Ages 7 – 11 years**	**Ages 11 – 14 years**	**Ages 14 – 19 years**
Social justice & equality	What is fair/ unfair, right/wrong	Awareness of rich & poor	Fairness between groups	Inequalities within societies, basic rights	Causes of poverty, understanding global debates
Diversity	Awareness of similarities & difference	Greater awareness of similarities & difference	Contribution of different cultures, values to lives	Understanding of diversity issues	Deeper understanding of different cultures & societies
Globalization & interdependence	Awareness of different places	Sense of wider world, links between places	Trade between countries	Awareness of political system & others	Power relations-South/North, complex global issues
Sustainable development	Living things & their needs	Awareness of past & future	Awareness of finite resources	Different views of socio-economic dev.	Lifestyles for sustainable world
Peace and conflict	Actions have consequence	Cause of conflict	Impact of conflict	Relationship of conflict & peace	Complexity of conflict issues & resolution
2. Skills					
Critical thinking	Listening to others, ask questions	Developing enquiring mind	Detecting bias, opinion, stereotypes	Making informed decisions	Critically analyzing information
Ability to argue effectively	Expressing a view	Begin to state opinion	Begin to state a reasonable case	Learn to develop argument	Political literacy
Ability to challenge justice	Begin to identify unfairness	Identify unfairness & take action	Recognize & start to challenge unfairness	Start to challenge viewpoints	Take action against inequality
Respect for things	Start to think of others	Making links in lives	Make choices recognize consequences	Grow ability to take care of things	Campaigning for justice and equitable world
Cooperation & conflict resolution	Sharing, Cooperating, participating	Tact and diplomacy, include others	Compromising, accepting & acting on a group decision	Negotiation	Negotiation, mediation, conflict resolution
3. Values and Attitudes					
Sense of identity	Sense of identity & self-worth	Awareness of and pride in individuality	Sense of importance of individual worth	Open-mindedness	Open-mindedness

Empathy, humanity	Concern for others in immediate circle	Interest in and concern for others in wider sphere	Empathy towards others locally and globally	Compassion, sensitivity to the needs & rights of others	Sense of humanity & collective responsibility
Commitment to social justice & equality	Sense of fair play	Willingness to speak up for others	Sense of justice	Concern for justice & equality	Commitment to social justice, equality
Value & respect for diversity	Positive attitude towards diversity	Willingness to learn from others' experiences	Growing respect for diversity & difference	Respecting the rights of all to have a point of view	Valuing all people as equal & different
Concern for environment, commitment to sustainable dev.	Sense of wonder & curiosity	Care for the environmen, begin to value things	Sense of responsibility for the environment	Concern about effects of our lifestyles on people	Commitment to sustainable development
Beliefs that people can make a difference	Willingness to admit to learn from mistakes	Awareness of action and results, participate	Belief that things can be better, people can make a difference	Willingness to take a stand on global issues	Willingness to work towards equitable future.

According to Oxfam (2006) the above topics are effective when using participatory methods such as debates and discussions, role plays, ranking exercises and communities of enquiry. Oxfam illustrates that civic education provides the opportunity for people to explore, develop and express their values, views and opinions while listening to and respecting other people's viewpoints (Oxfam, 2006). It can be seen that this curriculum is comprehensive in that it addresses different topics across all ages from the foundation level up until the stage of early adulthood; the topics that are included continue to be practiced into adulthood. In this Lesotho study the participants were asked to discuss the values that they were brought up with and these were compared with what Oxfam provided and is further discussed in Chapter Seven.

Similar to Oxfam's curriculum for citizenship education, as a cross curricular project that is taught in different schools globally, Rietbergen-McCracken proposes the following as a curriculum for civic education, summarized as follows:

> … Civic knowledge refers to understanding of the workings of political systems and of their own civic rights and responsibilities [rights to freedom of expression, to vote, run for public office, responsibilities to respect the rule of law, rights and interest of others]. Civic skills refer to citizens' ability to analyse, evaluate, take and defend

positions on public issues, to use the knowledge to participate in civic and political processes [monitor government performance, to mobilize other citizens around particular issues]. Civic dispositions are traits necessary for democracy [tolerance, public spiritedness, civility, critical mindedness, willingness to listen, negotiation and compromise] (Rietbergen-McCracken, Undated, p. 1).

The similarity of these points to the ones that are entailed in the curriculum (displayed in Table 2 above) by Oxfam is clear. These points form the basis of the focus in this study that seeks to understand how people understand democracy and citizenship with implications for civic education provision in Lesotho.

The issues discussed in the above curricula are offered in formal schools of different western and eastern countries through world alliance networks (CIVNET, CIVCOM, and Service Learning) as part of the formal curriculum, while Informal civic education is provided through information sharing activities in civil society groups. According to Rietbergen-McCracken (Undated) civic education is also provided as voter education and community mobilization for the vulnerable groups of the poor about their social and political rights. It is often utilized by the public sector to improve the democratic functioning of local government or political parties. Civic education is sometimes provided in conjunction with capacity building through engaging in dialogues (such as communicating with leaders), holding forums and campaigns that are likely to strengthen the capacity possessed by citizens and civil society groups on how to organize themselves, interact with other groups and citizens and ultimately make their voices heard by those in authority.

Rietbergen-McCracken, when referring to various civic education curricula, explains that civic education is delivered by civil society groups such as non-governmental organisations, community based organisations, and faith based organisations, media organisations, education institutions, the private sector, government agencies and international development organisations. The tools used to offer civic education include seminars, workshops, focus group discussions, drama, role plays, television programmes, radio, participatory and cooperative methods of learning such as informal teaching and information sharing (Rietbergen-McCracken, Undated). Rietbergen-McCracken outlines that training of trainers and peer-to-peer programmes are also used where civic education is disseminated, showing other ways of offering continuous learning opportunities. Although

Oxfam (2006), Rietbergen-McCracken (Undated) and UNESCO (2006) provide internationally available materials for civic education, the experience of civic education practice in African countries is varied and inconsistent.

2.5 Civic Education in African Countries

According to Mahafza (2014), civic education in Africa has a focus on democracy and of providing education about self-government where citizens are actively involved in their governance. Furthermore, Shizha and Abdi (2013) propose that education in all its forms plays an important role in informing people about their civil, economic and political rights. These authors highlight that education is also considered to be essential in developing a citizenry that can participate in governance and engage effectively in issues affecting their lives. However, as mentioned in Chapter One, the educational programmes used in post-colonial Africa, including Lesotho, have not enhanced the citizenship rights of the people (Maathai, 2009; Morrow, 2009; Shizha & Abdi, 2013). Moreover, it has been argued that the ruling elite class of leaders intentionally failed to develop worthwhile, locally-informed, political education programmes that would affirm the citizenship engagement, but they instead provided citizenship education that created passive customers patriotic and loyal to the authorities (Maathai, 2009; Morrow, 2009; Shizha & Abdi, 2013).

Pacho (2013) advocates for critical and creative education for the new Africa, which can address some of the political leaders' practices of corruption, state-controlled media houses, manipulative and unfair acts, including patronage networks that are undertaken by politicians. Similarly, UNDP (2013) calls for people who can effectively participate in the processes that shape their lives for desirable and sustainable human development. Therefore, civic education, also called citizenship education or political education, should teach towards "civic knowledge, civic dispositions and civic skills essential for informed effective citizenship" (Gutmann, 1987; USAID, 2002, p. 7).

The Office of Democracy and Governance (USAID, 2002) found that civic education had a positive impact on democratic behaviour and attitudes for adults and in the school-based programmes in the three countries of Poland, South Africa and the Dominican Republic. Their study assessed the following criteria across these three countries: local participation,

general participation, political knowledge, political efficacy, political tolerance, support for elections, trust in institutions and satisfaction with democracy.

In South Africa, Finkel and Ernst (2005) conducted a study with students at high schools where a 'Democracy for all' project was implemented. They found that the quality of instruction and pedagogical methods employed by civic educators enhances effective civic education in learners. Thus, civic educators need to be people with high competence, likability and with an interest in delivering the content. Additionally, active participatory and learner involvement methods produce significant gains in all democratic orientations among learners. Although there is a substantial literature on citizenship education for schools, for example (Adeyemi, 2002), there are fewer studies on citizenship education for adults, particularly in Africa (Avoseh, 2001). Therefore, this study attempts to fill this gap by investigating what adult citizens understand about democracy and citizenship in Lesotho, exploring existing civic education, with a view to making recommendations for improvement.

Mattes and Bratton (2007), in their study 'Learning about Democracy in Africa: Awareness, Performance, and Experience', stated that in various African countries people are more likely to demand democracy if they can view it as providing more rights and freedoms than the old traditional regimes and if they see their leaders being responsive to public demands. However, it is argued that the population used in their study was not sufficient to make generalized observations of the involved countries. Furthermore, there remains a gap between understanding how to synergize new democracy with the indigenous ways of life. In other words, the democracy culture, in many cases, was imposed on people's everyday life, disregarding their values, beliefs and practices. The study conducted by Mattes and Bratton (2007) was silent on how democracy and the Africans' local values and their way of life share similarities of fundamentals that can be harmonized.

Kadima et al. (2006) conducted a study amongst prominent political parties and their outreach programmes (voter and civic education) used in the countries of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia. The authors found that in all four countries, voter education was used synonymously with civic education. According to Kadima et al. (2006) civic

education has to incorporate a form of democracy education that can encourage citizens to participate in politics with a thorough understanding of how democracy should function.

Additionally, it was found that in all the countries, with the exception of Botswana (where voter education is provided by the Independent Electoral Commission as their responsibility), even in political rallies that are conducted by different parties, the political parties offer voter education to their fellow members during their political campaigns and rallies, where they teach about the importance of elections and encourage voters to participate in elections. Kadima et al. (2006) also found that almost all opposition parties and some ruling parties reported that funding was a challenge because they could not hold proper civic education campaigns. The other challenge reported was the lack of access to media by all the opposition parties in the four countries, especially those that are controlled by governments of the day and ruling political parties. The authors suggested that government resources are abused in favour of the ruling political party, which is commonly the government in these countries, and is an area investigated in this study. However, Kadima et al. (2006) observed that in all the countries the political parties have weak connections with their civil society groups and other stakeholders such as traditional leaders and privately owned companies. They recommended that political parties should consider involving such stakeholders for the enhancement of sustainable democratic governance.

In South Africa, for instance, active civil society plays a key role in helping communities take action towards making a difference regarding civic education. These included NGOs, CBOs, churches, trade unions and other South African social movements (Pandor, 2008). It is clear, therefore, that civil society organisations play a key role in the form of civic education that is provided in South Africa. These organisations enhance a great deal of understanding among South African people about citizenship and democracy in the transition from apartheid to a democratic system.

There are other examples of civic education in Africa. In Zambia, civic education is offered by NGOs with the aim of improving citizen participation in governance (Kabemba, 2004). These NGOs are reported by Kabemba (2004) to be supported mainly by donors, as they are in other African countries. Civic education focusing on how to involve communities to vote during elections is provided. Voter education, using workshops, fieldwork and media

programmes is mostly disseminated a short period before elections (ibid). However, as happens in Lesotho, Kabemba noted that floor crossing takes place where members of parliament abandon their political parties and cross to the ruling party (see Chapter One); Patronage systems are reported to be present and are used as a campaigning tool (Kabemba, 2004). Zambia is reported to have weak opposition parties that fail to serve as a check and balance against government.

In Ghana, civic education happens informally in the social movement struggles where the majority learn the ways of challenging local and global power through incidental learning (Foley, 1999; Langdon, 2011). Learning is a participatory process in Ghana and it uses collective replications of activist educators that are embedded in different movements where participants share their knowledge and their connection with the rest of the members (Langdon, 2011). However, Gyimah-Boadi (2013) pronounces that the National Commission for Civic Education commission (NCCE) in Ghana faces challenges of shortages of resources to undertake their massive obligation. This author opines that the commission lacks a clear strategic focus on issues of policy direction, curriculum development and coordination matters. He suggests that the commission needs to review their strategy and aim for an inclusive civic education programme that can incorporate the religious bodies, education institutions, state and non-state actors in the development of policy, content and delivery (Ibid). In the meantime the gender Afrobarometer survey indicates that women in Ghana are lagging behind men in voting for their leaders (Amoateng, Heaton, & Kalule-Sabiti, 2014).

In Namibia, the Namibian Institute for Democracy (NID) takes the lead in providing civic education and training programmes, which are based on the multiparty democracy principles enshrined in the Namibian constitution. Civic education is done in two ways: First, national mass media information programmes consult and involve traditional and community leaders to produce materials using different indigenous languages. These materials are distributed through partnerships with civil society groups, government agencies and other interest groups. The programme is also broadcasts nationally on the radio and television. Secondly, personal contact programmes are provided that use the indigenous languages that are spoken in Namibia. The content covered includes good governance, human rights, labour issues, gender, and government and voter education. In

the final example of Kenya, there was a rethinking of citizenship education where the concept of citizenship was newly formulated, shifting from its Western influence to incorporate the political cultural setting of Kenya (Wainaina, Arnot, & Chege, 2011). The concept even changed their provision of formal education in secondary schools.

These examples from different countries indicate that there are initiatives that endeavour to address the gaps in understanding where voter education is oftentimes provided as civic education; and elections not linked to governance, following the transition to modern democracies. Some countries indicate that there are active civil societies endeavouring to educate their populace in context sensitive frameworks such as in Kenya, where citizenship education has shifted to fit their cultural context.

However, in SADC countries the media is mostly owned by government and the privately owned media lack funding or are poorly funded and thus less able to act as a check and balance on political elites and on abuses of power, or they favour a governing party (Hughes, 2006).

Returning to the context of Lesotho, much has happened since the erosion of traditional leadership via colonialism, military rule, and democratic governance, which has resulted in multiple challenges as reflected in Chapter One. Concepts of democracy, citizenship, human rights and the election of leaders are discourses that do not appear to be understood by many people in Lesotho, and prior to this study it was not known to what extent or in what way, because no detailed study appears to have been conducted.

2.6 Civic Education in Lesotho

Education is central to national development in Lesotho. The country is committed to the provision of an equitable basic education for all Basotho as a key development goal (Government of Lesotho, 2004). Civic education in Lesotho is offered as voter education, which is an imperative for preparing for elections in Lesotho. This is because, as presented in Chapter One, for a period of about twenty-three years Basotho have been denied the chance to participate in democratic elections. Lesotho became a democratic country after military rule in 1993, and thereafter, more institutions were established focusing on governance such as the IEC and the Office of Ombudsman, in addition to the practice of the separation of powers between the three arms of government namely: Executive, Judiciary

and Legislature (Government of Lesotho, 1993, 2004). Civic education in Lesotho is provided by the IEC which was established by the constitution of Lesotho section 66 (as a second amended in 1997) and derives its powers and functions from the Constitution and the National Assembly Electoral Act (Government of Lesotho, 2011). Voter education was launched in 1997 by the IEC (IEC, 1998; Sekatle, 1999). During its kick-start, it used posters, pamphlets, public notices, public gatherings, local radio station announcements and newspapers to disseminate information on elections. The printed materials were distributed to communities and displayed in the village shops, health centres and schools, and published newspapers were distributed to public members during public gatherings.

The commission officers are appointed by the king acting on the advice of the state council. According to the Government of Lesotho (1993) and National Assembly Electoral Act (Government of Lesotho, 2011), the IEC is a constitutionally independent, non-partisan Electoral Management Body that is autonomous. It is mandated to engender a capable and responsive electoral institution that delivers regular democratic elections and referenda that are timely, participatory, transparent, acceptable and accessible to Basotho. It aims to create an enabling environment to enhance the promotion of public awareness and understanding of democratic processes, and to provide customer service, ensuring the development and nurturing of a talented, committed and empowered staff who always aim for management excellence, while remaining, through visionary leadership, accountable to the people of Lesotho (Government of Lesotho, 1993; National Assembly Electoral Act, 2011).

In its plans, the IEC extends its services towards all voters including the youth (potential and eligible). This has come about as a result of challenges that the IEC faced in different aspects of election administration such as credibility of voters roll/lists, nomination of candidates, non-acceptance of results due to lack of understanding on how vote counting is conducted and the wrong interpretation of the allocation of seats (probably due to the 1998 political unrest where youth were seen to be active in rioting and protesting that the claimed election results were fraudulent).

As already indicated in Chapter One, the IEC's (2006) Training Manual points out that civic education is a medium through which the social, political and economic culture of a certain

society is transmitted. Through civic education citizens are encouraged to participate in governance and issues directly affecting their lives. Therefore citizens have to be informed and be knowledgeable in order to exercise their rights and duties and participate meaningfully to enhance democracy. According to the IEC (2012b), civic education is offered as electoral and voter education to eligible voters in respect of the general election information that covers phases of registration, nomination and voting. It is provided by trained voter educators that have received a three day training workshop and are hired temporarily for the elections. The training is provided by Constituency Electoral Assistants, who are permanently employed IEC staff, to the temporarily hired voter educators who are expected to disseminate information to different communities at least three months before elections. The content is derived from the National Assembly Electoral Act (Government of Lesotho, 2011). It has the following topics: IEC structure and roles, election stakeholders and their roles, voter education, democracy and elections, and others (IEC, 2012a, 2012b; National Assembly Electoral Act, 2011). This Act and other documents are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

In 2011, prior to local government elections, a memorandum of understanding was signed by the IEC and Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN) both represented by their Secretariat leaders, with the purpose of reversing voter apathy, enhancing democracy and boosting voter registration (Zihlangu, 2011). The content that was agreed upon for dissemination of information included: introduction to the new boundaries of urban and municipal councils, explanation for the delay of local government elections from 2010 to 2011 and the importance of citizens casting their vote during elections. This shows that voter education is offered just before the elections for immediate use by the electorates, and so it has a limited focus. Indeed this shows how weak civic education is in that it takes the form of voter education in Lesotho (see Chapter Seven), because it could be argued that issues concerning the new boundaries of urban and municipal councils could have been disseminated long before the councils were established and before the local government elections.

However, in Lesotho voter education is also offered by civil society groups like NGOs such as the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN), the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC), Development for Peace Education (DPE), the Christian Council of

Lesotho and the political parties to their members. Some participants of the study were drawn from these groups (see Chapter Four for sampling details). In Lesotho, voter education is mostly delivered during the time of elections, making it a once-off education for immediate use.

Kadima et al. (2006) suggest that voter education in Lesotho is the information provided by a political party in the run up to elections. Its aim is, typically, to address voters' motivation and preparedness to participate fully in the elections, and entails more complex types of information about voting and the electoral process. To them, voter education is concerned with concepts such as the secrecy of the ballot, why each vote is important and its impact on public accountability, and how votes translate into seats. Such concepts involve explanation, not just a statement of fact, and this type of information is often provided by election authorities and civil society organisations (CSO). In their study of political parties and democratisation in Lesotho, Matlosa and Sello (2006) interviewed the high ranking officials, including the elite political leaders and politicians. These authors argue that not only does sustainable democracy depend upon well-functioning and effective political parties, but also upon well informed and empowered citizenry in terms of public participation and active involvement in governance issues. Political parties are made up of citizens who also form the party's membership. Therefore this thesis also argues that political party leaders, too, need to be informed in and knowledgeable about the skills of how to deliberate and effectively participate in governance issues, a point about democratisation that these authors seem to be silent about.

Voter and civic education can be badly abused in some instances. For example, political parties abuse chiefs to engage in party politics rather than using them for disseminating voter and civic education objectively, and as a result marginalized groups like women, disabled people and youth are neglected (Khembo, 2004). It is doubtful whether education provided only during election time is adequate for the political socialization and conscientization of the masses, especially in enhancing their understanding of democracy and their citizenship rights and responsibilities. This study takes an in-depth approach to explore precisely what happens in the context of Lesotho regarding the understanding of these terms, particularly in the light of the above literature which emphasizes the benefits of quality teaching and content in civic education and its impact on democratic behaviour.

The 2014 political instability in Lesotho has led to the resolution to hold early elections following the 2012 ones (see Chapter One). This scenario has resulted from instability due to the rapid corruption among politicians and other decision makers, where manipulation was used by dishonest politicians in the past government to buy and gain votes from citizens. There have been reports on massive government funds that have gone missing and have been misused, resulting in the reshuffling of ministers and people who hold key positions in government. In retaliation, the military, who sympathized with other officials who were involved in corruption, staged an attempted coup. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Eight. According to the Lesotho Times Newspaper, dated 9-15 September (Zihlangu, 2014), several attacks were made on the police by the military and that situation pushed Lesotho further into its vulnerable and unstable situation. In these instances, citizens are unable to oppose or confront the acts of injustice that are done by both the politicians and the military. These situations call for civic education that can raise awareness among the responsible officials and instigate in them the political will that will promote and advance peace and stability in the country. Opportunities that Basotho are currently likely to be exposed to, in terms of learning about concepts of democracy and citizenship, their rights and responsibilities, are discussed in the following section.

2.7 Learning Opportunities in Lesotho

In Lesotho there are different learning opportunities which Basotho are exposed to, either informally, non-formally or formally, in order to learn about citizenship and democracy. According to the IEC Training Manual (2006), informally people learn through interactive ways during campaigns held by politicians in public gatherings; through question and answer sessions and the debates that are facilitated by IEC voter educators, either at different schools or by youth leaders among youth groups. Currently the content that has been delivered is derived from IEC training manuals (IEC, 2012a, 2012b, 2013) and their focus is on teaching people about ways to vote, ballot counts and stakeholders' involvement (see Chapter Seven for details). Citizens also listen to and watch the broadcasted information over the radio or watch television that bears the same content as the IEC manuals in order to receive information pertaining to citizenship rights and responsibilities in a democratic society (Arhin, 2002; IEC, 1998, 2007; Lucas, 1993). The content contained in these IEC documents is analysed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Non-formally, people learn through workshops, organized by NGOs as part of civil society organisations, which are provided to different stakeholders; this is discussed further in Chapter Seven. Information on voting processes is also broadcast on different radio station slots for listeners to get information about voting procedures. There is little formal civic education that is provided to citizens at schools, which is also not included in the Lesotho Education Sector Strategic Plan of 2005 – 2015 (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005). These scenarios prompt some critique about how civic education is provided globally.

2.8 Critiques of Civic Education

Although democratic elections require civic education that promotes critical thinking that will question the nature of elections, voting systems and campaigns, civic education in Lesotho and other parts of the globe has been criticized on a number of fronts (Kabemba, 2003; Khembo, 2004; Smiddy, 2009).

The political history of Lesotho has shown that there has been a reformation of government several times, but there was no public education provided about the reformation. The issue that political reforms are not well understood by the public still stands. For instance, as far back as 1987, Gutmann felt that the people who are in charge of civic education provision may wish to indoctrinate learners rather than educate them, thereby abandoning their initial mission (Gutmann, 1987). There are indications that this is still the case on a global scale, for example, Faulks's (2006, p. 3) discussion about reformation in England indicated that "citizens have worryingly low levels of political knowledge and lack of trust in the democratic process."

Hughes (2006, p. 5) indicates that "weak parliaments cannot act as watchdog on the executive branch", and therefore cannot fulfil their constitutional mandate. Parliaments that fail to exercise oversight of the executive branch invite the abuse of executive power, and by extension the erosion of democratic values and practices (Hughes, 2006). Moreover, Hughes (2006) shows that public ignorance of, or lack of information about parliament can lead to widespread disinterest, scepticism and apathy; again, when the public loses faith or interest in parliament, representative democracy is reduced to something not working because it is seen as an imported form of democracy.

It has been argued that geographical distance is a barrier to public engagement and participation in parliament. Therefore, strategies, programmes and modalities have to be developed to bridge the geographic challenges, like the holding of regular parliamentary public forums in outlying regions (Hughes, 2006). This means that the travelling distance entailed in attending parliamentary sittings, constituency offices or outreach programmes is exacerbated when there is poor infrastructure and limited transport to parliaments that are located far away from the majority of the population, as is the case in Lesotho. At least in South Africa, parliamentary debate is broadcast regularly on SABC television, but this is not the case in Lesotho. Furthermore, Hughes points to another aspect, stating that the parliamentary buildings within SADC were constructed during the colonial period and many of the rules and procedures, practices and behaviour remain colonial, or neo-colonial in tone. Many SADC countries have failed to modernise their systems (national assemblies) to mould them into nationally relevant institutions.

Parliaments operate at a social, class and political distance from civil society. In practice, the parliaments and parliamentarians of many SADC countries are relatively inaccessible in political, operational, informational and physical terms (Hughes, 2006). The latter's elevation above civil society, rather than rendering it responsive and accountable, holds particular dangers for democracy and development in SADC countries. Khembo (2004) supports Hughes (2006) in the idea that, unlike parliamentary democracies in the developed countries, civil society in SADC is typically weak and lacks capacity and political power to represent and promote effectively the diverse interests of poor and under resourced communities.

A key challenge is to ensure that democratic behaviour exists within parliaments. Beyond induction and orientation programmes, ethics committees and a code of conduct, a major concern is the absence of a democratic culture within some political parties themselves. Many political parties in the SADC region lack transparency and internal democracy; they are acutely hierarchical, centralized, authoritarian and intolerant of debate (Hughes, 2006).

Khembo's opinion is that most civic and voter education programmes are inadequate in terms of content, quality and frequency and tend to be over reliant on donor funding. He shows further that rural voters, mostly women and youth in the remote areas, do not have

access to voter education programmes; and illiteracy[3] is also an obstacle to voter education in most rural areas (Khembo, 2004). These problems contribute to voter apathy, mostly prevalent among the youth of the region, and it is not easy for citizens to make informed choices and democratic decisions in the absence of appropriate information.

Similarly, there is also limited responsiveness by the electorate/citizens generally. In practice, most of the electorate do not attend social gatherings, unless they know that they can benefit from attending (IEC, 2012b). Therefore, many do not comply with whatever information concerns them especially that which is disseminated at the gatherings, like voter registration, screening of correct names or checking names on the voters roll. The main reasons people do not accept election results are their low levels of understanding of the electoral process and an inadequate timeframe for the provision of voter education among others. Voter education does not provide all the necessary information for future reference, which people need for a deeper understanding of the concepts of democracy and citizenship.

Programmes, which are exclusively for voter education, are often rushed without much thought to aligning them with broader societal needs, especially regarding democracy and citizenship concepts. This is supported by Kabemba (2003) and Lindberg (2006) in their argument that civic and voter education programmes:

> Indirectly neglect or lack the ability to encourage voters to break away from their previous or past pre-structured, pre-designed political affiliations and to choose their leadership along policy and issue determinants (Kabemba, 2003, p. 48; Lindberg, 2006).

These challenges hamper the progress of these programmes and include the delivery style of activities that mostly follow donor expectations. For instance, the workshop approach can be rigid in manner and not sensitive to the community's or individual's needs, especially at home and at the village level (Smiddy, 2009). Inadequate funding to support civic and voter education is another challenge (Kadima et al., 2006). This is because the latter is implemented by NGOs, and most NGOs are implementers of the decisions taken by their aid donors (external donors). Many NGO programmes are influenced by the dominant donors'

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[3] Total adult literacy rate is 75.8% according to http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/lesotho_statistics.html

priorities and issues most popular to the donor community (donors place some constraints and conditions on their assistance) (Kabemba, 2003). Weak civil societies that are under resourced, both technically and in terms of human capacity, as Kabemba (2003), Kadima et al. (2006) and Khembo (2004) opine, may therefore fail to act as an efficient watch dog or as a powerful force in the transformation process of Lesotho's democracy. This is because most governments seem to have left the responsibility for civic and voter education funding to donors.

The main challenges of civic education in Africa, and particularly in Lesotho, therefore, include the limited availability of civic education programmes provided by the Independent Electoral Commission and other civil society organisations such as the Transformation Resource Centre and the Lesotho Council for Non-Governmental Organizations. These NGOs (TRC, LCN) only have offices in one district of Maseru, meaning that their services do not reach the majority of the Basotho population.

Another challenge noted is that African cultural values are in transition from traditional to modern systems of operating, and are not well explained in civic education with how they are discussed academically. There seem to be opposing claims of knowledge and power in relation to new forms of democracy that have disturbed the prevailing African authorities that practiced traditional democracy and were replaced by elected leaders.

2.8.1 Conceptual Framework for Forms of Civic Education

The following conceptual framework (Table 3) has been developed from the literature regarding international civic education and traditional civic education in African contexts. The framework is used as a tool for the analysis of the participants' responses and the civic education programmes that are provided in Lesotho (see Chapter Seven for detailed findings).

Table 3: Conceptual Framework for Forms of Civic Education

CHARACTERISTICS	TRADITIONAL CIVIC EDUCATION (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Octti, 1994; Okafor, 2004; Pacho, 2013; Preece, 2009;	AFRICAN CIVIC EDUCATION (Gyimah-Boadi, 2013; Kabemba, 2003, 2004; Kadima et al., 2006;	INTERNATIONAL CIVIC EDUCATION (Andrews & Cowell, 2005; Dahal, 2002; Faulks, 2006; Kanter, 2012; Mahafza, 2014;

	Waghid, 2010, 2014)	**Matlosa, 2008; Sears, 2008)**	**Meyers, 2003; Schaub, 2012)**
Purpose	Give practical life skills and integrate into society	Motivate and prepare citizens for democratic process, voting in elections	Promote personal and political development, promote active citizenship
Content	Culture, norms, values and traditions	Electoral and voting process, ballot counting	How democratic system works, skills, values etc
Delivery mode	Informal: proverbs, storytelling, peer-to-peer, pitso, khotla	Informal: campaigns, social movements, mass media, civil society	Formal: schools Non formal: civic organisations
Frequency	Unlimited time, ongoing	Once off event	Ongoing at schools
Funding	Free of charge	Donors	Government
Ideology	Conservative	Western influence	Radical
Type of citizen	Good citizens	Loyal/patriotic citizens	Critical/active citizens
Pedagogy	Banking practice	Reflective education	Radical education

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter the literature shows that civic education is the means of educating the public on how they can actively participate in and influence decision making. Traditional civic education is illustrated as a collective affair that socializes an individual into the practical skills of life. The contextual background shows that, historically, Lesotho was ruled under a traditional communitarian democracy where decisions were made by adult males and a consensus reached collectively through the bottom up approach. In contrast, civic education that is provided for the developed countries appears to promote individual and political development, including national identity and prepares citizens to rule and be ruled (see, for example, Andrews & Cowell, 2005; Dahal, 2002; Downs, 2012; Faulks, 2006; Kanter, 2012; Meyers, 2003; USAID, 2002).

Civic education in most African countries, including Lesotho, is limited to voter education and its main concern is to motivate and prepare voters to participate in elections through

the use of campaigns, mass media, NGOs and election officials. Civic education, in this endeavor, is limited in content and inadequate in its provision and its critics cite as problems, voter apathy, low voter turnout and poor delivery methods.

However, modern democracies that are liberal in nature need to move beyond the narrow confines of village communities because we are in an era of globalization and international interactions where we can no longer act as a single nation, but have to be part of a bigger global community. As a consequence, citizens have to broaden their scope to accommodate all forms of liberal democracy. The challenge, therefore, is how to use civic education to build on the positive, caring and collective aspects of traditional democracy, but in the context of a modern, globalized and egalitarian society. In order to understand how to do this a deeper understanding of people's perceptions and concerns about democracy in the Lesotho context is investigated. Chapter Three, therefore, develops conceptual frameworks on democracy and citizenship.

Chapter Three

Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

Chapter One outlined the historical political development pattern of Lesotho from the traditional chiefdom, up to the transition to democratic rule that recently transformed into a coalition government. Lesotho is a constitutional monarchy in which the traditional form of governance coexists with the modern democratic state where parliamentary representative democracy is practiced.

Chapter Two assessed and evaluates the literature on how civic education is provided in international and African countries and in Lesotho. It begins with an explanation of traditional civic education in pre-colonial contexts. Civic education is the means for educating the public on how they can actively participate in and influence public decision making. Although there are democratic elections in Lesotho, the practice of civic education seems to be linked to elections, providing only voter education on processes of how to vote, rather than developing a broader understanding of how democracy operates and of citizen rights and responsibilities. Consequently, people seem to be disillusioned with the democratic process and voter turnout is low. Recent political machinations show that politicians also behave as if they are more interested in power than in public participation (examples are floor crossing in parliament, political party schisms) and there is little evidence that the general public understand how parliament monitors the functioning of government.

In this chapter, theoretical perspectives on the concepts of democracy and citizenship are assessed in order to develop a conceptual framework as a basis for analyzing the responses from the participants of the study in relation to the research questions of the study. The chapter examines concepts of citizenship and democracy and discusses the traditional regime, showing how it historically operated together with the values that were upheld in the society.

3.2 Citizenship

The concept of citizenship in today's context applies to someone who legally belongs to a certain community and who acts responsibly by helping the community and this involves participating actively in a local community. According to Heater (1990, p. 336) "a citizen is a person furnished with knowledge of public affairs, instilled with attitudes of civic virtue and equipped with skills to participate in the public arena." Heater is supported by Mahafza (2014), who sees citizenship as belonging to an area within particular physical boundaries and refers to how citizens are connected in a particular residency. In this way citizenship is a strategic concept that analyses citizens' identity, participation, rights and responsibilities and their interests.

Bagnall (2010) and Zwart (2013) discuss citizenship and belonging as involving formal rights and responsibilities and the values of citizens, where the latter perform duties expected by the state, such as respecting other citizens and being good citizens by conforming to laws of justice. Bagnall (2010), and Mahafza (2014) further state that citizenship also implies the act of participation in a political community, in which citizens engage in some sort of networking, collaboration, and holding of public positions in a state; and in belonging to a certain state, institution or community that person would feel a sense of being a part of it. Similarly, McCowan and Gomez (2012) view citizenship discourse as putting emphasis on membership in a political state, which officiates for its members by their holding a passport of a specific country.

Mahafza (2014) and Zwart (2013) confirm that citizenship includes lawful rights and duties which are often supported by citizens' associations in their communities. Citizenship rights that go along with responsibilities are divided into the three dimensions of legal, political and social rights. The legal status of citizenship implies a person who acts freely according to the law that protects him or her (Bagnall, 2010; Zwart, 2013). Politically a citizen actively participates in a society's political institutions. The social right of a citizen is the identity of a member in a political community, meaning his or her belongingness to that community. McCowan and Gomez (2012) indicate that political citizenship is recognized as democratic citizenship, where special attention is placed on ensuring equality of participation for all. They also emphasize that citizenship involves a connection between the citizen and others

or even the state, where the rights and responsibilities of each individual are enhanced (McCowan & Gomez, 2012; Zwart, 2013). Citizen behaviour (which is linked to responsibilities) is also discussed in three broadly distinctive ways that determine how citizens are expected to exercise their rights and responsibilities: communitarian, civic republican and cosmopolitan, linked to deliberative democracy citizenship. Communitarian citizenship is discussed below.

3.2.1 Communitarian Citizenship

According to Arthur (2000), citizenship is concerned with the social relationships between people and the relationships between people and the institutional arrangements that are afforded by the state and the society. According to communitarian thinking, citizens need a society with a degree of common goals and sense of collective common good. According to Arthur (2000), Preece and Mosweunyane (2004), Delanty (2003), and Bagnall (2010) a citizen earns the right of citizenship through their participation in a society, by attending to duties and responsibilities which are the defining characteristics of the practice of citizenship. A person needs to be a member of the community in communitarian citizenship and to be part of a group of people who are committed to sharing, dividing and exchanging the social goods among themselves, which is done through socialization as indicated in Biesta (2011). This means that from a communitarian perspective or dimension of citizenship, values are shared among all members who perform similar practices in a community. Furthermore, Delanty (2003) and Jarvis (2008) postulate that citizenship is a learnt process through social interaction that reflects a lifelong learning process in a cultural citizenship discourse, where traditions, experiences and culture are transferred from generation to generation.

Communitarians think that the state should create an opportunity to empower citizens and that the local community should encourage participation (Arthur, 2000; Kolisang, 2012; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). Therefore, people need to be motivated to participate so as to become active citizens with the aim of working towards a collective good. Similarly, Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) note that in communitarian discourse citizenship is viewed as participation by the community of people who also identify with that certain cultural community. Bagnall (2010),Biesta and Lawy (2006), and Jarvis (2008) have all illustrated that citizens engage by participating in different ways, either by the sharing of

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knowledge, skills or by committing their time in certain activities, so that they can belong to a community. Unity, therefore, is provided by this community towards its members, who share the same values and principles. In this type of citizenship, voluntarism and self-help are the core practices within a community life and important institutions are the family, religious groups, chieftainship, neighbourhood and voluntary groups (Arthur, 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004).

This notion of citizenship is similar to the values that are discussed under traditional leadership, where people were dependent on chiefs for their entire living, and so had to pay allegiance to the chiefs by respecting them, obeying the laws and conforming to certain values. Communitarian citizenship is linked to communitarian democracy, which emphases the value aspect that produces good citizens. In the same vein, communitarian citizenship is one of the African values, on which societies were largely based, through the notion of the collective rather than an individual orientation (Duncan et al., 2007; Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2010, 2014). Traditionally, Lesotho exercised communitarian ways of social living, which is still popular in the remote rural areas.

Biesta (2011) emphasises stability and order for a communitarian practice of democratic politics. Munoz and Wrigley (2012) affirm that adult civic engagement requires the use of the adults' experiences to solve challenges and find durable solutions to social, economic, cultural and political issues affecting people and their communities generally. This requires that citizens should act collectively by caring and connecting with one another in efforts to advance peace in their communities (Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2010, 2014; Waghid & Smeyers, 2012). Communitarian citizenship, as Mahafza (2014) contends, expresses the national pride and national loyalty among citizens, who should have knowledge of the nation's values and skills, thereby promoting good relationships between themselves and their communities.

However, citizens are culturally and socially shaped (Fincham, 2012) and created in terms of their identities in different dimensions. When referring to the Palestinian context, Fincham stated that:

> …[i]n the absence of state structures, the social and political divisions between the school and the community become blurred as multiple civil society institutions, such

as the family, political organisations, the media and religious institutions, work to produce and regulate identities in daily life (2012, p. 119).

It follows, therefore, that identity construction, according to Fincham (2012), does not only depend on distinguishing character, as Lappegard (2008) reflects, or what Mason and Vella (2013) and Yeatman (2007) explain in regard to what citizens practice, but also on social groups that serve as references, as Sindic (2011) illustrates. Rosenberg (2007) also argues that national identity serves as an original point and space rooted in how people identify and define themselves, through symbolic uniqueness and difference from other people of other nations. Here, Rosenberg (2007) illustrates how Basotho (people of Lesotho) reveal their sense of pride by their ubiquitous Basotho hat known as *Mokorotlo*, and the blanket which symbolizes the honouring of Lesotho's founder, Chief Moshoeshoe (Rosenberg, 1999). Thus their collective identity unifies the individual citizens.

In addition, language is identified as a unifying factor (Fincham, 2012; Kelly, 1995; Mason & Vella, 2013) that is shared by people of the same communitarian citizenship. Language plays a key role in connecting people together, as in the African ideology of *botho* and *ubuntu* (see Chapter Two). In this ideology people express themselves as I /We (Lekoko & Modise, 2011) to show a strong sense of interconnectedness where people care for and support each other. Language has the capacity to advance good relationships amongst people even if they do not know each other. There is an element of trust and increased respect, each for the other, especially for people who share the same language that can even convey the values and other cultural beliefs between different citizens. The notion of language as a unifying factor and one of mutual respect emerged as features for analysis in this study (see Chapter Six for more discussions).

However, communitarian citizenship is criticized by Pickett (2001) for being too sympathetic to community, while being hostile to the individual. Indeed, Bennett, Wells, and Rank's (2009) assertion is that collective identity is declining, whereas individualism is now commonly expressed and endorsed by young citizens as a personal identity. Communitarian citizenship puts more emphasis on the membership of a particular community, where the member has to abide by the values, customs and practices of sharing, and of unity or collectivity. While there is a common good element in sharing, especially as it boosts and uplifts the destitute and the vulnerable people, it may also have negative elements for other

people. This is because some people may conform out of fear and intimidation by others, while in fact it is not their character or intention at a particular point in time to share with other needy people. Communitarian is criticized for promoting dependency and slowing down the process of self-independence and the development of people who depend on others in a community (Pickett, 2001). An alternative vision for communitarian is expressed through civic republican citizenship.

3.2.2 Civic Republican

Civic republican is a citizenship concept that is linked to direct, participatory democracy. The dynamic possibilities of civic republican allow for full development and voluntary action of citizens through active citizenship. This is because civic republicans put an emphasis on civil society as an organized group of people that interacts with the state and the society or community (Delanty, 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). In this notion, citizenship participation is often more political, but it still includes collective action towards common goals (Delanty, 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). Citizens, in this theoretical perspective, take part in political decisions, and what is important, is the focus on rule by the people and the demands that they put on their country's leaders above their own personal interests (Nwafor, 2012). This would result in active participation by citizens in political deliberation and decision making, which would ensure that they act as citizens instead of simply obeying rules like 'subjects'.

In this notion of citizenship, citizens act with political responsibility within their communities (Bagnall, 2010; Jarvis, 2008) as free equal members, while expressing their commitment in the public arena. This would mean that citizens act collectively to deliberate on issues of development affecting their communities. Citizens engage in discussions about public issues (Jarvis, 2008) by putting the community interests first before individual rights. However, much as the civic republicans advocate for active, public commitment to social action, they do not challenge the state, but communicate in a dialogue with the state and the society (Delanty, 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004; Waghid, 2014). The central feature of civic republican, according to Morrow (2009), is that disagreements and conflicts in a society are solved by discussions.

O'Ferrall (2001), Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) assert that a civic republican insight is associated with civil society organisations that are voluntary in nature, where citizens learn the virtues of mutual obligations. Voluntary action in this regard expresses the element of active citizenship in a political community where members freely consent to activities in an equal manner with other citizens. Therefore, O'Ferrall (2001) notes that, a citizen is a person who participates in the civil community, either in government or in the deliberative or judicial functions of the polity (Ibid). A difference is noted that in civic republican theory people collectively act in concert as citizens within civil society groups, where they exercise their rights using the modern laws to exercise diversity in a mutual respect; but again, republicans strive for justice and harmonious living towards each other (Harber & Mncube, 2012; Kelly, 1995), while with communitarian, people act as members of a geographical or ethnic community or society (traditional), based on its customs where customary laws are used for the subjects to obey laws. Harber and Mncube (2012) illustrate that citizens under civic republican actively engage in dialogue and debates, respecting opinions of others, but their deliberations are based on evidence and analytical and critical skills towards any given information. In this way, people have to reason constructively and fairly, be open-minded, while practicing cooperation, bargaining, compromise and confrontation, which are all democratic dispositions necessary in a democracy (Ibid). This implies that civic education can encourage the above attributes in citizens to effectively engage in beneficial and mutual discussions in a democratic society like Lesotho.

In South Africa, for instance, civil society organisations play an important role in challenging the decisions and policies of government, and effect change by ensuring that the constitutional principles and the rule of law are not violated with impunity (Pothier, 2012). Through civil society, which is a social space where citizens voluntarily organize to promote their shared interests and that of the public, people are engaged in the crafting of laws by the legislature before they are finalized (Ibid). Therefore, civil society serves to promote democracy in a civic republican manner, where it actively engages in development issues such as promoting the human rights of individuals in different communities. Citizen participation does not only stop at the time of elections, but is an ongoing process. In this way the public morale increases, as their representatives engage with decision makers in the deliberations of public policies, potentially resulting in improved service delivery.

However, engaging with decision makers requires a credible civil society that does not align with political parties, but keeps its independence and status (Pothier, 2012).

In Lesotho, beyond political parties, citizens organize around community based organisations such as farmers associations, women's and youth groups, funeral clubs, HIV/AIDS support groups, sporting teams, cooperative societies and micro credit enterprises, among others. However, membership of these groups has to be applied for and is subject to challenges by other members of the same group (Nyamnjoh, 2007). Thus, there exists the possibility of being included or excluded from becoming a member of some of these community based groups. All these groups do not have a significant and direct influence on national policymaking. They mostly concentrate on small campaigns and activities for their individual survival or community development. In Lesotho, it is very rare to find cases of voluntary, organized, informed, pro-active and targeted mass action by citizens to influence government's responsiveness to a particular national question. Furthermore, if mass action does happen, it takes the form of petitions, demonstrations, stay aways, protests, strikes or rallies. The state does not recognize, promote or take seriously these avenues for participation through community institutions. This means that these groups are not included in any state institutions for public participation or decisions making on issues that affect their lives or lives of the masses of people. Citizens are then left to simply hope for expected responses from their elected officials. This observation is supported by Reynolds, Reilly, and Andrews (2005) , who assert that there is little beyond elections that citizens can do to participate directly in governance. Waghid (2014) proposes an ethics of compassion and care in civic republican forms of engagement by citizens, which remains voluntary in nature, for the benefit of society. This is a different approach from cosmopolitan citizens who participate more directly in the decisions that affect their lives.

3.2.3 Cosmopolitan Citizenship

Cosmopolitan citizenship refers to the global citizen or citizen of the world. Therefore globalization and cosmopolitanism are used interchangeably in this study. According to Delanty (2000) and Isin and Turner (2007), cosmopolitan citizenship is accorded opportunity through globalization, which is a concept that goes beyond the nation state's boundaries, meaning that cosmopolitan citizens do not belong to one particular nation. Immanuel Kant, quoted in Peters, Britton, and Blee (2008) popularized the fact that human beings belong to

a single moral community in relation to the sharing of freedom, equality and autonomy that grounded the legitimacy of law. Kant advocated for a universal hospitality that caters for all people, including strangers to be treated humanely. Peters et al. (2008) link cosmopolitan citizenship to globalization in this contemporary discourse. Mahafza (2014) indicates that the world has become a small globe due to technology and the electronic multimedia revolution that brought sudden rapid changes to life in general and citizens interact and communicate regardless of their location in different places. People from different cultures interact and influence each other differently; hence there is a likelihood of some cultures dominating others (Mahafza, 2014). Cosmopolitan citizenship follows the liberal ideology in which people cross their geographical and political boundaries as a result of communication technology (Mahafza, 2014). In cosmopolitan citizenship all human beings are equal with no differentiation between race, ethnicity and diversity. This form of solidarity is advocated by Torres (1998), who notes that people should tolerate one another's differences and similarities.

Cosmopolitan citizenship intensifies the economic, political, social and cultural relationships across international boundaries (Baylis and Smith in Pacho, 2013). What is good about globalization is that it opens free trade, commerce and communication within all countries of the world and strengthens the interactions among different countries. For example, liberal democracy, good governance, issues of gender equality, human rights and environmental sustainability are all shared in this SADC region and among other global countries. This has opened communication avenues where countries interact and develop because of the best practices that are learnt from each other. Pacho (2013) highlights that globalization, while allowing for the growth of multinational and transnational corporations, has also facilitated the supersonic transforming of information technology. However, Pacho (2013) is of the view that globalization has contributed to confronting citizenship with more challenges, as he asserts that it reflects an extension of colonization due to the constraints imposed on national policy development that is autonomous and independent of the global member states. This means that a country's authorities cannot effectively allocate scarce resources to their people without allowing other nation states to have access to them. Furthermore, globalization has an influence that weakens the cultural heritage, while it also opens up new spaces for countries and citizens to effect change. Moreover, cosmopolitan

citizenship allows for new citizenship identities based on occupation, outlook, and lifestyles, and where civil, political, social and cultural rights have to be negotiated afresh (Isin & Wood, 1999). An illustration is South Africa, where dual citizenship is allowed as a result of people who have continually worked there for five years and more who are non-South Africans by birth. It can be observed that cosmopolitan citizenship that is influenced by globalization prevails over many territorial claims. With digital information technology, where the use of the Internet and computers are rife, it is difficult for nation states to regulate their citizens regarding communication, interaction, education and people's privacy.

This model of citizenship is linked to deliberative democracy, which emphasizes morality as a basis for social living. This is because morality accommodates difference, but also allows for individual/personal preferences and choice (Kelly, 1995). Deliberative democracy citizenship, as articulated by Delanty (2003), is a radical citizenship that accepts genuineness, desirability of cultural and moral diversity, and seeks to offer a mode of social and moral living that allows for benefits derived from the richness brought by such difference and diversity (Delanty, 2003). In this way deliberative democracy citizenship promotes collaboration in the interests of all people. The following table presents the citizenship conceptual framework that serves as an analysis tool for data in Chapter Six.

Table 4: Conceptual Framework for Citizenship

CITIZENSHIP			
Characteristics	**Communitarians (Arthur, 2000; Bagnall, 2010; Pacho, 2013; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004; Waghid, 2014; Zwart 2013)**	**Civic Republican (Bagnall, 2010; Delanty, 2000; Jarvis, 2008; Nwafor, 2012; Nyamnjoh, 2007; O'Ferrall, 2001 ; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004)**	**Deliberative (Delanty, 2000, 2003; Mahafza, 2014; Pacho, 2013; Peters et al., 2008; Torres, 1998)**
Responsibilities	Bonding of village life	Civil society main source	Protest action
Values	Collectivism, voluntarism	Organisations	React to social justice issues
Relationship to state	Obey and respect state	Civil society communicates	Challenges the state

	and the law	with the state	in opposition to state
Pedagogy	Banking education	Reflective education	Critical education
Participation level	Good citizens	Active citizens	Critical citizens

Connected to citizenship is the concept of democracy as the overriding means of enabling equal participation in public decision making.

3.3 Democracy

Democracy is a system of government in which people freely provide consent regarding who to govern and how to govern (McQuoid-Mason, Mchunu, Govender, 'O'Brien, & Curd Larkin, 1994; Lindberg, 2006). In Jarvis's words (2008), democracy is the rule of the people by the people. Two types of democracy, direct and representative, emphasize different forms of behaviour. Direct democracy involves the exercise of political and civil rights, and full participation of people in matters affecting their lives. Substantive democracy is an extension of direct democracy by which there is an accountable and transparent government with equitable distribution of power (Dreze & Sen, 2002; Kabemba, 2003). Developing a substantive democracy has implications for the type and form of civic education required to foster such development. For example, in Lesotho the question of whether its citizens feel they have full government transparency and accountability would have implications for how civic education should be provided.

On the other hand, representative democracy, most commonly known as procedural or electoral democracy, depends on the extent of political participation of citizens during elections. This type of democracy follows the procedures (hence the name procedural democracy) of holding regular, clean, inclusive, peaceful and competitive elections, but countries may still fail to provide material benefits such as access to clean water and sanitation, housing and services like education and health (Dreze & Sen, 2002; Kabemba, 2003). Lesotho is an example of a country that practices electoral parliamentary democracy, which followed from the colonial system of government. Electoral democracy is considered the most minimal type of democracy.

Democracy is a debatable concept with different emphases, but for this study the focus follows the notion of democracy of Cawthra et al. (2007), as a normative and empirical political and social concept that is described as a value and looks at: people's responsibility as a collective, individual or voluntary contribution; social process, or the efforts of people to enhance their rights and freedoms and how elected members respond to the citizens' interests: and political practice of those who participate in decision making.

According to Cawthra et al. (2007), as a value, democracy implies freedom within a human being or in a society. Democracy, practiced in this manner, includes dignity, justice and tolerance. These authors also describe democracy as a social process through which people strive to enhance their fundamental rights and freedoms. Most countries, including Lesotho, have incorporated those rights in their constitutional laws, but the extent to which Basotho understand those rights and freedoms needs further investigation.

Democracy is also a political practice, and as stated by Cawthra et al. (2007, p. 5), it implies 'specific institutional habits and practices for organizing and exercising public power in accordance with universal norms and practices'. The following models of democracy of political practice are discussed looking at the features and weaknesses, and also the examples of countries that follow the same type of democracy. The models are: electoral democracy, liberal democracy, republican democracy, communitarian democracy and deliberative democracy. Also recognized here, are the contemporary democracy theories such as multi-cultural democracy and transitional democracy, although they are not discussed in this chapter because they are not relevant to the Lesotho context.

3.3.1 Electoral Democracy

Electoral democracy is the rule of the people in which a government is elected through elections, depending on the historical political context and the electoral system (Cawthra et al., 2007). In this type of democracy, it is imperative that the electoral system is chosen (this is key to democratic governance, though not enough by itself) that will ensure representation, legitimacy and accountability in free, regular elections. Cawthra et al. (2007) argue that Proportional Representation (PR), where votes are translated into seats, is mostly preferred because its benefits are that it is more inclusive, gender sensitive and socially diverse, and it is more representative for even the minority political parties. The authors

also outline the disadvantages of the PR system as promoting the instability of coalition government, and providing room for small insignificant political parties, but leave aside the independent candidates. This supports what is reflected in the Lesotho context, where the PR system resulted in the establishment of a coalition government after the 2012 elections, which is currently unstable (see Chapter One).

With regard to the First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral system, Cawthra et al. (2007) have shown that the advantages of its use are: a clear choice of electorates; the system favours broad political parties; and the voters vote for the candidates representing those parties. There is a clear link between the electorates and their elected representatives. Some disadvantages of FPTP are that the system excludes minority parties (who do not receive large numbers of votes) that are then not represented in parliament, which was the case in Lesotho after 1998 elections when Lesotho experienced political turmoil (see Chapter One); also, representation from women is marginalized and it creates divisions among the electorates (Cawthra et al., 2007).

Kabemba (2003), Maathai (2009) and Morrow (2009) point out that in an electoral democracy, a country may manage to hold regular, inclusive, clean competitive elections, but this may not successfully be able to provide the material benefits of democracy to its people, due to the latters' incapacity to influence government via public participation. Hence, people remain silent and inactive as a result of oppression. Jarvis (2008) highlights the problem that leaders, too, do not represent the interests of citizens, therefore, representative democracy becomes a lip service form of representation. Electoral democracy is termed procedural democracy, because the democratic norms and institutions that form the basis of a reasonable political system are established (Kabemba, 2003). However, Dahl, quoted in Kabemba (2003, p. 3), asserts that a country is said to be democratic once it has attained "civil and political rights plus fair, competitive and inclusive elections." Kabemba notes that a country that has reached these criteria is deemed to be a liberal democratic country. Electoral democracy is considered to be minimal democracy that dwells on elections of political elites, who are put in to rule and manage the country. It is characterized by regular, competitive elections with multiple parties or many candidates rather than seats.

Kabemba (2003) puts forward another argument that electoral democracy is also linked to procedural democracy in most Southern African countries including Lesotho. The author shows that in most African countries, Lesotho included, there has been progress in institutionalizing electoral democracy through the holding of regular multiparty elections. Kabemba's opinion is that electoral democracy has not transcended into substantive democracy that is accountable governance that is responsive to the needs of its people. According to his evaluation findings, Lesotho has shown the "lowest levels of support to democracy over other types of governance" (Kabemba, 2003, p. 13).

A perception of low levels of democracy also suggests a high level of political apathy, one of the problems that propelled me to conduct this study in order to find out what the terms democracy and citizenship mean to the people. This also indicates that democracy, in terms of value, process and practice, is not well entrenched in the popular consciousness of Basotho, and also that the latter may not properly understand how democracy works. This is supported by Matlosa (2008), Makoa (2014) and Kabemba (2003, p. 26), who note that political party leaders have done little to institutionalize democratic practice in Lesotho; instead they have focused on "entrenching personality cults." Further support of this view is shown by Abdi (2008), where he indicates clearly that with the move to democracy by African countries, Lesotho included, people cannot be expected to comply and adhere to new systems of governance without critically understanding the character of those systems. This study, therefore, sought to gain a deeper understanding of the levels of critical understanding among citizens in one urban and one rural district with a view to making recommendations for appropriate civic education.

Furthermore, Bank and Minkley (2005) note that the transition to democracy has, in most African countries, including Lesotho, not broken the powers of chiefs and traditional authority in the rural areas. These have remained influential and politically organized locally, nationally and regionally. An electoral democracy is a state or country whose government is technically determined by popular sovereignty (Bank & Minkley, 2005; Kabemba, 2003). In a country like Lesotho, where electoral democracy is practiced, the people decide who will govern them, and they have the right and ability to vote. Bank and Minkley (2005) argue that, in most African countries, these are democracies by name only, because elections are

sometimes rigged or there may be political competition or ineffective opposition parties, while other democracies have the elements of autocratic behaviour.

According to Kabemba (2003) Lesotho is experiencing a weak, young democracy due to the underdevelopment of political parties, evidenced by schisms and floor-crossing, which is an obstacle to its democratisation. Kabemba (2003, p. 49) comments:

> Lesotho's democracy is still weak in terms of participation of people in politics and holding their parties accountable. A challenge for Lesotho's democracy right now is to have an electorate that is democratically oriented.

This suggests that Lesotho has to overcome the structural rigidity of party politics based on personalities and factionalism (see Chapter One). These questions raise the issues that need to be investigated: How has democracy in Lesotho been introduced? Were there clear strategies to produce change in the treatment of citizens? Electoral democracy alone cannot, however, bring about what is perceived as a liberal democratic state. Therefore, liberal democracy is discussed in the following section.

3.3.2 Liberal Democracy

Liberal democracy broadens the range of democratic practices, from the right to appoint leadership to the protection of civil liberties, political rights and property, and where there is an active involvement of members of the society who are interested in and affected by particular policies. This is supported by Blatter (2008), Jarvis (2008) and McNair (2011), who argue that the conceptions of liberal democracy are its natural and universal rights and equal liberties of individuals, which have to be secured by the government: meaning that, both social and economic rights are statutorily protected, enforceable and protected in the judicial systems. In the case of Lesotho, elections are often surrounded by tension and threats of violence, suggesting that civil liberties are not well understood in the democratic process.

McNair asserts that in a liberal democracy citizens are requested to give their consent to their political leaders, through voting in a secret ballot box; while leaders expect the citizens to respect the laws. In addition, McNair (2011) states that in liberal democracy, firstly, there has to be a constitution that serves as the legal framework of laws and procedures which is to be respected by all people; secondly, there has to be a considerable participation by

citizens through the exercising of their voting rights; thirdly, there should be a rational choice of multiple political parties; and lastly citizens should be informed and be able to exercise their choice based on free knowledge and should, therefore, collectively agree on the decision of who is to govern them. Held (2006, p. 51) details some of the features of a liberal democracy:

> Decision making power is exercised by political elites, a sub-group of representatives who have been elected by popular majority vote; electorates turn politicians out of office through the vote; and minority interests are protected through counter-majoritarian devices and a system of checks and balances.

According to Held (2006), a difference between the society and the polity and the relationship between the government and the society is thought to be instrumental, meaning that, the government serves the society and is not part of the society. In liberal democracy, in order to be legitimate for the society, governments have to fulfill the will of the people, which is conceptualized as an 'aggregation of individual preferences' (Blatter, 2008, p. 24). Dahl (1989) asserts that people who are subject to governmental rule should have the right to vote freely and that their votes have to be taken into account equally.

On the same note it can be stated that, liberal democracy builds strong connections between the legal rights of citizens and political rights, since the combination of the rule of law and the accountability of governments secures the natural rights and liberties of individuals (Blatter, 2008). Furthermore, Blatter has shown that there is an emphasis on formal equality among all members of a political community. He states that liberal democracy highlights the rights of individuals, which should be secured with the help of governments, but also against the infringement of government. In turn, the citizens' behavior should be such that they respect the rule of law, such as paying taxes in order to finance a professional and efficient government.

Countries like the United States of America and South Africa practice liberal democracy in which both popular sovereignty and liberalism are present. In these countries, civil society institutions play a role of monitoring the government and keep it from becoming too powerful (Bank & Minkley, 2005). This means that in a liberal democracy there is a provision for the important system of checks and balances in order to counter the potential dictatorship of the majority. Liberal democracy provides the freedom of the press, speech,

assembly, religion and association. These are necessary elements for a democracy that enables a stage for the people's rule. In the next section republican democracy is discussed, a system that differs from the liberalism approach, with its emphasis on bureaucracy.

3.3.3 Republican Democracy

In republican democracy, the belief is that humans are political animals who can realise freedom and a good life by participating in public life. Republicans, like liberals, differentiate between a public or political domain and a private or socio-economic domain of life, in which citizens engage in dialogue and participate actively in political decisions (Blatter, 2008; Held, 2006). The public or political domain often follows a prescribed set of rules and standards. The Lesotho citizenship's participation in public life is still in a transition from traditional and colonial systems, where different forms of human rights abuses were experienced, which extended to authoritarian rule resulting in passive behavior among the citizenry (Matlosa & Sello, 2006). Consequently, it is not always clear, especially in rural locations, how far Basotho understand their political role in a democracy.

The participation of citizens "provides resources and legitimacy to political systems which makes them capable of regulating socio-economic systems" suggests Held (2006, p. 37), showing that participation balances the dangers of socio-economic domination. Blatter (2008) makes the point that historically, the strongest commitment that republicans used to demand from their male members was to serve in the military. In other words, military service was mandatory for males. Military service is explained by Blatter as a socializing mechanism, which preceded the inauguration of young men into citizenship. In the same manner as the liberals, republican citizens have a respect for law, pay taxes and engage in political participation, and so they are more involved in political participation than simply voting. They either become party members, candidates or take a political office, which republicans see as more important than voting. Republican democracy is linked to civic republican citizenship, in which citizens participate actively in political decisions, thus emphasizing the political practice of democracy and direct democracy. In this notion of democracy citizens actively engage in civil society organisations and are determined to take part in their political life. This differs from a communitarian notion of democracy, which emphasizes interdependence and collectiveness of people in a social environment.

3.3.4 Communitarian Democracy

Communitarian is an ideology that emphasizes the connection between the individual and the community, of a family unit, where a personal interaction with a location is upheld, or a shared value or history. In this type of democracy there is a restriction of personal freedom and civil rights; hence citizens exercise their communal responsibility through inaction in contrast to other forms of liberal democracy. Communitarian democracy opposes the liberal individualism approach and favours social entities such as nations, or societies as collectives where people respect and obey laws and act as good citizens that are interconnected within a community. In this type of democracy, political social domains are strongly interdependent and the individual identity is socially constructed by a specific society/polity. That is to say, the emphasis is on membership of a community through participation and engagement.

According to Blatter (2008) and Zwart (2013) communitarian democracy should uphold solidarity and social rights for the members of that specific community; it demands and stimulates citizens' identification with loyalty to their nation. This type of democracy reflects compliant, good citizens, while emphasizing values of respect for humanity, as is practiced in African traditional societies like Lesotho (Makoa, 2014; Pacho, 2013; Zwart, 2013). However, the extent to which Basotho are able to bridge their traditional communitarian values with those promoted through the new national political system, has implications for how they are able to maximize the benefits of a modern democracy. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that Basotho experienced an authoritarian and oppressive post-colonial system prior to 1993 (see Chapter One), where citizens were not able to advocate for policy changes and lacked the power to effect social changes.

Patriotism, or, national attachment, interpreted as warmth, affection, appreciation, commitment and responsibility towards a state, is necessary to "fight external threats and for securing internal cohesion" (Neuman, 1994, p. 277). Individual males also join military service to be loyal to a national polity and communitarians stress the point of their willingness to fight and die for their polity (Neuman, 1994). A patriotic attitude also includes a strong support for the state and its institutions, its way of life and aspirations, its fellow members and an attachment to the culture and to the community of a specific country, meaning that, the emotional attachment is built up from early childhood, as is evident in the

United States government system, for example (Blatter, 2008; Neuman, 1994). For communitarians, loyalty to a specific political community or state is the central precondition for office holders and cannot be compromised (Baubock, 2005).

It can be seen that communitarian democracy does not really value an individual liberty, as it is in other forms of liberal democracy. In this notion of democracy there is a restriction of personal freedom and civil rights, hence, the citizens exercise their citizenship as inaction as opposed to the deliberative citizenship that engages inclusive and active citizens.

3.3.5 Deliberative Democracy

Deliberative democracy opposes individualism and uses communication as an anchor for conceptualizing a legitimate polity and adapts to elements of consensus and majority rule. Deliberative democracy emphasizes discussions and argumentation which deepen participant knowledge and create an awareness of the interests of others (Blatter, 2008). In Basotho society, deliberations still take place in open public meetings or public gatherings that are popularly used in the rural areas. Here information is shared amongst citizens and the traditional leaders, even though it is normally only attended by senior adult males who deliberate on local matters only. For Held (2006), this type of democracy is concerned with the enrichment of life of all its citizens. In another way, Kelly (1995) expresses it as a mode of associated living, in which societies or nations exist to enhance and enrich the quality of their citizen's lives. Bohman (1996) asserts that a conceptualization of deliberative democracy applies the criteria of inclusiveness, which supports equality of relationships among all citizens alike, including the rulers and those that are ruled. Lesotho, as a young democracy, still has to grapple with notions of equality and inclusiveness in relation to its traditional values.

Osler and Starkey (2003) assert that this type of democracy is increasingly interdependent, as it involves processes of globalization between nations and, as such, citizens do not remain isolated in a single nation. This, therefore, results in diverse local communities where citizens bear different cultures and beliefs, but share the same interests such as having the same political agenda or having a common religious faith.

Deliberative democracy is linked to deliberative democratic citizenship, in that it emphasizes the notion of global citizens who tolerate and accept their differences and diversity, and use

them meaningfully. This type of condition is also inclined to a political democracy where citizens are actively participating and uplifting the interests of the state rather than their personal interests. It, therefore, promotes critical citizens. As Osler and Starkey (2003) and McGregor (2004) point out, there is a sense of solidarity and recognition of common humanity with others within communities, where citizens reside among those that they differ with. Of importance is the use of dialogue and peer collaboration to address the difference of opinion, which is what connects this type of democracy with deliberative democratic citizenship.

This equates with a contemporary theory of democracy, multi-cultural democracy, which brings the disadvantaged groups onto an equal footing with the dominant groups, thus promoting tolerance, valuing cultural difference and diversity as issues that enshrine the society (Young, 2000). This is not applicable to the Lesotho context, which is largely mono-cultural and where the democratic practice is mainly within a representative parliamentary system, which excludes non-citizens of the country. In many countries there is diversity amongst citizens. South Africa, for instance, has many different cultural and ethnic groups who are all South African citizens.

The next section discusses democracy, with an emphasis on it as a value and it as a social process, which are important features for understanding how Basotho relate to each other in modern society and how modern values interface with traditional values.

3.4 Democracy as a Value and Social Process

Democracy is discussed here, with an emphasis on it as a value and it as a social process as its main distinctions, other than as a political practice. For the social process aspect, universal human rights entail the rights and freedoms of individuals as stipulated in the constitutional laws of different countries. The social aspect shall be discussed interchangeably with values because they are closely related. According to Kelly (1995) democracy is a moral system that bears the core principles of any social institution. Furthermore, Cawthra et al. (2007) postulate that democracy, as value, is linked to freedom, human dignity, justice and tolerance. Lindberg (2006) outlines democratic qualities to include equal political participation, freedom of political competition and legitimacy of self-

government. The above authors, therefore, outline democratic value in slightly different ways; however the meanings overlap.

In terms of democracy as a value and a social process, education as a political tool and a social right is used to support or promote the democratic forms of any society or institution (Kelly, 1995). Therefore, education has to assist in maintaining, protecting and developing democratic forms of living in order to ensure that its products are effective citizens who can contribute meaningfully to social and political life. For Cawthra et al. (2007) in the African context, democratic value is linked with individual human worth, which promotes respect and not being violent. Traditional leaders in the past used to promote democratic values through their cultural norms, often seen in the songs, proverbs, prayers and ceremonies and in customary laws based on the rights and duties of subjects and rulers and are provided for constitutional democracy currently (Cawthra et al. 2007). The principles to be discussed as values for democracy are grouped as natural rights, equality, freedom and popular sovereignty, which sum up all those mentioned by Cawthra et al. (2007) and Lindberg (2006).

3.4.1 Natural Rights

All people have natural rights that entitle them to certain levels of treatment such as the right to be treated humanely and with dignity. A right is explained as a legal term that allows people to perform certain things that are supported by the system of laws for a specific society (Kelly, 1995). The notion of democracy as a way of life is regarded as a moral value; therefore, it goes without saying that it also offers an acceptable form of morality that forms the core principle for social living. Kelly (1995) has argued that people are entitled to certain natural rights, irrespective of their title, meaning that people have rights whether they are a king, a subject, a citizen or any common person. These rights include the right to equal treatment, because all people are created equally. Men and women are born free; therefore, they should exercise their right to live with equal rights that promote their dignity as people (Cawthra et al., 2007; Government of Lesotho, 1993; Kelly, 1995). These rights are clearly stipulated in accordance with the UN (1948).

Examples of equal treatment extend to the right to own property, which permits every person to own property irrespective of their title, the right to personal liberty, the right to

security, the right to equality before the law, and the right of association such as in political parties. The above rights promote the good conditions of a good society (Kelly, 1995) and a democratic society has to recognize, respect and meet the needs of all its citizens. There is also a right to liberty, a right to security and a right to resist oppression, among others. All these rights are equal for different citizens. That is to say, all people are born equal; therefore they should be given equal treatment as explained in the next section.

3.4.2 Equality

If all people are born equal (Kelly, 1995), then, in the same manner as people have natural rights, the emphasis of equality is on how people, as individuals, should be treated. In other words, all people have to be treated in the same way. According to Lindberg (2006), political democracy requires equal political participation for all citizens. This is to enable good voter turnout that assists in minimising voter apathy and encourages full participation in elections. This is because, for Lindberg (2006), elections enhance democratic qualities and deepen civil liberties in the society.

However, it is argued that there are unavoidable inequalities between people in any society. This is in regard to how people perform certain activities using their capabilities, skills, talents and so on (Kelly, 1995). Thus, if people are not the same, they will have different occupations. However, the equality that is talked of, as a value, is the way people ought to be treated. For instance, Kelly (1995) is of the opinion that all people require fair and impartial treatment in all aspects of social living such as education, health and other essential services provided. Therefore, people should be accorded equal opportunities in all aspects, especially of education. Hazoume (1999), for example, outlines that women should also be accorded the chance to participate fully in societal activities and not be excluded from decision making processes on issues that affect them. In relation to this is freedom as a value, discussed in the next section.

3.4.3 Freedom

Freedom is another attribute that should be allowed within people, meaning that it is autonomous. For an individual to feel free as a person, he or she has to exercise that freedom such as freedom of political competition in a political democracy, without threats and intimidation (Lindberg, 2006). Democratic value needs tolerance of diversity and

universality, argues Cawthra et al. (2007). This freedom may include, and not be limited to, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of opinion, freedom of movement and freedom of behavior. This also shows the complete humanity of people when they exercise their freedom as human beings (Kelly, 1995). Furthermore, people need to be free from abuse by others, free from any harm or dangers, and free from any restrictions, unless such restraints that are imposed are for a good reason and can be justified as such (Kelly, 1995).

In a political democracy, civil societies also have to exercise their freedom to place checks and balances on the power of the government and control the abuse of power. Even though civil society groups are less powerful than the government, they have to be able to freely give their opinions and input on issues affecting their lives. During the traditional leadership era, people exercised their freedom of speech in a pitso and at *khotla* under the direct democracy that was provided by chiefs as leaders. Freedom of opinion requires the free availability of knowledge and information to all citizens (Hazoume, 1999; Kelly, 1995) for them to reach informed conclusions and decisions on issues of public and popular concern.

3.4.4 Popular Sovereignty

There should be a full participation of every member of society in the choice of their government and in decision making processes (Kelly, 1995). On the same note, those chosen through elections or appointed randomly should be held responsible and accountable for their decisions and be kept under some kind of control through checks and balances that restrict the abuse of power (Kelly, 1995). This democratic value tallies with ensuring the legitimacy of self-government, as outlined by Lindberg (2006), and a peaceful participation process for citizens, such as in the pre-election campaigning up to the post-election period of accepting an outcome.

In an electoral democracy, for instance, procedures for representation determine the legitimacy and popular sovereignty of being fair and just, and of following good procedures in principle (Lindberg, 2006). This then means that low political participation may signal low support for democracy. Furthermore, Cawthra et al. (2007, p. 4) indicate that democracy, as a social process, implies access to fundamental human rights and civil liberties for all, as emanating from the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948), as follows:

- The fundamental right of the human person to life, dignity and security,

- Freedom of religions, assembly, expression, the press and conscience

- Economic, social and cultural rights – idea of democracy as a means of satisfying and responding to basic human needs (social democracy) and

- The right to political self-determination.

According to Hazoume (1999), social democracy, which he also terms cultural democracy, implies the right to education, the right to live a decent life, the right to health protection and the right to a healthy environment. He outlines further that, there should be a right to be different, which calls for tolerance and observing diversity. For Hazoume, the citizens' involvement in building a democratic society must be based upon a deep understanding of the concepts and all that they imply, hence, the importance of information to be given and education to be provided (Hazoume, 1999). The following is the table developed as a conceptual framework, drawing from the key theories of democracy as discussed in the literature review section, which is also used as an analysis tool in Chapter Five.

Table 5: Conceptual Framework for Democracy

DEMOCRACY			
Emphases/aspects of democracy	Value (Blatter, 2008; Cawthra et al., 2007; Hazoume, 1999; Kelly, 1995; Lindberg, 2006; Matlosa, 2008; Pacho, 2013)	Social process (Blatter, 2008; Cawthra et al., 2007; McQuoid-Mason et al., 1994; Hazoume, 1999; Jarvis, 2008; Kelly, 1995; Lindberg, 2006; Matlosa, 2008)	Political practice (Blatter, 2008; Bohman, 1996; Cawthra et al., 2007; Held, 2006; Kelly, 1995; McGregor, 2004)
Examples of democracy theories	Communitarian democracy	Liberal democracy and electoral democracy	Republicanism and deliberative democracy
Participation	Collective and voluntary in family, church etc	Rights and freedoms of citizens; stresses individuality	Political and direct decisions and in civil society organisations
Citizen responsibility	Limited responsibilities by citizens, good and interconnected as a society/community	Limited responsiveness by citizens, emphasizes citizens legal rights and obligations under framework of law	Full responsibility by citizens

Republicans put state first |

Citizens' roles	Obey and respect laws, leaders, act collectively	Elect representatives to look after their interests	Actively participate in policymaking decisions
Institutions	Family, church, khotla, public gathering	Executive government, legislature/parliament/ judiciary	Political/public assembly

This study seeks to discover participants' understandings of democracy and citizenship, and to learn how they developed such knowledge, looking at their opinions about the past traditional leadership to the current democratic era. Since traditional leadership is still a feature of democracy in Lesotho, it is important to provide a comprehensive explanation of Lesotho's traditional regime and how it interfaced with Lesotho's transition to modern democracy.

3.5 The Traditional Regime

According to Ntsebeza (2006), in South Africa during the pre-colonial era, traditional authorities were used as chiefs and the headmen emerged from the chiefs, as relatives of these chiefs. The latter are provided for in the current Lesotho constitution as the traditional chiefs; and their major work was that of land allocation. People in the rural communities still presently prefer to work with chiefs because they get the services that they want immediately and with ease, and the chiefs, as official witnesses, already know their people and their problems. In her study that addressed chiefs and the politics of land in South Africa, Ntsebeza (2006) found that people preferred to use chiefs instead of the elected rural/ward councillors. Ntsebeza shows that there is a struggle between elected rural councillors and the chiefs and headmen. Her report shows that people acknowledged the fact that electricity and telephones have been brought in by the rural councillors, but the land is in the hands of the chiefs; as they say: it takes only a few days to get what you want with chiefs, but with rural councillors it takes months, and even then you may end up not succeeding.

Ntsebeza (2006, p. 16) asserts that the introduction of 'democracy' and 'multipartyism' with decentralization, in around 1990 in Africa, brought the issue of the history of traditional authorities and their roles to the fore. She points out that they (traditional authorities) remain a force that cannot be ignored, even if they are formally abolished, implying that

they are resilient within their community contexts. This is attributed to their role as indirect rulers, as it is said that chiefs were agents of indirect rule during colonialism (Mamdani in Ntsebeza, 2006). Colonialists protected them from external threat; but they had no term of office and remained therein for as long as they enjoyed the confidence of their superiors (Ntsebeza, 2006). This is similar to what actually transpired in the form of traditional leadership in Lesotho through its history.

3.5.1 How Lesotho's Traditional Rule Operated

In Lesotho during the pre-colonial era, chieftaincy was an institution run by chiefs, while people were the subjects and followers. *Pitso* was a public assembly that was attended by male adults, whenever it was called by a chief (Gill, 1993; Kapa, 2013; Khaketla, 1971; Pule & Thabane, 2002). It was used as a means of communication downward from the government to the people, and upward from the people to the government, showing that there was a considerable amount of freedom of speech among the people (Kapa, 2013; Ngozwana, 2014a; Pule & Thabane, 2002). This leadership system reflected a form of direct democracy where people discussed issues that affected their lives and reached consensus in public meetings. People equally exercised their freedom of speech expressing their views openly on issues of national importance (Kapa, 2013; Khaketla, 1971; Machobane, 2001; Ngozwana, 2014a; Pule & Thabane, 2002). In Sesotho there are proverbs which say: *mooa-khotla ha a tsekisoe* (he who speaks his mind at the chiefs' courtyard cannot be blamed); and *moro-khotla ha o okoloe mafura* (at the chief's courtyard, things are said as they are). This institution of the *pitso* was used to discuss issues, and consensus was reached on decision making for how to govern the people. Basotho's traditional political system emphasized discussion; consent and consensus were a means of governance rather than of force and intimidation. These chiefs' structures exist even today, although there are also community councillors who are democratically elected leaders under each different chief's territory. This chiefdom structure is closer to communitarian democracy because its focus was centered on separate territorial lands where a leader was based and who ruled members within a community or village.

In this system, citizenship education took place through social interaction at public meeting places such as the *khotla* (chief's courtyard) and the *pitso* (public gathering), where initiated

adult men[4] discussed issues and reached consensus on decision making for how to govern Basotho (Kapa, 2013; Khaketla, 1971; Machobane, 2001; Ngozwana, 2014a; Pule & Thabane, 2002). Traditional civic education in Lesotho was a collective affair that included the practical skills of life and was passed on from generation to generation (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Octti, 1994; Preece, 2009) (see Chapter Two). This type of education focused on the communalist values that emphasized connectedness, belongingness, interdependence and collectiveness, based on proverbs that drew on the concept of 'botho' which reflects 'showing respect' for humans, as discussed in ubuntu and matsema (work parties) in Chapter Two. Traditional Basotho living reflected hierarchical but communal and collective lifestyles, which were reflected in the practice of subsistence farming, where the strong were expected to support the weak. At the same time, social roles were clearly defined and children were expected to accept the guidance of their elders without question. Informal education was a popular way of providing traditional civic education, using families, churches, and communities (Octti, 1994; Preece, 2009).

3.5.2 Lesotho's Traditional Values

Socially, Lesotho was a patriarchal and patrilineal state with inequalities in wealth and power between chiefs and commoners, men and women, adults and youths. Chiefs were the wealthiest and the most powerful in the country. Commoners were heavily dependent on chiefs for survival. This was so because chiefs controlled access to land and allocated themselves the largest pieces of land, used matsema (work parties) for their own benefit (Gill, 1993; Khaketla, 1971; Pule & Thabane, 2002) and were entitled to free labour that was binding on all subjects as a way of paying their allegiance. In this manner matsema gave chiefs more opportunity to get more surpluses of the production from their fields and thus more wealth than the commoners.

Traditionally, as Pule and Thabane (2002) illustrate, there were divisions between age, sex and generation that existed in Lesotho, and women had no political power. The authors outline that the elderly deserved and received respect from young people. This was because it was believed that wisdom came with age. Gill (1993) supports this by showing that a

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[4] In Lesotho there is a traditional custom of circumcision where young Basotho go to initiation schools at a certain age before they are designated men, as mentioned in Chapter Two. In this initiation school boys are initiated into adulthood and after they have graduated as men they are then included in public decision making that is done at khotla by adult males.

family was an open-ended community, that is, there was interconnectedness between the living and the dead; and the elderly were thought to be closer to *balimo* (ancestors) (see Duncan et al. (2007) in Chapter Two). This suggests that in the past, the elderly were expected to set a high standard of behavior for the young to respect them.

Women, however, were legally, socially and economically dependent upon men and had no political power and they did not attend public decision making places. According to Machobane (2001) women were customarily regarded as minors, who were under the perpetual custody and protection of men, either of fathers or husbands, and in case of the death of the husband, of a male relative or a male child. This was an ideology from a patriarchal society where a women's identity (Kolisang, 2012) was traced through the paternal lineage and descent and reflected a communitarian democracy and the traditional way of Basotho life.

According to Gill (2010), the changes in values and practices that occurred were brought about by the missionaries. This included the first printing works that was established in Morija, where a weekly newspaper of Leselinyane is still printed and published even today. The changes were designed to stimulate a culture of reading among Basotho. A foundation of formal educational system was started in Lesotho and Basotho changed, adopting European manners and dress, which made it necessary for them to consume European goods and participate in wage labour, leading to the emergence of labour migration (refer to Chapter One). Colonization by the British followed in 1868, and their arrival affected the Basotho society through many further changes. Among the changes, as pointed out by Gill (1993, 2010), were gospel preachers who promoted equality among all people alike,including men and women. According to these missionaries, women's place in Lesotho needed to be uplifted. Gill (2010) asserts that the missionaries tried to change the relationships in the society and those customs which promoted dependency of Basotho people on their chiefs. This marked the end of traditional leadership in Lesotho.

It can be observed that the current modern democracy brought values that uplifted the status of Basotho people and from dependency upon their chiefs and promoted equality among all people. Moreover, modern democracy emphasized inclusive citizenship where women were regarded as citizens like men. This shift from inequality to equality of men and

women alike, established a society where all citizens were free to exercise their human natural rights and freedoms, as shown in the previous section on democracy as a value and social process. Despite the fact that Europeanization brought the transition to the dual system that incorporated both traditional and modern styles of governance, democracy has brought the good element of inclusiveness, where the status of women has changed for the better. This is supported by Dekker and Lemmer (1993), when they indicate that the role of women changed from a domestic role to one where they could determine the size of their families and control their own fertility. In terms of their economic role, they now participate in paid employment worldwide; and they are also engaged in the labour market (Dekker & Lemmer, 1993). Politically, women actively take part in the representative democracies, and there are women's movements where they lobby for change, including for their full citizenship rights and equality before the law. All these changes are a result of democracy, the benefits of which were not the case during the era of traditional leadership.

Yet, the transition was not always handled well, nor did it always result in equal status for all. Gill (2010) states that some of the changes simply created different forms of dependency. For example, there was a penetration of the cash economy among the Basotho which meant that Basotho became depenent on paid labour. Through social interaction Basotho learnt about such forms of Europeanization from the missionaries, the Boers and the British. The selective colonial and post-colonial education systems did not enhance citizenship rights of the people, but instead, these types of education systems increased dependence and subjugation for the population, as a result of the imperialist intent. This indicates that the former missionaries had no intention of educating and developing a more critical African citizenry. Rather, they sought to exploit their labour and create a submissive dependency on the cash economy. A discussion about the transition to democracy follows.

3.5.3 Transition to Democracy in Lesotho

A paradigm shift of thinking about citizenship and democracy was brought about by the arrival of Europeans in Lesotho, with their different culture from that of Basotho. This resulted in the creation of new situations in the society that had to be dealt with by bringing the two cultures together at working levels; dual systems were introduced such as a judiciary (customary and common laws) and a parliamentary system, with democratically elected leaders and hereditary traditional chiefs who had no term of office or separation of

powers, as is reflected in Chapter One. Some individuals in the colonial administration criticized the dependence of people on their chiefs, who were the most powerful and wealthiest in the community and, thus, appeared to be using their followers as labour and as obedient subjects who were respectful to their leaders (Pule & Thabane, 2002).

Accordingly, political parties emerged to challenge the manner in which the traditional system operated, and by developing different policies, thus exercised individualism and freedom of choice. Consequently, the new politicians did not want to develop a viable and locally informed citizenship education programme that would affirm citizenship engagement in public issues (Abdi, 2008; Maathai, 2009; Shizha & Abdi, 2013), for fear that their powers would be challenged. Nevertheless, democracy, as an imported concept, brought its own ideal moral principles and rectified some of the traditional inequalities. This transition between the traditional and modern systems, however, has created problems of apathy and confusion about democracy as a value, and a social and political process, which this study explores. The following paragraphs attempt to analyse, according to the available literature, some of the issues that have contributed to this confusion.

The Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Environment (2008) (MOTCE) and Khaketla (1971), outline that in 1959 a local government proclamation was passed, which paved the way for the District Council elections of 1960. The electoral contestants were from Basotho political parties. The District Councils were elected at the (pitso) public meeting, in the manner described in the paragraph on the concept of deliberative democracy, where people are elected in a public assembly. Their role was to advise the colonial Basotholand Council and forward the motions for debate. Two representatives from each District Council formed part of the Basotholand Council.

However, Khaketla (1971) notes that the District Councils were abolished in 1968, two years after independence, by the Basotholand National Party government and were replaced by Village Development Committees that were created in 1970. The MOTCE (2008) illustrates that after the 1993 democratic government, a new ministry of local government and chieftainship (MOLGC) was formed. The first local government elections were held in 2005, following the District Council elections of 1960. The Local Government Act of 1996 provided for the establishment of proper local government. These District Councils were organized as

community councils, urban councils, municipal council and district councils. The chiefs remain ex-officio on the councils at each level, as an important acknowledgement of the traditional leadership. However, they are the minority in the councils and do not hold any substantive position. This implies that the democratic values of equality in terms of exercising political rights and freedoms is unrecognized in the electoral democracy when leaders are elected, showing that democratic leaders are not practicing democratic life. This study provides answers to the question of how do people, including democratic leaders, understand the concepts of democracy and citizenship, the findings of which are presented in Chapters Five and Six.

The Ministry of Local Government and Chieftainship (2009b) MOLGC outlines the challenges within the ministry. These include: weak inter-departmental linkages between the departments within the ministry, meaning that there is no collaboration towards a working decentralized local government system; politicized, unclear, poorly defined, unregulated and unchecked functional links between the centralized ministry and local government structures in the councils. Furthermore, it is indicated, in the framework for the preparation of the National Decentralization Action Plan for the ministry (MOLGC, 2009a), that directorates at the central government perform council level functions with the excuse that councils lack capacity. This is mainly because there are no visible transition arrangements and capacity development efforts in place for this. There are poor reporting lines from the District Administrator and the District Council Secretary to the central ministry, which then enables the latter to exploit this ambiguity (MOLGC, 2009a).

Decentralization was put in place in 2005 with empty promises, because there were no policies and legal frameworks or guiding documents for its implementation, once more indicating that it took place as a top-down approach (MOLGC, 2009a). Politically, there is inadequate clarity on the role of parliamentarians in the operation of councils. On observation, this shows the result of an electoral democracy where people are elected as representative leaders with no clear strategies of how decentralization functions to address people's needs and interests (meaning that people choose leaders based on patron-client relations rather than policy evaluation), as Lindberg (2006) illustrates. This contrasts with the way traditional leadership operated, which was in a democratic manner, even though they were not elected. Traditionally, interests and peoples' needs were directly discussed

(direct democracy) in a different manner from an electoral/procedural democracy (representative democracy). It has been argued that democratic values were highly observed during the traditional leadership era as compared to this current system of democratic leaders (Abdi, 2008; Gboku & Lekoko, 2007).

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the concepts of citizenship and democracy were discussed followed by an overview of how traditional leadership operated, and how democracy was introduced, showing the interface of the modern with traditional leadership values.

Citizenship theories discussed include: communitarian, which emphasizes the collective, sharing and interconnectedness among citizens; civic republican, which emphasizes membership in civil society groups and focuses on the political rights of citizens rather than subjects; and cosmopolitan citizenship, which is the notion that implies citizens are members of the world and where emphasis is on solidarity and tolerance of differences.

Democracy, as a concept, was discussed with a focus on political democracy and values and as a social process. Traditional leadership was also considered, as a form of democracy in Lesotho, which operated around the institution of chieftaincy in a pyramid style where chiefs were the wealthiest and most powerful in the society, and where people were treated as subjects, remaining highly dependent on them. Traditional values, like matsema (work parties), were shown to have been eroded during the arrival of the Europeans, who changed the Basotho culture and introduced new ways of equal and inclusive citizenship, parliamentary democracy and a cash economy, among other things.

However, the anecdotal evidence and previous research by Preece et al. (2009) suggests that Basotho seem to have a limited understanding of modern democracy and citizenship and its operations in relation to their traditional leadership structures and values. Basotho have learnt the terms of citizenship and democracy through their past history and in the evolution of their political democracy, as is reflected in Chapter One, and through using traditional informal institutions such as pitso (public assembly), which is still common and popular, especially in the rural areas. The tensions and challenges that this history has

created for Basotho need further investigation at the level of understanding and meaning making by the country's citizens. Chapter Four discusses the methodology of the study before moving onto the findings chapters.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Chapter One of this study discusses the history of democratic practices and citizen responsibility in Lesotho from the traditional to the colonial and post-colonial eras. The history outlines Lesotho's political development since colonialism and how this has interfaced with traditional leadership structures. In Lesotho the experiences of democracy have been of a number of different styles, which have not created long term stability in the country. This is because the Western influence has changed the traditional practices where leadership was inherited and decisions were made through consensus, mainly by adult males. Western democratic principles emphasize equality among both males and females, in participation and decision making, through voting in elections, taking part in public debates and challenging unjust practices.

Chapter Two discusses civic education, which is educating the public on how to actively participate in and influence political decision making. Although there are democratic elections in Lesotho, the practice of civic education in Lesotho seems to be mostly limited to providing voter education during elections. As in many African countries, Lesotho's civic education focuses on the mechanics of electoral processes, despite international literature on civic education advocating for the inclusion of critical analysis of democracy as a value and a social process. The literature suggests that narrow forms of civic education are likely to produce passive and uninformed citizens, and in Lesotho's case, it is important to explore this form of civic education and the effect it has had on people's understanding of democracy and citizenship.

Chapter Three evaluates the literature relating to the concepts of citizenship and democracy. The last part of the chapter outlines Lesotho's traditional regime, its values and the transition to democracy, showing how it relates to modern forms of citizenship and democracy. Conceptual frameworks are developed from the assessed models of democracy and citizenship, as the tool for analysing the research participants' responses to the following questions:

1. How do ordinary citizens, civic educators and community leaders understand the concept of democracy?

2. How do ordinary citizens, civic educators and community leaders understand the concept of citizenship?

3. What is the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho?

In this chapter the main focus is to show how the participants of the study were engaged in research that investigated how the concepts of democracy and citizenship are understood in Lesotho. This chapter explains how the empirical data collection was conducted with community leaders, civic education providers and ordinary citizens, whose understandings about the concepts of democracy and citizenship are the main focus of this thesis (see findings Chapters Five and Six). It discusses the research paradigm, research design and methodology, sampling and sample, data collection process, and qualitative data analysis. The chapter ends with some reflections on my positionality as the researcher followed by a section on trustworthiness and ethical issues. The discussion begins with research paradigm.

4.2 Research Paradigm

A paradigm is the set of beliefs that constitutes the researcher's perceptions regarding the nature of the reality of the world and what there is to know. The paradigm involves the researcher's ontology and epistemology that also inform the methodology to be used in the study. The ontological assumptions, according to Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2009), are based on the nature of the social realities under study, that is, the researcher's theory of existence. In terms of my understanding that social realities are context bound, the participants were asked these questions: what do you understand about the concept of democracy? What do you understand about citizenship? My epistemological perspective was concerned with knowledge in its natural form, how that knowledge is produced and the relationship between human nature and the environment (Cohen et al., 2009). The above assumptions determined the methodology that was used in the study, informed by the appropriate paradigm. Three common paradigms in educational research are discussed: positivism/post-positivism, critical and interpretive paradigms. This section ends by positioning the study within the combination of critical and interpretive paradigms, as the most appropriate ones, and provides the reasons for this selection.

4.2.1 Positivism/Post-Positivism Paradigm

The positivist paradigm is based on scientific means of knowing the truth. Chilisa and Preece (2005) opine that this approach aims to establish the truth by applying scientifically objective methods. Similarly, Cohen et al. (2009) explain that, in this paradigm, the social reality or the world is interpreted as objective and the world is seen as existing as it really is – there is only one truth. Furthermore, Cohen et al. (2009) offer an example that the role of social science is to discover the laws of society and those of the human relationships within that society. In this paradigm emphasis is placed on the use of conditionalities and controlling measures, in the form of experimental designs where numbers and control groups are mostly engaged. Generalization from the specific is common, using moderate to large selected samples. In this endeavour the researcher acts as an outsider, as an external agent who is goal-oriented, whose concern is to seek causes or explain behaviour (Cohen et al., 2009).

Chilisa and Preece (2005) illustrate that for positivists, the existence of something must be in the form of quantities that can be measurable. On the same note, reality must be viewed in a material form that can be studied, using scientific means of inquiry. It is clear therefore, that positivists advocate mainly the use of quantitative research approaches for the gathering of knowledge.

The positivist paradigm has been critiqued on the basis that it defines life in measurable terms rather than from the inner experiences of those who are involved. The paradigm also excludes the notions of choice and freedom, individuality and moral responsibility of people (Cohen et al., 2009). How can people be controlled and conditioned as if they are acted upon as non-human? The positivist approach lacks the sense of humanism, as it is concerned with the end result that is interpreted through the use of numbers. A discussion of the critical paradigm follows.

4.2.2 Critical Paradigm

The critical paradigm entails a view of what behaviour should be in a social democracy. According to Cohen et al. (2009), this paradigm is framed around the assumption that society should be based on equality and democracy for its members and it strives to change situations rather than to simply understand them. It focuses on freeing the disempowered,

to redress inequalities and to promote individual freedoms within a democratic society, meaning that, it has the intention to transform the society and its individuals into a democracy (Cohen et al., 2009).

This paradigm has, however, been criticised for not really being able to emancipate society, even when empirical research has been conducted (Cohen et al., 2009). Since this study did not aim to contribute to the emancipation of Basotho society through the research process, the interpretive paradigm was also chosen as the other suitable used paradigm and is discussed in more detail below.

4.2.3 Interpretive Paradigm

The interpretive paradigm interprets social reality differently from the positivist and critical paradigms. In the interpretive paradigm, people view their world differently. Similar to critical paradigm, this paradigm recognises that truth is subjective because the researcher is part of the world under review and its organisations and institutions are viewed as a constructed social reality (Cohen et al., 2009). That is, reality is constructed by people who live in their different social worlds. The role of social science is to discover how different people interpret the world in which they live, whether they act singly or in groups. The Interpretive paradigm uses methods of understanding by interpreting the subjective meanings which individuals place upon their actions. It is usually conducted in small scale research (see the research design section below) and does not use numerical data as the positivists do.

Chilisa and Preece (2005) explain that the interpretive paradigm is used for the purpose of understanding people's experiences in their natural setting, that is, where participants in research live in different contexts. Thus, this paradigm believes that reality is socially constructed by different people: their personal way of making sense of the world around them. Knowledge is therefore dependent on the human experience and guided by the culture, history, and context in which people live (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). The understandings of democracy and citizenship in this study were explored in terms of how Basotho make sense of these concepts in the context of their lives and the history of their country.

The interpretive paradigm has received critiques: for example, the suggestion that it abandons scientific procedures for verification and has given up hope of generalizing about human behaviour; research in this paradigm is said to be less accurate in less controlled structures that are flexible, and therefore, results may be incomplete and misleading (Cohen et al., 2009). However, the interpretive along with critical paradigm, are considered to be the most relevant paradigms for this study, because of their focus on the subjective beliefs of the participants which need to be understood in relation to the local context. I initially took an interpretive paradigm perspective because my intention was not to transform society (a position that is more associated with the critical paradigm). However, during the process of data collection it became apparent to me that a more critical perspective was needed in terms of analysing the data.

This study therefore is now positioned within the interpretive and critical paradigms and has used qualitative methods. Both critical and interpretive paradigms are employed because they are concerned with understanding a whole phenomenon through the perspectives of those who actually live it and make sense of it - those who construct its meaning and interpret it personally (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Patton, 2002). But a critical perspective is taken in relation to an analytical effort to critique inequalities and abuse of power in order to promote individual freedoms within a democratic society. Nevertheless, the goal of this study was primarily an investigation into the way citizens, leaders and educators in the context of Lesotho understand the terms democracy and citizenship and is primarily interpretative.

In its endeavour, the interpretive paradigm contributes to the generation of a theory rather than testing hypotheses in order to correct or confirm a specific theory. On this basis, I have developed conceptual frameworks which are derived from different theories evaluated in the literature regarding the concepts of democracy, citizenship and civic education and these are presented in Chapters Two and Three.

The interpretive paradigm concerns itself with the individual and his or her understanding of the world and according to Cohen et al. (2009, p. 21) it shows that, "efforts are made to get inside the person and to understand from within." The actions, ideas, thoughts, and feelings produced through everyday contact of people, that end up as shared experiences in

understanding the terms democracy and citizenship, are the subject of this study (discussed in Chapters Five and Six). The next section discusses the design and the methodology that are used in the study.

4.3 Qualitative Research Design and Methodology

Research design provides the framework for the collection and analysis of data. Methodology is part of the overall epistemological approach that is adopted by the study (Gray, 2003). This study has opted to use a small scale qualitative design in the two contexts of a rural district, represented by Qacha's Nek District, and an urban district, represented by Maseru District, in Lesotho. This approach enabled a focus on the natural settings in the different communities of the two districts, where data were analysed from words, instead of numbers, derived from the fieldwork, as a sense making process (Jackson, 2008). This is in line with MacMillan and Schumacher's (2006) notion that a qualitative research design is concerned with understanding the social phenomena from the participants' perspectives. This study was conducted with the purpose of describing and explaining how people understand the concepts of democracy and citizenship, to explore the nature of civic education for adults and to then assess the implications of the findings for civic education programmes in Lesotho. Therefore, a qualitative design was used on a small scale basis where the comments of participants in the rural context in the Qacha'sNek District were compared with those from the urban context in the Maseru District.

MacMillan and Schumacher (1993, p. 479) describe qualitative research as "primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) among categories." In this type of research, data and meaning emerge from the research context and research is interactive, since the researcher collects data in a face to face mode by interacting with the selected participants in the field or natural setting. Because no study had previously been undertaken, it was necessary to obtain in-depth and detailed responses with the opportunity to stimulate discussion, for example through the focus groups.

Qualitative research therefore was an ideal approach for the chosen sample size, the nature of investigations done and the participatory techniques that were used in exploring the understandings of democracy and citizenship as well as the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho. Moreover qualitative research allows for the flexibility in all aspects and

processes of research, whereas quantitative research uses a more rigid and controlled process for quantifying or ascertaining the magnitude of the variation, which was not applicable in this study.

Qualitative research is based on a constructivist philosophy that assumes that reality is an interactive, shared social experience, which is interpreted by individuals (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006). This means that reality is a social construction; and individuals and groups of people derive from or ascribe meanings to certain events, processes or objects. In this manner, people form constructions or reorganize them (constructions) as viewpoints, perceptions or belief systems in order to make sense of their world. In other words, peoples' perceptions are what they consider real and they, therefore, direct their actions, thoughts and feelings accordingly (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006)

Qualitative research design serves as a guideline that connects the paradigms used, for this study both critical and interpretive paradigms, and the strategies for making investigations and the methods of collecting data, in the this case, how community leaders, civic educators and ordinary citizens understand the concepts of democracy and citizenship. In the two contexts of this study: urban and rural, similar participants were used in both districts – leaders, educators and citizens – and their narratives collected via individual or group interviews. The data that emanated from the participants were supplemented by documents from institutions that provide civic education in Lesotho, and in one case, an observation of a civic education class in action.

Initially, I had planned to use a comparative case study in the two different contexts, rural (Qacha'sNek) and urban (Maseru), because of the differing tendencies of the people who live in those two different areas. However, since there was fluidity in the movements of the proposed research participants, that is, there were no confined boundaries for the rural and urban 'case' contexts, the participants could not be geographically linked to only one place. The study was therefore conceived of as a small scale qualitative study, involving two contexts and using the participants' narratives rather than comparative case studies as the main design focus. Nevertheless, although the participants did move around geographically, there was sufficient difference in their daily lifestyle and educational exposure to enable a comparative element between people, who most of their time lives in urban or rural

contexts. Since the initial plan was to use a case study the next paragraphs explore some of the characteristics of case study design in order to clarify why the requirements of this study ultimately did not fit that description.

4.3.1 Case Study Design

Rule and John (2011) describe a case study as a means of eliciting information about a specific issue in order to gain more knowledge. In a case study (Bryman, 2004; Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Cohen et al., 2009; Creswell, 1994; MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006) a single person, programme, event, process, institution, social group or phenomenon is investigated within a specified timeframe, using a combination of appropriate data collection devices. A case study, in the words of Punch (1998, p. 34), is "a study of a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context." In this circumstance, the phenomena under study were the concepts of democracy, citizenship and civic education, which were investigated in the two different contexts of Lesotho, one, rural (Qacha's Nek) and the other, urban (Maseru).

However, this study did not fit the bounded nature of case studies because it could not be guaranteed that the views of the participants would be contextually confined to a particular place. Their perceptions and understandings have been derived over time as well as place, though the nature and range of the influences they have been subjected to are likely to have been different for those who live primarily in the urban district of Maseru compared with those who live primarily in a remote village in the mountainous region of Qacha's Nek. Therefore the study is described as a small scale qualitative design, which used the participants' narratives in order to obtain rich, thick descriptions of values and understandings related to citizenship and democracy learnt over time. Narrative research is discussed in the next section.

4.3.2 Narrative Research

Trahar (2006) outlines narrative research as a particular form of qualitative research, where the focus is on the experiences of the participants and how they make meaning of those experiences. Narrative research expects thick, rich data, stories and examples of how meaning has been constructed. This is relevant to the critical and interpretive paradigms used in this study because the citizens, leaders and civic educators constructed their meanings of how they understood the concepts of democracy and citizenship at the time of

their interviews and focus groups. The importance of narrative research is postulated by Trahar (2006, p. 28) as follows:

- It focuses on participant's experiences and meanings given by them to that experience.
- It is concerned with representation and voice.
- It observes the personal human qualities of participants and researchers.
- It allows for the exploration of the research activity itself as a story.

According to MacMillan and Schumacher (2006), qualitative researchers emphasize the studying of participants' perspectives using interactive strategies such as in-depth interviews, collection and analysis of artefacts, and focus groups, all of which were used in this study. These research strategies are flexible and use various combinations of techniques to obtain valid data (ibid). As a researcher I managed to make adjustments to decisions about data collection strategies during the study in the field (see data collection section below). The use of multiple research strategies allows for triangulation of the participants' assertions about the nature of democracy and citizenship in Lesotho; this enables the recommendation of some strategies for use in civic education for adults, which are drawn from the implications of the findings (refer to the next three findings chapters). The next section discusses sampling and the study sample that comprises the participants who engaged in the study.

4.4 Sampling and Sample

In order to carry out the investigation of how people understand the concepts of democracy and citizenship, an appropriate sample had to be considered. The sample constitutes a manageable number of people that could reasonably be engaged with at locations and within a timeframe that would allow for the generation of adequate data to complete a doctoral study. Identifying the place and the people to participate in a study is done through sampling. This study followed what Cohen et al. (2009) describe as purposive and snowball sampling under the category of a non-probability sample. I intentionally selected the two districts of Qacha's Nek and Maseru and the people who participated in this study in order to learn about their understandings of democracy and citizenship in Lesotho. As indicated in Chapter One and earlier in section 4.3, the purpose for selecting the two different contexts

was to compare the perceptions and understandings of democracy and citizenship in Lesotho of people living in a remote rural area with those living in a rapidly modernising urban area.

In this regard a subjective selection (see reflexivity section) of Qacha's Nek District was made, simply because its geographical location was far from the country hub of Maseru, it was very rural, and therefore provided a good contrast to the city centre. Since I was also residing in this location at the start of the study and was already known in such a small community, gatekeepers were more easily contactable. It might have taken longer to obtain access to a rural community elsewhere, and would have taken more time building rapport with key personnel.

I particularly concentrated on one constituency, number 69, which entailed the Qacha's Nek camp town and the communities that were found in that constituency. In Maseru I focused on Maseru central constituency, number 32, and the communities entailed therein. Maseru central constituency is found within the central business area of Maseru District, where all government infrastructures are found, including the Lesotho parliament and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Therefore, purposive sampling was found to be suitable because I intentionally wanted to learn from the perspectives of people who live in the two differing districts in terms of the phenomena under investigation. I sampled people for individual interviews and for focus group discussions. In this regard I selected three identified categories of people within the constituencies of the two districts. These were community leaders, civic education providers and ordinary citizens who were sampled as explained below.

4.4.1 Community Leaders

In the district of Qacha's Nek, representing the rural context, five participants were purposely selected who represented community leaders. They were two active politicians (candidates for national assembly elections, a male and a female), two chiefs (male and female), and a male councillor. In Maseru District, representing the urban context, four active community leaders were selected as follows: one female mayor (councillor), one male chief and two politicians (candidates for national assembly elections). All community leaders made a total of nine participants in this study, which were purposively selected because of

their quality of being community leaders knowledgeable in issues of democracy and citizenship. Another reason for their selection was that their status of being leaders enabled them to receive information that is channelled to different communities by experts in the field of democracy and citizenship.

However, I experienced the challenge of accessing an equal number of community leaders in both districts, as opposed to how the data collection process had been initially planned. In Maseru, for instance, people were busy and difficult to contact: for instance, the deputy speaker for the national assembly, although he had originally shown willingness to participate in this study, was difficult to contact. The second category sampled was that of the education providers for civic education.

4.4.2 Education Providers

As mentioned, purposive sampling is used to select people with the purpose that they bear knowledgeable in-depth information; hence, in this study, civic education providers were purposively sampled because of their typical characteristics of being educators. In Qacha's Nek District one focus group that was selected consisted of civic education providers made up of six participants (three males and three females) working for the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), an organisation that is constitutionally mandated to provide civic education in Lesotho. In Maseru District a proposed focus group was intended for six people. Ultimately, the group only involved two females and a male educator. The other participants did not turn up. In fact it was a big challenge to get people together in a group in Maseru District. People explained that they were busy and were operating under demanding time constraints. As a result, I approached the other three educators and arranged for individual interviews, when it seemed convenient for them. Therefore, one male and two female IEC educators were additionally interviewed separately, thus making the total of twelve participants in both districts, as initially planned.

In addition to IEC educators, the initial plan was to select two focus groups of ten civic education providers from two other NGOs, with five participants from each. I only managed to select and hold individual interviews with three educators, each from three different NGOs: Lesotho Council for Non-governmental organisations (LCN), Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) and Development for Peace Education (DPE) respectively. I purposively

selected the interviewees on the basis of their work that is connected directly with civic education and democracy. During the initial stage when I sought permission and access to conduct the study, at the first organisation, the TRC, the educator was initially provided probably because he is a focal person dealing with democracy programme in that organisation. The other two educators were selected through snowball sampling, where a TRC educator referred me to the other educators from DPE and LCN organisations. However, it was difficult to gain access to the LCN educator, who was eventually contacted (see Chapter Six). These difficulties persisted with the DPE, after several unsuccessful attempts to get hold of the identified knowledgeable participant. The total number of educators who participated in this study for both districts is 15. The next section discusses how citizens were sampled in the two districts.

4.4.3 Ordinary Citizens

Snowball sampling is the selection of some participants for a study, through recommendations from other participants who bear similar characteristics and possess relevant knowledge (Cohen et al., 2009; Welman & Kruger, 2001). De Vos (2001) calls this process: chain reference sampling, because one participant provides a lead to the next participant. In this study, in the process of non-probability sampling, snowball sampling was used to select the focus group of other key informants who are categorised as ordinary citizens, where one person referred me to another active and knowledgeable person. In Qacha's Nek District, there were two focus groups for ordinary citizens, one made up of young citizens, aged 20 to 30, and one for older citizens aged 40 to 60, which totalled twelve participants for both groups. The choice of these groups was in order to provide a cross section of different age groups and political roles, to get different perceptions.

As mentioned earlier, Maseru District participants were too busy to be brought together as a group, therefore, I selected three males and two females as adult citizens and they were interviewed individually. These participants were also selected through snowball sampling. A youth focus group of six males and two females of ages between 18 and 30 years were also gathered together. The youths were purposely chosen from the civic education workshop on the basis of whether they seemed active and knowledgeable during the workshop session that I observed (refer to Appendix G) with the assistance of the TRC educator. The reason for using young adults and elderly people was that their views and

opinions were likely to differ according to their different wisdoms and experiences of life. Another reason was because of their different exposures to education in relation to rights and responsibilities and democracy, as indicated by the findings in Chapter Five and Six. This study, therefore, had a total of 25 citizens. The next section explains how data was collected from the homes, and workplaces of these participants.

4.5 Data Collection Process

The fieldwork data collection process took place between February and November 2013 in both Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts. This process for collecting data involves multiple strategies. MacMillan and Schumacher (2006) assert that qualitative researchers study the participants' perspectives with interactive strategies such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, analysis of artefacts and focus groups among others. This section reveals the processes of undertaking research using focus groups, interviews and documents. In this study, I interacted with the participants, kept a field notebook to reflect on the ideas and experiences of different participants and at the same time wrote reflections concerning the process. An interview guide, Appendix D, which served as a data collection tool, was developed prior to conducting the study and attached to the ethical clearance application. The data collection methods are discussed below, starting with individual interviews.

4.5.1 Individual Interviews

This study employed in-depth interviews with participants that were selected from ordinary citizens, community leaders and educators of civic education in both Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts, using a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix E). Interviews are explained by Rozakis (2004) as personal meetings with individuals or groups. In this study, the researcher engaged in in-depth interviews, which are open-response questions to obtain data about participant meanings (Gray, 2003; MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Rozakis, 2004). This was done in order to understand what the individuals understood about democracy and about citizenship and the means by which they came to understand it, how they were brought up, and with what values, and how they had learnt about them, and how they viewed their values to be relevant in their current experiences. All the interviews were conducted in Sesotho, which is a local language (see Appendix F) and the mother-tongue language for the participants. At the end of each interview, I transcribed the data and

translated into English. Sesotho was the preferred language of the participants. For some English language concepts there was no direct translation, so I obtained advice on how to translate these into Sesotho from the IEC director. There were no significant problems in translating the recorded interviews into English

Key informant interviews were held with individuals who have special knowledge, status or communication skills that they were willing to share with the researcher (Rozakis, 2004). The key informants were nine community leaders who were chosen and interviewed because they had access to observations that were unavailable to me as the researcher in both Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts. These individuals are often atypical within the communities and, as leaders, they were purposively sampled from the two districts (see sampling section 4.4.1 above). The interviews were suitable for this research because of these individuals' lived experiences and perceptions regarding what and how they understand democracy and citizenship. Furthermore, the interviews provided the chance to probe for clarity. MacMillan and Schumacher (2006), when discussing in-depth interviews, have noted the importance of probing and pausing in the questioning format for the researcher to hear and connect with the person and elicit more valid data. Rozakis (2004) encourages the researcher to make a telephone call to confirm a face to face interview in case the participant may have changed the plan for the appointment. I did this before going for an appointment, but despite calling to confirm meetings, some participants still changed the appointment time. For instance, one female educator in Maseru called and postponed the interview meeting while I was in a taxi only twenty minutes from her office. She apologized, saying she had forgotten another meeting that she needed to attend.

During the interviews I kept the field notes, as they provided valuable data for instant analysis and served as a back-up for any faulty recording. The field notetaking also promoted my concentration and attentiveness and helped to pace the interview session. In addition, voice recording done using my cell phone was important as a resource to return to where the notes were later found to be incomplete. In all the interviews I asked the participants for their contact numbers and their permission in case I needed to follow up on any issues that were discussed.

Although the interviews were satisfactory, they often required more than one session. This was because I had to make a telephonic communication with a few participants in order to follow up what they had said in the responses provided. As a novice interviewer, I learnt that it was not always easy, at first, to know the breadth and depth of what to ask and probe for. This was simply because the participants did not mention certain information, making the assumption that some issues are common knowledge. For example, in most cases participants kept on saying "in the past", and they assumed that I would simply know what the past was all about. It was not until the analysis phase that I realised that more probing had been required in order to understand better about the past, that is, the different phases of historical and political events that were elaborated in Chapter One. As the researcher, I was also learning, the need to have to return to some respondents later for clarification on some answers. This added to the time it took to analyse the data.

I learnt that interviews needed a well prepared setting (location of interview). The young citizens' focus group was held in a shack that was situated near the bus stop area, therefore it was noisy and customers were disturbing the session – and one customer was carrying a baby who cried a great deal. The reason that place was chosen, was to secure the two ladies who were active in politics (key informants) and were also working as informal traders, one as a hairdresser and one selling fast food. This also ensured that participants were not removed from their natural world; instead I had to personally go to their environments.

Chilisa and Preece (2005) have noted the limitations of power relationships between the researcher and the interviewee, meaning that it appears as if the researcher plays a dominant role by asking questions with his or her own agenda, while the interviewee becomes passive by providing answers. In one particular case, I was the one who experienced a dilemma regarding issues of power in an interview with a dominant male chief in Maseru (see ethical issues section 4.9). Nevertheless, I counteracted by being calm and trying to build a rapport with the chief, emphasising the need to get his perceptions about the concepts under investigation, which was the purpose of the study.

4.5.2 Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussions were used as the key methods for the collection of data in this study. Focus group discussion is described by De Vos (2001) as a purposive discussion on a

specific topic that takes place between a selected number of individuals who have a common background or interest. The focus group discussion takes place in the presence of a facilitator, who facilitates the discussions between all members of a group, to elicit more information. According to De Vos (2001), the word 'focus' implies that the discussion takes place in a group that is limited to the specific topic or theme under investigation. In a focus group discussion, group interaction consists of verbal and non-verbal communication; "an interplay of perceptions and opinions that stimulates the discussion without necessarily modifying or changing the ideas and opinions of participating people" (De Vos, 2001, p. 314). Focus group discussions – as the name implies - have a focused and clear agenda or topic of discussion, which is determined and sequenced in an understandable and logical way.

Focus groups were preferred in this study because they serve as a confirmation technique, which increases the validity and credibility of the entire study. Focus groups are important because they facilitate natural, spontaneous discussion of events or experiences by the participants (De Vos, 2001). Participants may reach consensus in the discussion or may not reach it, and emphasis is placed on finding out as much as possible about the participants' experiences, knowledge and feelings about a specific aspect of social reality, event, topic, programme, service or product (De Vos, 2001). Furthermore, focus groups allowed for more interaction and relationship building between the researcher and the participants of this study. However some dominated the discussion so I explicitly invited the quieter individuals to contribute during the discusions.

According to Chilisa and Preece (2005), focus group discussions are similar to a normal way of communication in a natural setting, especially when people address a certain problem in a dialogue. In these focus groups, there was a great deal of interaction among members, and that allowed for real discussion of the concepts of democracy and citizenship, because information that was given was interjected and corroborated by others. As a result, rich data were produced, which stimulated new ideas and opinions and further built on the experiences of members, while at the same time members learnt from each other (Barbour, 2009; MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006). In this study, focus groups were also useful because members listened to one another's opinions and views and then were able to develop their own understanding in a rapid manner. Focus groups provided a free, relaxed environment

because of the exchange of information between the participants. This was evident in the focus groups that were held in Qacha's Nek with young citizens and also with a group of youths in Maseru District. The most salient point is that when people were brought together in the focus groups, a large amount of data was gathered within a short period of time.

I learnt that, indeed, qualitative research is flexible and that what is written in the literature in terms of the flexibility was also practically applicable. Prior to data collection I pilot tested the data collection tool and modified it in consultation with my supervisors. Even in the field, asking questions was done in a flexible manner allowing for the discussions to flow from the participants' responses. This flexibility extended to the individual interviews with education providers and adult citizens in Maseru, who did not have available time to join the other members to form a focus group to discuss their mutual understanding of democracy and citizenship in Lesotho.

The focus groups enabled me to realise that, as MacMillan and Schumacher (2006) note, recruiting the right people to participate was not a simple task. I realised that even people who seemed knowledgeable about democracy and citizenship did not always find it easy to discuss these issues in a group. It is evident that some people do not open up easily in a group; that focus groups seemed to have a constraining atmosphere for some people who would only open up freely when interviewed alone or when with a few people, such as their friends. This was illustrated by one IEC female educator, who soon after the focus group dispersed, talked freely to elaborate on the misinformation of a former political party leader who had lost his status after the recent national assembly elections of 2012. This is what she said:

> Mr. M. is continuing to tell his followers that he has been cheated in the last elections; he keeps on saying that he won more constituencies but then these [other political parties] stole his government. He is busy mentioning that [the] IEC is going to hold fresh elections very soon. Mme, just imagine the rural people who do not understand what is happening, they take him seriously and think that indeed he has been cheated! (Female educator, focus group Qacha's Nek).

This constraining space difficulty was also noted in a certain situation in which a few members in a focus group with the elderly in Qacha's Nek kept silent and remained quiet even when I tried to invite them to speak. The few members who spoke were commonly

known active members of the BNP party that was then part of the coalition government. Others were not comfortable speaking out in the group and this reminded me of the assumptions made that some people were not comfortable about articulating their concerns about the coalition of the three political parties: the ABC, BNP and LCD. This was because they were afraid that Lesotho's past political history was likely to repeat itself (see Chapter One on authoritarian rule). It became evident that some people were still socialised into the expectations of a post-colonial authoritarian system that had kept people silent and inactive as a result of oppression (discussed in detail in Chapters Five and Six).

Transcribing was also a challenge because I had recorded the participants' voices using my cellular phone; therefore I could only listen to the words spoken, while non-verbal cues were not captured. Then the issues of punctuation and constructing paragraphs were my responsibility to ensure the smooth presentation of data. Some issues were not fully articulated because of the assumption by participants that certain issues are common knowledge, yet my responsibility was to make sure that the direct quotations would be easily understood by readers of this thesis. This occasionally required the insertion of words and phrases to make the meaning clear from what was spoken. Transcribing was time consuming and needed to be done accurately. Although the issue of recording voices is important, transcribing the discussions failed to capture all the non-verbal cues and postures, which form an important means of communication. When translating, the same challenges of having to ensure good spelling, grammar and punctuation were experienced. However, the field notes assisted, where I noted some of the interesting issues even though writing down all that transpired in the interviews was not possible.

Furthermore, I realised that if data were not analysed immediately, it easily became distorted because the context for some issues that were raised were forgotten, hence the likelihood of incorrect interpretation (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006).

I also learnt that focus groups need thorough preparation regarding the venue, the correct timing when people can be available and incentives for meals, transport and time. Almost all the participants conveyed the point that their 'time is money' because they had left their important tasks just to help with information that benefitted only me. Therefore I gave all participants incentives a few months after I received the research scholarship, as a show of

gratitude for the valuable time and information they gave and which made this study successful.

Documents provided an important source of information concerning the third research question on the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho and are discussed in the next section.

4.5.3 Documents/ Artefact Collection

Artefact collection, as explained in MacMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 356), is "a non-interactive strategy for obtaining qualitative data with little or no reciprocity between the researcher and the participants." Documents are tangible exhibitions that describe people's experiences, knowledge, actions and values. They may be personal documents, which MacMillan and Schumacher (2006) purport to be diaries, personal letters and any anecdotal records that describe an individual's actions, experiences and beliefs from a personal perspective. I collected documents such as training manuals from the IEC and two NGOs (TRC and DPE), including the workshop programmes and reports, for the purpose of understanding the content that was delivered from these manuals and to see how the training was conducted, using which methods for which participants. Such documents in this study were limited to training and education materials that were analysed and are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

The purpose of documents is to describe the functions and values of an organisation or how it is defined, and they are therefore used for public consumption. These are tangible objects and, as such, they also reveal the social process, meanings and values of individuals or organisations (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Documentary data is important because it provides information about aspects that could not be accessed by other means. They serve as a reliable record that does not change, deteriorate or get distorted. It is easy for documents to be validated with other fieldwork methods such as interviews and focus groups, for the purpose of triangulation (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Following the discussion of the data collection methods and the processes encountered in this study, the method of data analysis is discussed in the following section, including the documents collected in respect of civic education.

4.6 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis and collection are done simultaneously (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative data analysis unfolds the emerging themes, patterns, concepts, insights and understandings of a phenomenon in its context (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Patton, 2002). These authors assert that qualitative data analysis is primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns (or relationships) among the categories. In this particular study, thematic analysis is used in two stages of inductive (bottom-up) and deductive (testing theory) analysis. However, in the different sources of data used, I looked for the elements of content from the narratives, and then I described the situation. That is, I derived descriptive and illustrative stories from the data before themes were identified that were supported by the quotations. Thematic analysis was used throughout this study.

4.6.1 Thematic Analysis

Qualitative data analysis, particularly thematic analysis, was used to generate the emerging themes, patterns, concepts, insights and understandings (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Patton, 2002) in both the rural and urban contexts. The process required several readings, initially looking for response patterns which then emerged as themes. I read the transcripts several times and picked out the themes that enabled knowledge to be generated from the data (see Chapters Five and Six). This exercise was frustrating, because at first, it was a struggle to uncover the suitable themes. I derived the themes inductively, as mentioned earlier, and then chose the supporting quotations that showed the responses of different participants. Then I interpreted the quotations and themes. This was done at different levels of abstraction. A second level of analysis used the conceptual frameworks outlined in Chapters Two and Three as a theoretical lens for discussing the inductively derived themes on understandings of democracy and citizenship. In other words, it provided a basis for exploring perceptions of citizenship and democracy in terms of: values (responsibility as a collective, individual or voluntary contribution); social roles (how rights and freedoms are understood and how elected members are expected to respond to citizen interests); political practice (such as who participates in decision making); and citizenship rights and responsibilities.

In the case of documentary analysis, I looked for the common concepts regarding democracy, citizenship and civic education that appear in different training materials, how they are defined, how they are disseminated to the citizens; the silences in the documents regarding curriculum requirements were also sought, particularly when compared with international literature. The ambiguities and inconsistencies in the way these concepts are portrayed were revealed by data analysis, which are described in detail in Chapter Seven of this study.

This study employed both critical and interpretiveparadigms using qualitative research design, which followed a hermeneutic cycle, in which what was learnt was informed by what I gathered from the literature and the field data. Therefore, a number of procedures such as triangulation were undertaken to ensure that the study has what MacMillan and Schumacher (2006), Patton (1990, 2002) and Merriam (2009) refer to as validity or confirmability. Triangulation involves the use of numerous data sources to establish common understanding by the researcher and participants. Data triangulation was done through the use of multiple methods of data collection such as interviews, focus groups and verification by documents. However, I learnt that qualitative data analysis relies heavily on the researcher who has to read the data and come up with their own judgement to make meaning out of the data. Therefore, contextual background (entailed in Chapter One) was useful for capturing important data, making sense of it and putting it all into perspective. The next section discusses how I positioned myself in the study and guarded against bias.

4.7 Reflexivity

MacMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 327) describe reflexivity as:

> the examination of one's personal and theoretical commitments to see how they serve as resources for selecting a qualitative approach, framing the research problem, generating particular data, relating to participants and developing specific interpretations.

The above interpretation is supported by Chilisa and Preece (2005, p. 168), where they suggest that "reflexivity is a strategy to help ensure that the over-involvement of the researcher is not a threat to the credibility of the study". Reflexivity, according to Chilisa and Preece (2005), is a way of ensuring that the researcher does not influence the study through the perceptions, feelings and experiences she has while conducting of a research, perhaps

from over interaction with the participants or otherwise. I would like to acknowledge, firstly, my epistemological position from planning and choosing the topic of this thesis, designing the data collection instruments, the manner of asking or avoiding questions in the field and how the specific categories of citizens that served as participants in this study were selected including in the two districts, because all these were part of my subjectivity. Secondly, I would like to show my personal reflexivity by showing that the motivation to conduct this study came from the experience that arose while I was working temporarily at the Independent Electoral Commission in Qacha's Nek District during the local government and national assembly elections (refer to Chapter One under motivation for the study). During my work there at the IEC it became apparent that Lesotho citizens (Basotho) are confused about the role of democracy in Lesotho and that many electors were demotivated about taking part in the elections and, therefore, the voter turnout was low. That stimulated me to conduct the study in order to investigate how civic education for adults might be improved to provide more informed and critically aware education programmes about the role of democracy and citizenship. In this study I recorded all the fieldwork processes in my field notebook, starting with the date, place, names and codes given to the participants. All the views and opinions that I gathered from the participants regarding the concepts of democracy and citizenship were valuable and useful and were, therefore, recorded with the permission of people who participated. I ensured that whatever happened was noted separately and actions taken were specified in a field notebook, so that my views were clearly evident without being confused and mixed with the views of participants during data analysis and interpretation (example is the ethical issues section 4.9).

Reflexivity is a continuous self scrutiny by the researcher throughout the entire process that is inescapable in research. This is done because the researcher assumes that she cannot be neutral, objective and detached from the field. Decisions that are made in the field need to be recorded whenever they emerge, including the record of ethical dilemmas and actions taken (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006) to rectify those situations. It is, therefore, clear that reflexivity assists in the maintenance of credibility in the study as it portrays the views and opinions felt by the researcher as against those that were felt by the participants. Reflexivity is closely linked to trustworthiness as an indicator of research quality.

4.8 Trustworthiness

MacMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 324) summarise validity of qualitative design as "the degree to which the interpretations have mutual meanings between the participants and the researcher." This is the degree of congruence between the explanations of the phenomena and the realities of the world, in which both the participant and the researcher agree on the description or composition of events, especially on the meanings of these events. Trustworthiness is employed as a measure of research quality in qualitative research as an alternative to traditional measures of validity and reliability commonly used in a quantitative study. Trustworthiness in qualitative research is often explored in terms of credibility, dependability and transferability (Rule & John, 2011). Trustworthiness for qualitative research, as explained by Rule and John (2011), Patton (2002), Patton (1990), MacMillan and Schumacher (2006), Rakotsoane and Rakotsoane (2006) and Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight (2006) can be enhanced by using a combination of strategies: prolonged fieldwork, multi method strategies, participant verbatim language, multiple researchers, mechanically recorded data, participant researcher, member checking or participant review, low inference descriptions and negative data.

This study used prolonged fieldwork, over 11 months, where in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in a natural setting (locations: in Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts) to reflect the lived experiences of the participants. Transferability in this study was enhanced by comparing the similarities and differences of the findings (see findings Chapters Five, Six and Seven) from the two locations of Maseru and Qacha's Nek, which bear different contexts, meaning situations, participants, groups and institutions (Patton, 2002; Rule & John, 2011). Dependability is akin to reliability in quantitative research. In this qualitative study there is a likelihood that similar findings would be obtained if the study were repeated in the same context or replicated to other areas. The lengthy data collection period provided an opportunity for thematic analysis, preliminary comparisons and corroborations to refine ideas and to ensure the match between evidence-based categories and participant reality, which increases credibility and promotes trustworthiness in a study (Patton, 2002; Rule & John, 2011). The multi method strategy permitted triangulation of data across all the inquiry techniques.

4.9 Ethical Issues

In January 2013 I started to pilot test my research instrument in Quthing District. At that time, I had already informed the Reserve Chief, the District Administrator and IEC District Electoral Officer who managed the district with respect to my intention to conduct research in Qacha's Nek District. This intention arose after I had worked temporarily at IEC during the local government and the national assembly elections while I was in the first year of my study. The Ethical Clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal was granted to me in February 2013. The ethical clearance application stated the issues that I had to observe during data collection in Appendix A. Ethics pertains to morally good or correct practice and avoiding any harm that may emanate during the study. Examples of ethics that I considered in this qualitative small scale study are: informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity.

4.9.1 Informed Consent

The first step that I took after receiving the ethical clearance was to contact all the people that I had already negotiated with as participants of my research to remind them about the study. I went to the same gatekeepers for the district of Qacha's Nek, the District Administrator and the Chief to receive their consent to conduct the study, which was granted. I went to Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation (BEDCO) building in the Qacha's Nek District where I had informally asked for the venue to hold the discussions with my research participants. I met one of the employees at Trade Offices to report that I had arrived and was waiting for the participants to come. I was granted the venue with consent in the form of a written official letter (Appendix B). I also went to the IEC office to communicate with the District Electoral Officer and formally negotiated to hold the focus group discussions in those IEC offices, through the same letter in Appendix B. I had earlier informally secured the participation of some of the IEC staff in my study. As I indicated that I temporarily worked there at IEC, it was quite easy to gain access to IEC members in Qacha's Nek. I asked the District Electoral Officer to inform other IEC staff members that I had received approval to conduct the research, therefore they should expect my message regarding the time and date of conducting the group discussion.

In another instance, I went to the bus stop market area where I had negotiated with two females to participate in my study as young citizens in a focus group discussion. I went to

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negotiate for a venue in one of the shacks that was used as a hair salon and access was granted through the same formal document, Appendix B. The rest of the participants who stayed far from Qacha's Nek camp town, who were selected to participate in focus groups, were contacted telephonically to set the exact dates and times. Otherwise, for other identified selected individuals I went to their homes for one to one individual interviews. On all the occasions that I met with participants of the study for data collection I requested each member to fill an informed consent form (see Appendix C) that followed a dialogue that I had earlier held when asking for their participation in the study. Dialogue, as explained by MacMillan and Schumacher (2006) and Cohen et al. (2009), involves the gaining of permission from participants regarding whether they will assist in the investigations made by the researcher or not. In a dialogue that I held with different participants, my emphasis was to explain the purpose of the study and all the ethical principles at first contact with the participants. I also assured the participants about their freedom to withdraw from the study. The dialogue was held in Sesotho, which is a local language that was understood by all the participants of the study. The consent form was translated into the Sesotho language and filled in by participants as Appendix D.

4.9.2 Withdrawal from the Study

I tried to build rapport and credibility with individuals in this study. I then communicated with participants at their normal areas of work or their homes personally during interviews. During the data collection I often told the participants about their freedom to withdraw from the study at any time they felt like doing so. This is what Cohen et al. (2009) termed freedom to withdraw without consequences. Most participants that were involved in snowball sampling were interested to know why I had chosen them instead of others, and I would then explain the sampling procedure that selected them, based on the information and knowledge that they have regarding democracy and citizenship.

However, I did encounter a challenge under the issue of free withdrawal from the discussion in respect of my first focus group with elderly citizens. The group was continually active for about 50 minutes. From there, they went in and out to the bathroom or to answer their cell phones, while others checked their hand watches regularly. One male participant even made a comment saying that, "remember that the taxis shall go out at around lunch, therefore we also need to buy a few things before we can go." I acknowledged that message

and told them that I would release them once we were through with the discussions. I felt uncomfortable but continued with the discussions in fear that if I allowed for a break, some participants might not have come back. They became less participative, but were still giving out their views and opinions. The discussions went on for one hour and forty minutes and thereafter I thanked them for their participation.

At the time of data collection, I did not have cash to refund and reimburse participants for transport and meals, so I asked them to fill out a form that reflected their names, where they reside, contact details and the amount they had spent to attend the focus group discussions. I clearly stated that the form was for the purpose of reimbursing their expenses. I also explained to the participants that the consent forms filled out were to show that they had granted me their informed consent and I emphasised that their names would not be revealed anywhere and that the information they provided was confidential. I explained that it was intended for use in my study only, and I gave them confidence and assurance that all information they revealed was confidential.

4.9.3 Confidentiality and Anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity, as described by MacMillan and Schumacher (2006), simply mean that the setting and participants should not be identifiable in all reporting. To maintain confidentiality, I gave the participants codes (numbers) when transcribing and translating the data. Prior to conducting any interviews and discussions, I sought their permission to record their voices, which was granted by all the participants in Qacha's Nek, while in Maseru District one participant refused to be recorded, but instead, insisted that I capture the data through writing. To establish rapport, I started by talking about general issues regarding the new political dispensation that was the first of its kind in Lesotho. Once the rapport was established, I then started getting useful information, moving at their pace and remaining calm and pragmatic in order to keep the relationship stable.

The issue of confidentiality became an ethical dilemma in one instance when I interviewed a male chief in Qacha's Nek District. On a day in April 2013 I went to the chief's office to conduct an individual interview. I found him with three male citizens. He was still assisting one of them writing a letter. The chief's office is situated inside the District Administrator's yard. It is one of the old block offices that are behind the DA's office. I greeted the three

men and the chief ordered me to take a seat. He issued the man with the letter and the man left. The chief told me that he was expecting me, as I had made an appointment earlier, and, therefore, I should start with the interview. I introduced myself and explained the purpose of the study and the ethics, including the maintenance of confidentiality. He agreed to participate and then filled in the consent form. I asked for permission to record the interview. He asked if my intention was to have him publically broadcast over the radio and I told him that the recording was for the purpose of the study and I would not broadcast the voices over the radio. He then granted me permission to record our voices.

I felt uneasy because of the presence of the other two men. However, I started asking questions at about 11h20. He answered very quickly, without making an effort to think. There were constant interruptions with people knocking on the door and the chief allowing them to enter. I stopped, thinking that he needed to help them and that we could continue later. But he told me to continue asking him questions, saying the people had to wait. People kept arriving until all the chairs were filled with about twelve people (including the two that I had found with him). When others knocked he said: "It is full!" I felt very uncomfortable because I saw that people were looking and listening while they waited for service. I stopped for a while to see what he would do. He said: "Mme continue because you had an appointment, these people will never stop coming, they will wait until I finish." What made me uneasy was that before responding to some of the questions, he would say to the waiting people: "You see, she is asking me questions, why don't you answer her!" The situation was very uncomfortable for me. Before they attempted to provide answers I emphasised that the questions required the views and opinions of a leader such as a chief, and, therefore, they should not answer on his behalf. I attempted to show him that his responses were correct and would be useful for my study. However, the questions were not answered well because he was too hasty in providing answers and, in addition, he did not appear sober. At about 12:00 pm, I ended the session and thanked him for his participation.

The lesson learnt is that a chief is a public figure who serves all people openly, meaning that, what is discussed at a chief's place is not secret, but is open to other people. This is an African way of dealing with issues in a community. Traditionally, chiefs operated with the assistance of opinions from adult male councillors who listened and gave advice pertaining to all issues that involved decisions to be taken by a chief (refer to Chapter Three for

Basotho's leadership and traditional values). As a result of this, I found two other men in the chief's place, whereas, I had expected a private interview with him. Furthermore, the rest of the community members who came for services served as witnesses to the discussions between a chief and a stranger, this being myself. It is standard in an African society for people to seek witnesses when they are engaged in discussions about any issues and before any decision making. This aligns with what Waghid (2014, p. 57) says: "collective decision making through consensus was not alien to traditional African society." This behaviour reflects the notions of *ubuntu* and *botho* through which people show concern and care for others. It is, therefore, noted that confidentiality is a Western concept that seems not to be applicable in all situations in African contexts such as in Lesotho when dealing with traditional authorities. Therefore, ethics in methodology, when conducting research in an African context, do not always follow what is proposed in the Western literature.

A second instance where I was caught in a dilemma regarding which ethics to observe when conducting research took place in Maseru District, also during an interview with a male chief. In September 2013, I went to the office of the male reserve chief to conduct an individual interview. On my arrival at his office I found two males who worked with the chief. I introduced myself and explained the purpose of the visit and showed that I needed to interview a chief, or either one of them who worked with the chief. They both refused to be interviewed, but told me to wait for Chief Samson (pseudonym).

Towards lunch I was told to go through to the chief's office. On entering, greeting him and introducing myself, I could not finish because he interrupted and told me to ask him questions quickly because he was going for lunch. He was standing and looking at the time on his hand watch. I could not explain the purpose of the study, including the ethics. I, therefore, started asking him the first question, deciding to omit some of them.

He responded by asking me the same questions that I asked; I waited, tried to explain that I wanted answers from him and was conducting a study for which I wanted different people's perceptions. I started writing down his responses, but he asked me what I was writing and who had told me to write. He was impatient. Also, as I was interviewing him a few people entered and made themselves comfortable by sitting on the chairs. When a fourth person

came, the chief said: "You keep on coming but you see that this is lunch time! I am going for lunch. Even this lady has just hijacked me when I was on my way out!"

I kept on asking questions, but most of the time he kept interrupting by also asking for my opinion regarding the questions that I was asking. He said: "You know the answers better because you are learning and have read a lot about these issues, so you better tell us what all these mean." For one moment I kept quiet and looked at him, not knowing whether to continue or stop asking the questions. He, therefore, said: "Have you finished? I am going for lunch, if there are no more questions. Just continue and never mind, I am a jokey person." In fact, he looked serious. I asked a few more questions, but then stopped, because even before I could finish he was approaching the door. I quickly gave him a consent form to fill in while I explained that it was needed as proof that he had given his consent. He then said: "I don't even know your name, but you ask me questions." I gave him my student identification card, so that he could see where I attend school. He filled in the form and then told his visitors to leave because he was going for lunch. I thanked him and then left.

I later learnt that there was a likelihood that these traditional authorities, because of their status as chiefs, might have been experiencing 'research fatigue', because almost all researchers need input from the traditional authorities for different studies. I had seen that from the way this chief had seemed impatient and from how he had tried to use his power to intimidate me by telling me that I knew the answers to my own questions because I was well read, and, therefore, I should tell him the answers instead of asking him questions. However, he had answered the questions that I asked well, showing that he knew about the phenomena under investigation and was a key informant. Nevertheless, I had not managed to ask all the questions as I had intended. These are the challenges which one faces in fieldwork. Fortunately, I did not encounter too many of these situations and was satisfied with the quantity and quality of data generated in the fieldwork. I was also able to honour my commitments in terms of ethical research conduct in the field.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the methodology, a general approach of conducting research in order to create social knowledge. In this chapter I positioned the study within the critical and

interpretive paradigms, because I wanted to learn about and understand the concepts of democracy and citizenship from the perspectives of people who live in their natural settings and who make meaning in the context of their environment (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Patton, 2002). I discussed my qualitative research design as small scale research, using the two contexts of Qacha's Nek, representing the rural, and Maseru District, representing the urban area in this study. Sampling, particularly purposive and snowball sampling, is discussed to show how the sample was selected from a larger population. The chosen sample was made up of community leaders, civic education providers and citizens, both young and the elderly, in both districts. Ethical issues and how to access the participants through their granting of informed consent, confirming they were free to withdraw from the study and issues of confidentiality and anonymity are explained. The limitations and what was learnt as a result thereof are also elaborated in different sections of this chapter.

The chapter discusses the data collection process which focused on the type of information needed, the methods of collecting data, which entailed prolonged fieldwork, individual interviews, and focus group discussions. These data sources were supplemented by documents that were collected and analysed in respect of civic education that is provided for adults in Lesotho. Qualitative data analysis is explained with particular focus on thematic analysis, which I utilised to make meaning of the data. Reflexivity, both epistemological and personal, is discussed. Trustworthiness which presented the research quality and ethical considerations are the last to be discussed before this conclusion. The qualitative research approach used in this study was deemed appropriate for the sample size and the phenomena under investigation.

The next chapters concentrate on the analysis and interpretation of data beginning with a presentation of the findings on understandings of democracy in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five

Understandings of Democracy

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings that address the first research question: how do citizens who are electorates, civic educators and community leaders understand the concept of democracy in Lesotho? The presented themes were inductively derived from the data showing the responses, concerning understandings of democracy, from citizens, leaders and educators from both Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts respectively. The themes are: understandings of traditional democracy; understandings of modern democracy; tensions brought by democracy; and critical thinking about democracy.

In this study the concept of democracy is investigated from the perspectives of the participants, with the focus on what Cawthra et al. (2007) discuss as values (looking at people's responsibilities as a collective and individual and voluntary contributions), social process (looking at people's efforts to enhance their rights and freedoms and how elected members respond to citizens' interests) and as a political practice (looking at who participates in decision making). Judging from what was revealed by the respondents; there has been a paradigm shift in practice in Lesotho from traditional rule and its operation, towards the introduction of the modern democratic regime. The shift has affected understandings of and attitudes to the three focus areas of democracy that are mentioned above: values, social process and political aspects. The data show how people's understanding of democracy has developed over different eras: colonialism; post-independence; post military rule. Each of these phases seems to have created accumulating problems that sometimes translate into confusion and apathy towards democracy.

5.2 Understandings of Traditional Democracy

This theme has revealed three distinctive ways in which participants understand traditional democracy as it was practiced, is not being practiced and as an interim practice (leading to the next theme of modern democracy). From the respondents' perspectives, the past, during traditional chiefdom rule, was different from the present democratic rule in terms of the exercise of citizens' democratic rights and responsibilities. Traditional democracy emphasized collectiveness and team work in addressing different issues for different people

in society, reflecting a communitarian way of life as is shown in the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Three. Traditional democracy is also transmitted in the form of common proverbs such as 'an injury to one (person) is an injury to all', thus showing that people were interconnected as community members (Pacho, 2013). This proverb emphasizes the need for mutual harmonious living and working together to achieve and address, in a communal manner, issues that affect people's lives. In the past chiefs consulted the people to discuss these kinds of issues in an open meeting before decisions were made, which is described here as democratic practice.

5.2.1 Democracy as it was Practiced

In spite of the fact that chiefs were not elected democratically, chiefdom rule was interpreted by many as a form of democracy in practice. This attribution is given to the way citizens participated directly in issues that affected their lives and therefore contributed meaningfully towards the decisions that were made and practical solutions provided. This democratic practice took place openly in public meeting places such as *khotla*, where citizens enjoyed their citizenship rights and responsibilities. However, respondents mentioned that only male adults attended, but they would seek advice and opinions from their wives prior to the meeting. The responses below show understandings of traditional democracy as a primarily communitarian value that was practiced, for example:

> Democracy was there in [the] chiefdom system through a *pitso* and *khotla* that were held where chiefs would seek the views from adult males. Men had women's thoughts from their families, therefore when issues were discussed the decisions made incorporated the views and opinions of all the citizens, as men consulted their wives (Male educator, focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> It [democracy] has been there since the chiefdom era since the reign of Moshoeshoe I. He called people who would come and participate in the decision making process (Elderly male citizen, focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> During chieftainship rule what was practiced was an active and direct democracy because a chief had frequent meetings with his followers at the chiefs' courtyard (*khotla*) ... that democracy was very direct, constructive and selfless (Male citizen, Maseru).

This 'men-only' practice is in contrast with current practice, where the public meeting is open to both men and women alike; but now, as is shown later in the text, the decisions

emanate from political leaders, who are seen as imposing their own ideas over people. These systems of *pitso* and *khotla* are both public assemblies, which are used by traditional leaders for public consultation. The chieftainship institution is very much the closest way of communicating with people in the communities. The systems are still popularly used by elected and unelected leaders, government officials and civil society members to disseminate any information to the masses of the people. This confirms what Waghid (2014, p. 57) pointed out when saying that "collective decision making through consensus was not alien to traditional African society." On these occasions the meeting is called by a chief in every village. The practice exists more in the rural areas like Qacha's Nek, where there are fewer means of communication (only one reliable radio station), than in urban areas like Maseru District, where there are plenty of means of communication strategies such as television, various radio stations and newspapers.

There was a sense among some participants that this traditional democracy promoted stability and national integration. A mayor in Maseru asserted: "we have been governed by chiefs for a long time and we were a stable nation." It is a common belief amongst Basotho citizens that chiefs as traditional rulers are regarded as a symbol of nationhood, unity and cultural identity that promotes and maintains peace and order within the communities. Chiefs work for long hours, even at night, to address and resolve problems as a way of promoting stability, because they do not observe the formal working hours as do other public officials. It should be noted that in past traditional times, harmonious living existed, but at the expense of age and gender power equality because women and children were customarily regarded as minors. The latter were dependent upon males who would make the decisions on their behalf, even those that directly affected them; hence, in this era it was also perceived that an element of democracy was not being practiced.

5.2.2 Non-Practice of Democracy

One younger male respondent from the Qacha's Nek IEC educators' focus group challenged the notion that traditional rule practiced democracy, when he said:

> Democracy was not there in the past because a man was given a wife to marry, without being consulted and he would not say his views and opinions. There was no involvement [of citizens] in the past.

In the past, marriage involved other community members, who would deliberately choose a girl who behaved well, for a man who seemed ready to marry and the idea was discussed at an open meeting by adult males. Another male politician in Qacha's Nek echoed the same concern in an individual interview:

> There is no democracy in chiefdom rule. We are saying democracy is government for the people by the people. For someone who becomes a chief by birth, whether we like him or not, whether he is intelligent or not, that is not democracy.

The above quote highlights the point that, since chieftainship is hereditary, chiefs exercise their power over people without a democratic mandate. Nevertheless this male politician commended the founder of the Basotho nation, Moshoeshoe I, as the only chief who practiced democracy during his sovereignty. In his words:

> It is only one chief who practiced democracy, Chief Moshoeshoe I, after he was advised by Chief Mohlomi. Even the Europeans were surprised to see a chief who consulted his people before he could make the decisions that affected his followers.

This was confirmed by a male educator from the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN) in Maseru, who said in an individual interview:

> Lesotho before this time was ruled by Moshoeshoe I who was a chief and ruled in a way that had an embodiment of democracy in it. *Lentsoe la Morena le aheloa lesaka* [translated as: chief's words are acknowledged] – were the last words of a chief, who consulted people before decisions that were made collectively, though he was not elected.

The majority of respondents indicated that they felt these traditional practices of consultations were democratic, even though the leadership was not elected; this implies that the decisions that were collectively made at the chiefs' meeting place were, in fact, largely owned by citizens because of their involvement and the contributions that they made. However, the introduction of modern democracy brought changes that were experienced by citizens. This modern phase called for a paradigm shift of leadership from traditional to elected leaders.

5.2.3 Democracy as an Interim Practice

It was revealed in these responses that, unlike in South Africa for instance, the process of democratisation in Lesotho was not a homegrown initiative emerging from popular struggle.

The process of democratisation in Lesotho can be attributed to an imposition from the Europeans, or, that it came as a result of negotiations by political elites and the colonialists before Lesotho got her independence. These attitudes were articulated by the respondents in Maseru District, thus showing that they reflect critically in terms of how Lesotho was democratised and obtained independence from the Europeans. Some perceptions from respondents revealed that democracy had been a trade-off for gaining independence from colonial rule orchestrated for international agendas and managed by small numbers of political elites:

> The politicians copied that rule from other countries where governance issues were run by the public instead of chiefs. Politicians like Mokhehle and Leabua then came back from Fort Hare [a university in South Africa] to negotiate Lesotho's independence with [the] Europeans. ... The main pressure came through western influence like UN, AU, SADC and ... political academic elites united at Fort Hare University where most of them attended school, to map out how they can strive for independence within their African countries ... They all succeeded and in Lesotho the first political party was BAC [Basotuland African Congress]. They [politicians] were the radicals who wanted to change the regime completely (Male citizen, Maseru).

However, it was evident that the introduction of democracy was poorly understood by the ordinary citizen:

> We were given independence in 1966 before we can even understand what that means, what democracy is and how to maintain it. That is why people fought and killed each other [during 1970 by BNP rule] because of lack of understanding. There was no reason for people to be killed because of differing opinions and ideas (Male politician, Maseru).

This comment reflects the Basutoland National Party's (BNP) refusal to accept defeat after the post-independence elections of 1970, when it ruled by force. Several killings and torture took place and some political party leaders of the then BNP opposition went to into exile (see Chapter One for more details). That reveals that there was political intolerance between the political parties during these early independence years, with potentially long-lasting implications among those that were affected. This politician elaborated that the system that was introduced was not one that had been discussed in order to accommodate existing traditions. This clearly shows that both politicians and citizens did not receive

proper education about self-governance and how to phase out the traditional and make the transition to modern political rule.

Moreover, one Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) male educator in Maseru revealed the complexity of transferring from chiefdoms to parliamentary rule because some of the chiefdom practices were also seen as not serving the interests of their communities:

> The political parties started because by then people saw chiefs as: firstly people who were misused by the Europeans over other people, and secondly chiefs were involved in issues of ritual murders. Therefore chiefs were hated by people and then the people joined to fight the chiefs. There were two political parties that were formed by that time: those that were in favour of chiefs, BNP and mostly composed of chiefs; and those that were against chiefs, BCP. Here in Lesotho originally there are two political parties that have divided the people: those that supported chiefs (BNP) and those that did not support chiefs (BCP) … Basotho are separated by the two ideologies mentioned above. When Lesotho strived for independence from the Europeans others were saying that they are not ready while others were saying that they are ready. The BNP were saying that they are ready and wanted to sign for self-governance while the BCP felt that people on the ground have not grasped the issue of self-governance well.

Thus, democracy was formed from ideologies that emerged partly in reaction to colonial abuse and mismanagement of traditional structures and partly as a reaction to concerns about the inadequacies of those same traditional structures. Most BNP political party elites were also chiefs and, therefore, already rulers who had more power than their BCP opponents, whose members were mostly commoners. Chiefs worked hand in hand with the colonialists before Lesotho got her independence. Therefore, chiefs were not checked in their abuse of power and oppression of peoples' human rights. The above quote reveals the degree to which they were not favoured by the commoners.

In fact, even today the issue of whether chiefs should remain as part of the existing leadership in the mainstream of governance is still controversial in Lesotho (Kapa, 2013). This is attributed to factors such as: their inheritance as their birth right, where they are imposed on people because they are not elected; their participation in politics where they are likely to serve members of their affiliating political parties; and their tendency of demanding bribes before they provide services to people as a way of making money because they are poorly remunerated compared to elected leaders (Kapa, 2013). There

were speculations that the introduction of the local government system was attributed to the phasing out of traditional chiefs by introducing elected leaders as councillors countrywide. Most of the duties that were performed by chiefs shifted to local councillors. This shift caused conflict between the two leaders and among citizens, who saw democracy as eroding the traditional leaders and their powers. However, chiefs were resilient and well entrenched within different communities and regarded as legitimate and permanent leaders without a term of office, unlike the new elected councillors who served for a specific term because they were elected, and, therefore, not permanent.

In terms of how Lesotho was democratized the responses have clearly shown that the transition phase or preparations for self-governance or independence were limited, weak or inadequate, as the first political elites were not well prepared. Therefore, when put in power, they continued the inheritance of an undemocratic colonial system of ruling in a modern democratic society, as can be seen in the next theme of modern democracy. However, this theme also distinguishes between two phases of democracy – the transition phase until 1993, which included political instability and military coups – and the more benign period since 1998.

5.3 Understandings of Modern Democracy

In terms of understanding modern democracy there were strong views amongst most (thirty-one of forty-nine) older and young respondents of how democracy should operate in the present day context. This theme is discussed in terms of: democracy as representation, democracy as freedom and democracy as growth and development, all illustrated by different comments that show the respondents' perceptions about modern democracy. First discussed is the understanding of democracy as representation.

5.3.1 Democracy as Representation

This position defines democracy as governance with representative rulers, where people elect others who can make decisions on their behalf. This is reflected in varying responses across gender groups:

> It [democracy] is where we elect leadership as our representatives and they have to inform us before they make any decision. We have to participate in the process before decision making … governance has to respect the citizens by involving them

before they embark on any policy development and implementation (Transformation Resource Centre [TRC] educator, Maseru).

Others confirmed that this also meant that the electorates contribute to public decision making:

> …leaders from all corners are just representatives for the people, which is why it is government for the people by the people. It means that the people have a say in government and in issues that affect their lives in a country (Male politician, Qacha's Nek).

Some of the older community leaders emphasized leaders' responsibility and citizens' duties and generally gave positive definitions of democracy:

> Elected leaders should understand that they have to participate in governance and issues of development in their country. The citizens also need to understand and know what ought to happen plus what is right (Female chief, Qacha's Nek).

> It is where citizens are not told what to do or expect, instead they are the ones to determine what they want and how … I would strongly request people to respect democracy because it gives people a say in the decisions that affect their lives (Female politician, Qacha's Nek).

> It is the way where governance is in such a manner that people contribute towards how they are governed. It is government for the people by the people only when the people take part in issues that affect them or in governance issues (Development for Peace Education [DPE] educator, Maseru).

The introduction of democracy is articulated here as having brought freedom, which includes the notion that all eligible citizens can vote in elections and choose their representatives through electoral democracy, which is now practiced in Lesotho.

5.3.2 Democracy as Freedom

An understanding of democracy as freedom revealed dimensions of freedom of speech and participation that were mentioned by respondents. This has been illustrated by comments from leaders, educators and citizens across both genders in both districts. In considering freedom of speech they revealed:

> … Freedom of speech is allowed: [for] the media and the people, while in the past [The period after 1970 until before democratic rule in 1993] people were kidnapped

… people are now having freedom of speech without fear like in the past [before 1993] (Male, IEC educators' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

Currently people have freedom to say what they want while it was not like that in the past before democratic rule in 1993. Any person is [now] free to complain about others while that was not happening in the past. [Even] Chiefs who misused people by sending them somewhere, [now] know that people are free to agree or to refuse. In the past we [people] were not aware of our rights and responsibilities … it was authoritarian [rule] in the past during military rule and [even] before it (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Maseru).

Freedom of speech is contrasted with the past time, during BNP rule after the 1970 elections, when the leader refused to cede power and ruled by force (Khaketla, 1971; Machobane, 2001; Makoa, 2014). People could not discuss their opinions freely against those of the government, because if they did so they were kidnapped, sent to exile, or heavily punished. That suppression of the views and opinions of people extended to the era of military rule, which took place from 1986 until early 1993 when political parties were banned (Khaketla, 1971; Machobane, 2001; Makoa, 2014). The latter ruled by giving orders that were followed without questioning or acting against them. That oppression is not easily forgotten because that period lasted such a long time, from the post-independence rule by BNP from 1970 to 1986, until it was further extended by military rule in 1986 to 1993. Included in this past period is the era of traditional rule by chiefs, until 1993, when Lesotho returned to democratic rule. This period was enjoyed by one elite group of people, who were chiefs (BNP is formed mostly by chiefs; even most civil service positions were occupied by chiefs, including the military, who extended violation of rights and freedoms). The commoners, who were members of the BCP and were the opposition party to BNP, were the ones who suffered acts of human rights violations.

Regarding freedom of participation, a chief in Maseru said:

It [democracy] means freedom of people who would participate and have a say in development issues (Male chief, Maseru).

When decisions are made in one's presence it is easy to own them like other citizens because of the contribution that one has made. One becomes free … especially in contributing at the public gatherings (Female citizen, Maseru).

It is evident that respondents understand democracy as freedom, which means that citizens are free to do and say what they want without any restriction, which was not the case during the post-colonial period that lasted for 23 years before Lesotho became a democratic country. A female citizen in a focus group of the elderly in Qacha's Nek even said "we now express our interests more freely than in the past before democracy was introduced." This shows that the citizens were controlled during authoritarian rule, but now they exercise their freedom in a democratic state. Both respondents in Maseru and Qacha's Nek revealed similar opinions regarding their understanding of democracy as freedom, meaning that, in both contexts the citizens had been affected in similar ways regarding the restrictions towards exercising their political rights in the past. For some Maseru based respondents, this freedom came with advantages that benefitted all citizens.

5.3.3 Democracy as Growth and Development

Democracy was also explained as having brought certain advantages to different people in terms of personal growth or wider development. This was only mentioned by respondents in Maseru, perhaps due to their higher level of literacy, knowledge and exposure to a wider resource of information giving institutions. Therefore, respondents in Maseru felt that democracy had brought advantages that had not been there during authoritarian rule. These respondents claimed that the environment had changed and people had benefitted from that change. They expressed their views as follows:

> It [democracy] enables a person to grow and display one's own talents … it gives liberty and when exercised correctly that is a great improvement for a person because capabilities and potential are shown fully (TRC educator, Maseru).

> Democracy brings development, people do things for themselves and they change with changing times because of civilization (Male citizen, Maseru).

> It [democracy] has brought empowerment, shared responsibilities between citizens and government (Male citizen, Maseru).

The introduction of democracy has therefore been seen by some as according citizens a better treatment, which has improved their capacities and abilities beyond what they had experienced during the undemocratic rule of BNP and the subsequent military rule. People started to show and advance their potential in a favourable democratic environment that allowed them to do so. There was an element of inclusion and fair treatment of citizens

which had not been happening before this latter democratic period. The respondents stated that people were given chances to further their studies and sponsorships were provided upon merit instead of favouring the chosen few who belonged to a ruling government. Respondents further stated that some even joined the associations of their choice and also participated in civil society groups freely without being intimidated. However, these perceptions were not universal amongst the respondents. The issues of conflict and oppression during the dictatorship period introduced tension that appears to still linger. Some observations suggested that the current exercising of freedom by some citizens has been abused.

5.4 Tensions Brought by Democracy

There were sentiments expressed by some participants that during the traditional era, some things like decision making were actually more democratic than in this current officially designated democratic regime. There is a strong time-oriented dimension to the findings, as respondents kept referring to the lost past, which was compared with the present. Some participants expressed their concern about public participation and how that is not taking place according to the Lesotho Constitution of 1993, which is the supreme law in the country and also serves as a legal benchmark. It appears, from the data that the respondents feel that the politicians do not want to enlighten citizens on popular participation. This concurs with Maathai (2009) and Abdi's (2008) observations that political elites deliberately fail to improve the socio-political and economic situations amongst their citizens. The respondents expressed their concern regarding several tensions that were brought by democracy. These are here categorised as: the abuse of governance; democracy as modernisation and new information; erosion of traditional cultural values; children's behaviour; gender equality; exercising of rights; democracy as inadequately taught and misinterpreted.

5.4.1 The Abuse of Governance

The respondents expressed their concern about decision making processes for the laws that are passed in parliament. They expressed their observations in different ways:

> Our parliament is not democratic because members of parliament were supposed to get the mandate from the people on any matter before they make decisions, in terms of theoretical understanding of democracy. But practically they implement

decisions that come from them [members of parliament]. The laws that are passed by the parliamentarians are not addressing the needs and interests of people. They only pass the laws that address their personal needs only. I have never seen MP [member of parliament] in my community coming to us at the community [level] with the purpose of getting the mandate from us, it has not happened. Even the decisions made are not communicated to us as citizens (Male citizen, Maseru).

There is a sense, therefore, that people understand that even though they elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf, they are aware that people still have a right to participate in the process of government decision making - not only through the election process, but as an ongoing interaction with politicians.

A DPE educator highlighted that section 20 (1) of the Constitution of Lesotho, which gives every citizen the right to participate in government, is not practiced as it should be. He felt there should be a public participation act. He explained this was necessary because bills are made into laws without giving people a chance to approve or disapprove of these acts. When referring to the codification of the law that deals with abortion, a controversial matter, he had this to say:

> People did not approve the passing of that bill but it was made law without considering whether people liked it or not. If there was a public participation act in place, people would use it to oppose that law at the judiciary level. Government or the executive branch is now governing as per their own interest and [government] disregards the people's interests because there is no room for public opinion (DPE educator, Maseru).

His concerns were echoed by others in Qacha's Nek, where a male educator compared the current regime unfavourably with the more consultative process of traditional chieftainship:

> In the public gatherings the citizens are currently provided with the decisions made, but during chiefdom system, decisions were taken from the citizens (Male educator, IEC focus group, Qacha's Nek).

And, in Maseru an educator bemoaned the fact that politicians did not even follow their own constitution:

> According to the constitution the upper house has to verify the laws that are made by the lower house before they become acts … But practically that does not happen because even the laws that they [upper house] feel unhappy about are still passed as bills and ultimately acts of law (LCN educator, Maseru).

Furthermore, there were indications that some laws should be reviewed and reformed so that they speak to the current times. In other words, some laws are outdated such as the Printing and Publication Act, 1967; the Sedition and Proclamation Act, 1967 and Chieftainship Act, 1968, among others; which do not reflect the modern democratic process:

> The present democracy does not unite the nation, but divides people and the present laws are outdated and have loopholes where it is very easy for people to form their own political parties…the laws are too relaxed (Male citizen, Maseru).

A major concern raised was that the current laws are too lenient and flexible in terms of allowing the formation of multiple political parties that break away from others and result in the division of people affiliated to different parties. Another male citizen, still in Maseru, echoed the same concern:

> …even the laws that are in place are outdated, and are not reviewed to be acclimatised with the current times.

From these participants' responses, it can be observed that democratically elected leaders are expected to function within the confines of the law, which is the constitution. However, it is further realised that citizens do not have the power or are not in a position to question the derailments by leaders who are not following the constitution. This indicates that government policies are embarked on with little or no regard for citizens, who resent being ignored, and also that the policies do not address the greatest needs of the people, but favour a few political elites. Although there is an increasing awareness by the citizenry that genuine democracy is embedded in the rule of law, it requires the will and commitment to the moral values of all people, more especially the elected leaders. From the above data it seems as if the Lesotho constitution, a supreme law of the country, is misplaced or is a legacy of colonial rule, which was never aligned to fit the African context because it did not accommodate the traditional practices and its system. These statements about the abuse of governance demonstrate that there are contradictions between theory and practice.

The respondents indicated that there is a contradiction with the theory of democracy as a social process in which people freely elect their members, and the practice of electing committee members/representatives of political parties that reflects undemocratic

practices. Most of the answers suggested that lip service is paid by politicians to the election of a government by the people, while in reality a pre-elected list of members, identified as a 'skeleton list', is usually compiled by internal members and then people are simply persuaded to elect members according to the list. This came out clearly from one of the politicians who said:

> In my observation, most of our people do not understand what democracy is … including some of the political leaders. The common example is when electing the committee members, where people are not freely exercising their freedom to choose the members by themselves but instead abide by a skeleton [list] made for them (Male politician, Qacha's Nek).

He added that, "it is a common saying that people have a say, while in reality it is the opposite because somebody chooses for them." This suggests that, even though there is an overt election process for government committees, in reality internal members have already elected the committee and people are simply expected to rubber stamp the process. In other words, they do not get a real choice. This practice, as outlined, contradicts the theories of liberal and electoral democracy (Blatter, 2008; Lindberg, 2006), because citizens do not freely elect their representatives. It was further stated, that even those elected representatives do not look after the interests of citizens, as revealed in the following quotations below. This has a serious implication for civic education in terms of fostering a more deliberative, republican role by citizens who could challenge these undemocratic practices. On undemocratic practice, a female educator in Qacha's Nek said:

> Those who are ruling, politicians are dominating the citizens/public more than it was done in the past. This government preaches freedom but in practice there is no freedom. They loan themselves large amounts of money, they travel in expensive cars with free fuel, which is payable without interest. They give themselves more privileges (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

In other words, freedom is seen as selective. The politicians are free to operate how they please, but the ordinary citizens barely have enough money to travel in the local minibus system of transport. This also points to how resources are used by public servants, as expressed by a male educator in Qacha's Nek:

> Government pushes people to become corrupt because they do not see any importance of saving the resources. This is because development is only seen and

visible among the few elected politicians [members of parliament] (Male, IEC educators' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

Another tension revealed was that only people who support the ruling party are seen to receive employment, to the extent that members of the opposition political parties are treated and regarded as 'enemies'. The responses from individual interviewees are triangulated from the different interview sources, indicating that these practices are rife and common among politicians throughout Lesotho. These actions impact on citizen freedoms and entitlements:

> Government should stop hiring their political party members. They should stop giving employment to the people who are in possession of [a] membership card of their political parties. People with skills and knowledge should be given employment without being discriminated against (Female, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> They do not want to step down from the leadership positions … Again they regard their opponents as their enemies … when there are employment opportunities, the opposition members are not recognized or given any positions because they are treated as enemies (Male politician, Qacha's Nek).

> Elected leaders only focus on their relatives, families and political party members when there are benefits or during employment (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Maseru).

The respondents, therefore, understand democracy in practice as including undemocratic practices of politicians at the expense of passive citizens. This indicates that the patronage networks are prevailing and corruption is rife, where politicians only consider their relatives and friends when filling positions of employment. Furthermore:

> The authorities [those in power] should reduce public spending which benefits them [alone], they should reduce their privileges … Government should review civil servant salaries (Male, IEC educators' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

These quotations reflect a situation where there are no checks and balances on how the government of the day performs and implements policies. The data show a case where a patronage network system is rife and citizens pay political allegiance to politicians. An example is that of unemployment, which continues to grow at an alarming rate amongst the youth (Nwafor, 2012) while government positions are filled on the basis of being a member

of the ruling political party; even for those with employment, living wages or workers' salaries have remained static, while inflation continues to drain the value of the inadequate amounts received. Makoa (2014) illustrated that the practice, by Lesotho's political elites, of using patronage networks to sustain their rule results in reproducing corruption and dishonesty.

Additionally, the undemocratic practice extends to official appointments, as articulated below by some respondents. This is where some non-elected members belonging to the ruling political party are appointed to the senate, which is the upper house of parliament, with the intention of being made cabinet ministers of the ruling government. Makoa (2014) refers to them as clients and supporters who extend the patronage politics. A male politician in Maseru revealed that:

> All different governments that we have had in place have been selfish in terms of allocating ministerial positions. The tendency of appointing people [non-elected members] from outside [parliament] into the Senate [House] with the intention of putting them in cabinet positions should stop.

Furthermore, the elected leaders are perceived to be pursuing their own goals and forgetting about public interests:

> If the ruling officials could avoid looking at themselves, we would develop as a country; they just go there to push their different agendas of building mansion houses or to feed their families and relatives (Female politician, Qacha's Nek).

> Other people [politicians] misuse others as their stepping stones, meaning that is exploitation on the side of those who do not understand, who just know how to vote with little knowledge that democracy does not end there but has to continue until when the next election day is pronounced (Male citizen, Maseru).

Irrespective of the respondents' understanding of democracy, the citizens had also not learnt how to challenge the situation, with the result that they saw themselves as disconnected passive observers:

> We just complain that we need to be informed but there is nothing we can do because they do not inform us. That is the same as the skeleton issue (a compiled pre-elected list of members) where we complain without taking action (Male politician, Maseru).

The above quote suggests that most citizens have adopted the culture of silence. This reflects a traditional, communitarian form of democracy in which citizens have been conditioned to act as good members of the electorate, obeying and being respectful of leaders while also showing limited responsibility and ability to challenge the status quo (Blatter, 2008; Maathai, 2009; Makoa, 2014; Ngozwana, 2014; Waghid, 2014). There are indications that these feelings are stronger than what the more constraining atmosphere of the focus groups could reveal (refer to Chapter 4). For instance, soon after a focus group dispersed one of the female members talked freely, elaborating on the misinformation given by a former political party leader who had lost his status after the recent national assembly elections of 2012. She said:

> Mr. M. is continuing to tell his followers that he has been cheated in the last elections; he keeps on saying that he won more constituencies but then these [other political parties] stole his government. He is busy mentioning that [the] IEC is going to hold fresh elections very soon. Mme, just imagine the rural people who do not understand what is happening, they take him seriously and think that indeed he has been cheated! (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

The findings reveal that political leaders are taking advantage of apathetic citizens and governing as they please. This suggests that politicians abuse governance without limits. The findings also reveal the extent to which political parties are weak and produce undemocratic, poor and ineffective leadership (Makoa, 2014; Matlosa & Sello, 2006; Ngozwana, 2014). It seems that there has been no clear strategy for teaching democracy when looking at the varied responses (further discussed in Chapter Seven). These findings portray a serious deficiency in democracy in Lesotho that should be addressed through civic education programmes. Without appropriate civic education it is difficult for stakeholders such as civil society organisations to help people influence decisions that affect their lives directly.

There are also tensions between democracy as a political practice as discussed in the themes in 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4.1; and democracy as a value or social process (see sections 5.4.3, 5.4.4, 5.4.5 and 5.4.6 below). These tensions have directly impacted on traditional communitarian values without any apparent educational interventions to bridge the transitions and their interaction with international laws on rights. The next section discusses some of the ongoing challenges that have occurred as a result of the modernisation that

coincided with democracy where new technology was seen to have caused several more tensions.

5.4.2 Democracy Associated with Modernisation and New Technology

The advent of democracy coincided with modernisation in both urban and rural areas. In many cases people equated democracy directly with the advent of new sources of information that are now provided to people compared with the past, where information given was very limited or shallow. When asked about the values that they were brought up with, and if those values have changed and what the causes of such changes were, the respondents felt that exposure to new experiences, lifestyles and different sources of information have all been brought by democracy, which has caused the changes. As a result, this new information is said to have brought tension, because it clashes with traditional practices that existed before the introduction of democracy. This is reflected in the following comments made by a male politician in Qacha's Nek, who revealed that:

> The change has been brought by the influence and exposure caused by interacting with other cultures. Watching televisions also contributed because people got interested in what they see happening in other cultures, things that take place in films, people copied those styles in their daily living … other people once they get educated they change their lifestyles and characters completely … they put themselves first [individually] and forget about connecting with other people.

> Modernisation has changed things like the radios, television and the exposure when we visit other countries. We have copied the lifestyle of other countries, their culture, and dress code … (Elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

The modern value system is understood to be composed of the set of values that are learnt through interaction with the West such as democratic systems, ethics and respect for public space and individual freedom on the personal level, including the cultural mix and influence:

> … lately the issue of knowledge and information that people have is good but also do us harm that result in [affecting our traditional] values of respect, dedication, hard-work that is diminishing (Male citizen, Maseru).

These sentiments were echoed in different ways by others, particularly in Maseru, where the availability of technology provides opportunities for greater exposure to outside influences:

I have realised that children do whatever they like. Parents teach values and responsibilities to their children. What is different is the environment where our children live in; there is media, peers, what they watch in televisions, everything that they access [on] Facebook to search for all what they want that parents do not even know about. This environment has destroyed those values and responsibilities that are liked by parents (IEC male educator, Maseru).

Similarly, a male citizen from Maseru highlighted the influence of different sources of information:

That change of behaviour resulted from the exposure we got from televisions and printed materials when people watch and read about certain things (Male citizen, Maseru).

Such influences are also perceived to come from the education that is provided. A female citizen from Maseru reflected how different cultures are brought into the education system:

People of today have adopted other people's cultures. Education has brought changes especially when people interact with others now, and then especially in schools (Female citizen, Maseru).

Such comments were reinforced by others:

It is because of the type of education that is provided to them [children] at schools that is a contributing factor where issues of values, norms and morals are relegated to the margin (Male LCN educator, Maseru).

The situation where we live causes people to mix because of the influence of other people's lifestyles and the type of education that prevails (Male IEC educator, Maseru).

On the issue of new education, a female chief pointed out that the source of informal education was no longer confined to the family or community and the content was thus less controllable:

In the past we were trained, taught and shown different things. They (teachers) gave us information that was enough for us to understand. In these days, our children are provided with knowledge about all things … our children know even the things that I did not expect them to know about. The example is sexuality issues … our children even watch such activities from the televisions and listen to the radios when sex issues are discussed (Female chief, Qacha's Nek).

It is apparent that people's understanding of democracy has also been shaped by the convergence of modernisation, new technology and information, all of which are blamed on democracy. This has been exacerbated by the imposition of democracy over people, which was a negotiated outcome between a few leaders, instead of being an organic, grassroots initiative. This has created more tension and is attributed to the cultural erosion by democracy.

5.4.3 Erosion of Traditional Cultural Values

Traditional Basotho living reflected communal and collective lifestyles, as is expressed in the Basotho proverb: 'a person is a person through other persons' and the practice of subsistence farming where the strong were expected to support the weak (refer to Chapter Two: Indigenous knowledge and *ubuntu/botho*). The introduction of democracy coincided with a capitalist economy, which promoted individualism. The respondents seemed to blame every problematic issue that contradicts traditional expectations on the introduction of democracy - which is seen as having destroyed Basotho's cultural values, including those that instilled discipline among children. To Basotho, the introduction of democracy has changed their traditional way of life in which everything was done communally and humanly. Democracy has introduced individualism, which is associated with too much freedom, killing the spirit of oneness and team work which reigned in the past. As a consequence, the respondents feel they have lost their past in terms of their traditional values and information-giving practices, as a result of democracy as in the following expression:

> Discipline has gone down because this started at schools where children were given eggs to eat. That made our children to refrain from maintaining Basotho values that ensured discipline among children and now they eat every kind of food including those that are rich in proteins like eggs … Parental sessions were regularly held and the way of talking to children was a very respectful one, which differs from how our children are told things in these days. For instance in the past our children grew up knowing that a newly born child in the family came from the dam. They were not taught about pregnancy or sex issues. But when you listen to the way children of today are given information, they know when someone is expectant, they know a lot about sex issues, showing that things have changed completely from how they were conducted in the past (Male councillor, Qacha's Nek).

The above quotation describes the traditional manner in which children were given information that overprotected them, which kept them from knowing about sensitive issues in the hope that they would remain naive. Consequently, children were expected to abstain from eating protein foods such as eggs as a way of reinforcing discipline among them; they were expected to perform traditional practices to show respect for others. This is what a female citizen stated to show how children have stopped the traditional values and practices.

> Nowadays girls eat every protein food and drink water while standing and perform other things, which we did not do in the past (Female citizen, Maseru).

> A child was raised by a community that would discipline her or him. We were taught not to eat while standing or vice versa. We were taught not to stand still at the door, not to eat protein food like eggs. We were to sit down or bend a knee when getting inside someone's place (Female, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

All these quotations show the traditional practices that were put in place as a way of ensuring discipline, particularly amongst girls. These were done in order to delay the early engagement of children (girls especially) in sexual activities by not giving them food with rich protein such as eggs. It was believed that by denying them these foods their bodies would delay the development into adulthood, which would prevent them from being sexually active. Democracy is blamed for bringing about the changes that allow children freedom to eat whatever they like without observing those values that were instilled traditionally. Democracy is seen as having given individuals, particularly children, freedom to exercise their choice and behaviour.

5.4.4 Children's Behaviour

Children, in present-day society, are seen by other respondents to behave differently from the expected manner, because, as a result of democracy that brought new information and rights, they appear to be entitled to raise questions. In the past, people were passive listeners who did not question the authorities, while today, children are critical about information that they receive and question it. This questioning is viewed as a challenge to tradition and the orders from authority figures. Waghid (2010, p. 111) asserts that "It is commonly accepted in African cultures that the authority of people in leadership positions should not be challenged." As articulated in section 5.4.3 above, tradition included respect

and obedience from children. This confirms Waghid's (2014) assertion that respect in *ubuntu* was associated with accepting the reliable truth of the elders. Children's questioning attitudes are also seen as an erosion of traditional values which is fuelled by modernisation and access to new information, as discussed in 5.4.2 above. An elderly female stated that:

> Schools have exerted a certain influence over children because they ask the 'why' questions if they are told about something. In our time we grew up not asking the 'why' questions. We were performing what we were told to do without wanting to know or asking for the reasons. We were given orders as children and we followed. Today's children want to know what will happen and they ask too much (Female, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

This suggests that some parents are challenged by the 'why' questions, as they may not have answers to them because they never sought for answers in their youth, acting passively as good, respectful children. Similarly, a view is expressed that today's children are no longer punished as children were in the past. Today children's punishment is associated with the abuse of children. The result is that children report punishment as a crime so that their parents can be dealt with according to the law. The respondents mentioned that these children now do as they like, meaning that they exercise their rights incorrectly, without becoming responsible for their actions:

> Nowadays children claim that they are abused when they are punished or beaten. The [democracy] information was wrongly disseminated; it confused people (Female, IEC educators' focus group Qacha's Nek).

This is believed to have resulted in disengagement by parents and schools from disciplining children:

> Democracy is not important because teachers at schools are not punishing the learners because of it [democracy] in fear that they [children] will report them to the police stations (Male, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> Parents also do not discipline or punish their children anymore because of democracy (Female elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> Even at schools teachers had to beat children when they were naughty but now since they [children] have rights and it is said that they are abused when punished, teachers now [simply] watch them [children] when they are misbehaving (Male politician, Maseru).

Some respondents in the more urban locations of Maseru did not blame democracy for the lack of discipline, but instead, were more critical of the parents who, they said, had neglected their responsibility of disciplining children. Here, the responses are contextualized, in the sense that learning about democracy has perhaps been institutionalized more effectively in Maseru where several democratic institutions are based, including civil society organisations, of which some respondents are members. This is an example of what some respondents said:

> Parents have relinquished their responsibility to someone else or to the system such as school teachers. Instead of being part and parcel of disciplining children they revert to the laws, rules and regulations to control and contain children (Mayor, Maseru).

In other words, parents no longer see that they have a responsibility to discipline their children. Communitarian living has been replaced by institutions and these are expected to exercise responsibility over morality and the upbringing of children. Moreover, children are seen to be exercising their rights and, as a result, they behave differently from children of the past, who did not have and also did not know about their rights and freedoms.

5.4.5 Exercising of Rights

Children are seen to have significantly changed their behaviour in terms of obedience to elders and acceptance of corporal punishment, which coincided with the introduction of democracy and resultant assertions of children that they now have rights which they have learnt about in school. The respondents refer to the children of today as 'children of democracy' because they have rights. When asked if democracy was taught to their children, a male councillor in Qacha's Nek responded by saying:

> I am not sure but I think so because they are children of democracy. Even though they live and practice it in a wrong way.

The notions of questioning and passivity appear once more as a tension. Passivity in adults today is seen as a negative quality, which does not challenge or question undemocratic practices, whereas, in terms of the values of respect, the quality of passivity in children was seen as a positive attribute of the past because it maintained social cohesion. However, the modern schooling system, which brought new information to children, encourages questioning which is seen as disrespectful. This reveals, once more, the need for an adult

civic education process, particularly in Qacha's Nek, that enables further discussion of these issues to learn about the role of questioning and critical thinking in a modern democratic context. For example:

> We did not have rights in my days while I was a child and we just listened to the elderly because we had respect. These children tell us that they have rights (Female politician, Qacha's Nek).

> When I grew up I did not know that I have rights because I was a child who was given orders, and mine was just to obey them without questioning anything from my parents (Female, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

A range of different responses across genders mentioned that children interpret their rights in a 'wrong' way, meaning that they believe there is confusion among children, their parents and possibly their teachers and other citizens as well.

> They misinterpreted their rights. Their understanding about rights is wrong (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> Information about children's rights and responsibilities was not properly disseminated. There was confusion about how to discipline children and how to punish them through beating them … information was wrongly disseminated; it confused people (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

This questioning, however, was revealed as critical thinking by the youth in Maseru who showed maturity when talking about children's rights. Perhaps this was a result of their exposure to progressive opportunities in the urban area. They indicated that they understood rights in terms of a need for mutual respect between young people and adults as follows:

> … Children would understand that parents are responsible to punish them [children] as enforcing good behaviour, instead of taking that as bad because of rights that they [children] have. Also parents would understand when children want or exercise their rights as a good thing instead of thinking of them as children of rights. If they [rights] were correctly introduced it would make life easier and parents and children would understand each other (Male, young citizens' focus group, Maseru).

The youth in Maseru were of the opinion that information about rights was not domesticated or contextualised to make it fit with Basotho culture, tradition, values and norms. They refer to rights as a development that came from outside, meaning from other

countries, and this is the reason why it confused people. These tensions continue to be played out in relation to understanding the meaning of gender equality.

5.4.6 Gender Equality

Although respondents now see democracy in terms of equal rights for men and women, there were ambivalent feelings about whether this was a positive or negative development. Males and females are seen as equal in terms of owning property, for example:

> It [democracy] means equality for both males and females as their freedom. Democracy gives every person their natural rights. Before equality could be implemented, a woman could not get into the kraal to sell a cow even if she did not have money to fend for her family, with her children, without the permission of her husband, (Male councillor, Qacha's Nek).

> Property can now be inherited by both children - boys and girls - as long as it is their parents' wish. In the past inheritance was passed among male children only. Currently women can even be granted loans from the banks without being authorised by their husbands (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Maseru).

However, one young woman saw gender rights as creating other inequalities in practice:

> In the past days while we were growing we used to see our mothers staying at home as house wives but they were still supported by our fathers. But these days when we are housewives our partners complain and tell us to look for jobs and stop just eating and depending on their support. It means that all people have equal rights (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

This indicates that with the introduction of democracy, which in turn brought about equality, men are now seen to be taking the liberty of asking their partners to contribute to the household income, which had never happened before the introduction of democracy when men were the sole bread winners. There is a cultural contradiction in this democratic notion of equality, because, according to Basotho culture, a man is the head of family while a woman is subordinate, indicating that equality is not practiced totally, as the male head is the one to determine the decisions according to his belief. This reveals that the whole idea of women's rights and democracy was not domesticated in order to enable Basotho to understand how the terms interlink with the traditional roles and practices of both men and women.

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Furthermore, democracy has been viewed as the cause of insecurity and stigma for men who see it as an erosion of their power because of their not wanting to accept the change in the status women and their resulting upliftment from patriarchal oppression:

> In families democracy protects women and children; it gives equality to both women and men alike, which is not good as men become sensitive when they hear the word [democracy]. It took power from males to give it to females (Male, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

Nowadays, even women are regarded as disrespectful when they exercise their rights:

> Women are disrespectful because of the rights. When there are minor issues they just think of divorcing their partners. Democracy is not good at all (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

These respondents, therefore, illustrated that they understand democracy as a convenient scapegoat that has destroyed their past traditional practices and values. This is despite the benefits brought by democracy of inclusiveness and equality among others, and shows that the transition was not well communicated and that democracy is not well entrenched in the popular consciousness of Basotho. Therefore, there is an urgent need for better and sustained civic education to rectify the disjuncture. The resultant knowledge and understandings of democracy in practice, thus remain confused and also play out in other ways as continued misinformation that was inadequately taught and therefore misinterpreted in both urban and rural areas, as the next section shows.

5.4.7 Democracy as Inadequately Taught and Misinterpreted

There is a sense in which Basotho feel that their acceptance and use of democratic principles and rights is partially influenced by the disinformation they are given which they passively accept. However, the previously discussed sections show that there are participants who have a sharp critical lens shaping their views. This is illustrated by their ability to discern issues of corruption as well as disinformation that is provided by politicians. Perhaps some citizens accept the disinformation that is given by politicians because they follow the traditional style of learning and living, through which they maintain their loyalty to leaders, and act passively by being good citizens who accept whatever the information they are told without being critical. This raises the question that the participants understand what democracy should be, but apparently, the majority of older

citizens who have been socialized into an authoritarian post-colonial system that created passive citizens, act silently as good people who listen and obey their leaders. If that is the case, it suggests that there is need for civic education for adults in Lesotho that can be tailored in different forms for different categories of citizens: young and old, rural and urban. Categories of citizens should include the politicians who make empty promises to the public during their political campaigns and in their election manifestos (see Chapter Seven section 7.3). However, citizens remain passive in that they do not publicly demonstrate or write letters of complaint about the empty promises. This shows that they have not been able to learn effectively about how democracy should operate. This is reflected in their varying responses across different sectors of society (ordinary citizens, civic educators, community leaders):

> We have not been taught democracy here in Lesotho … we just follow even if we can become aware that politicians are lying (Male citizen, Qacha's Nek).

> … Politicians … give wrong information to the public (Male, IEC educators focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> The public has not been taught about democracy at all. Politicians are aware that the public is not aware of the correct information; they take advantage of people not having knowledge (Male, elderly citizens' group, Qacha's Nek).

> Democracy is not practiced, we are not given education about it [democracy] we just hear the word from the radios (Male chief, Maseru).

In most cases, politicians promise the public that they will deliver certain services once they are elected as members of parliament; this shows that the public are not well informed about the three arms of government: the legislature, executive and judiciary, and their functions in representative democracy. It is evident that without a clear understanding of how these arms of government function, there are greater chances of misinterpretation by the majority in terms of what and how democracy should operate. A politician and a mayor expressed their concern as follows:

> We just preach democracy when speaking but do not put it in practice because we do not clearly understand it … An example to show that as people we don't understand it, when people can see me wearing my DC [Democratic Congress political party] t-shirt going along Kingsway [Road] they can make comments and nasty remarks and insult me (Male politician, Maseru).

There is lack of understanding … and misinterpretation of democracy in respect of what people expect. People use democracy to conveniently suit them (Mayor, Maseru).

The above quotations reveal that there is still confusion about how people should behave in a democratic society where there are differences and diverse interests regarding multiple political parties. This indicates that the level of political tolerance is low amongst citizens. This is why some may ridicule others who they see wearing political party colours. However, there are people who were able to critically give their views and opinions regarding how democracy can best be practiced as opposed to those who blame it for the existing changes.

5.5 Critical Thinking about Democratic Practice

Some respondents showed sufficient understanding and knowledge to be able to make recommendations for a more relevant form of democracy for Lesotho. This theme emanated from the Maseru respondents, who represented the urban context. This can be attributed to the level of exposure they have to information, which differs from the rural based respondents in Qacha's Nek, although it must be noted that all respondents were free to move from place to place, since they were not confined to one area.

In Maseru, these responses clearly came from IEC educators, who are mainly responsible for offering civic education programmes countrywide. It is, therefore, assumed that they are knowledgeable enough to give a critical view of how democracy should be practiced and be taught to the citizens of Lesotho. They spoke about the structure of parliament itself. This is what they reflected:

To me Senate House is not necessary. It would be good if they [Senate members] were based at the local level instead of being centrally based. Instead we should have an elected Senate that can be used as checks and balances. That can be done in quotas where women, youth, principal chiefs, the disabled, academicians and others can be represented. I would say that our democracy is growing and brings improvement if Senate House can also be elected. As of now that is still imposition of people over people (Male, IEC educator, Maseru).

Senate House is the upper house of parliament, which consists of twenty-two principal chiefs (non-elected traditional leadership) and eleven appointees/nominees by the king

acting in accordance with the advice of the Council of State (Government of Lesotho, 1993).
It is in relation to the eleven appointees that a male politician in Maseru raised a concern,
that people who belong to the ruling government of the day as members, are nominated to
Senate House with the intention of being made Ministers in the Executive Branch of
government. Here too, the IEC educator viewed the idea of nominees as the imposition of
people over people, and hence, the proposal he makes that members of Senate House
should be elected just like members of the national assembly.

Another IEC educator discussed democracy in terms of its relationship to rights and
responsibilities:

> Democracy is not bad. Parents have given their children unwanted and unnecessary
> freedom, which they do not need … in return parents like to put blame upon
> democracy by pinpointing the syllabus in schools, they blame televisions, radios and
> again the society contributes to raise our children. Parents should blame themselves
> for not taking responsibility of raising their children well (Female, IEC educator,
> Maseru).

Her opinion was corroborated by a male citizen who expressed the lack of responsibility by
parents and the lack of social cohesion:

> Parents do not exercise their responsibility of ensuring that they discipline their
> children, they are unfair, and they do not groom their children well … It is the way
> parents raise their children today that differs from the past. The main issue is lack of
> responsibility and family cohesion. The issue of blaming democracy is just a brain
> wash (Male citizen, Maseru).

Another comment from Maseru revealed a deeper understanding about the value of
engaging in critical thinking, especially by children:

> At first children were not free and did not know about their rights; however, they are
> now being critical. They know that they should not be sent … like to buy liquor for
> adults. This came as a result of domestic abuse as well as child abuse that were
> regularly reported in our country. …these children know their rights and they ask
> questions, which I think it is good because it means we will have critical people who
> do not just follow but ask and evaluate before performing certain acts (Female, IEC
> educator, Maseru).

Indeed there seemed to be a less blame on democracy by the respondents from the urban
context in Maseru, as indicated in the above quotations. Although traditional values still

seemed to be threatened by the onset of democracy, religion seemed to play a stabilising part in the current context in upholding democratic laws within the current democratic context, as indicated by Maseru participants. The female mayor commented:

> Our Christian life supersedes the laws and the structures because it promotes a person's stability, healthy living, welfare … our economic development and democracy is enforced by our Christian beliefs.

Similarly, another Maseru based IEC educator related how she uses Christianity as a means of helping her understand and promote democracy.

> I was taught religion; we were singing and even had a family choir that sang hymns. In the past I used to become emotional when talking about political issues … I now bring different political parties to meet and discuss about national issues. I instil in them that we are all Basotho. I think that has helped me because I always quote the Lord's Prayer (Female, IEC Educator, Maseru).

It is observed from these responses that democracy is seen, on the one hand, as contributing to an elimination of cultural oppression of women and children that helped in the uplifting of their position from patriarchal oppression. On the other hand, democracy is blamed for the cause of social dysfunctionality because it is eroding traditional codes of behaviour. This reflects a transition from communitarian forms of democracy where traditional values of collectiveness and interconnectedness within a society/community appear to be eroding, as reflected in the conceptual framework in Chapter Three(Arthur, 2000; Cawthra et al., 2007; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). Below is the summary of responses regarding how democracy is understood by both Qacha's Nek and Maseru respondents.

Table 6: Comparative Summary Table Showing how Democracy is Understood

Democracy Themes	Qacha's Nek	Maseru
Understanding of traditional democracy		
• Democracy was practiced	√	√
• Non- Practice of Democracy	√	√
• Democracy as an interim practice		√
Understanding of modern democracy		
• Democracy as representation	√	√
• Democracy as freedom	√	√
• Democracy as growth and development		√
Tensions brought by democracy		
• Abuse of governance	√	√

	√	√
• Democracy as modernisation and new technology	√	√
• Erosion of traditional cultural values	√	√
• Children's behaviour	√	√
• Exercising rights	√	√
• Gender equality	√	√
• Democracy as inadequately taught and misinterpreted	√	√
Critical thinking about democracy		√

From the above summary table, respondents in both the rural and urban contexts demonstrate an understanding of traditional democracy as it is practiced and is not being practiced. Only respondents in Maseru show an understanding of the transitional phase to modern democracy. All respondents show an understanding of modern democracy, with democracy as representation and democracy as freedom. Respondents in Maseru show their appreciation of these aspects and about democracy as growth and development. With regard to tensions that are associated with democracy, all respondents provide evidence of these. Maseru respondents, however, particularly the IEC educators, demonstrate additional critical thinking about how democracy should be practiced, which is not the case from Qacha's Nek respondents. The following discussion compares the findings and discusses these in terms of relevant literature and the conceptual framework that is outlined in Chapter Three.

5.6 Discussion

In the above, data reflects democracy as understood in various ways by the respondents of the study, with few differences between Qacha's Nek and Maseru District. On the one hand there is a sense that traditional democracy was more democratic than the modern regime because it reflected a bottom up process of rule and decision making through consultation between chiefs and the populace, albeit age and gender biased. In contrast, modern democracy, although ostensibly a representative democracy through bottom-up elections, in practice appeared to be a top-down, a less consultative process of rule and decision making. The strong feelings held by some respondents did suggest that this imposed, and more individualistic, form of governance for Lesotho has paid insufficient attention to the communitarian nature of traditional forms of democracy. Indeed there are indications that democracy is, at best, an imperfect form, as reflected in the famous phrase that has been

attributed to the former UK prime minster, Sir Winston Churchill that "democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the others" (Langworth 2009).

On the other hand, this position was not universally held. For instance, chiefs who succeeded after Moshoeshoe died tended to impose ideas (copying the experiences of colonialism) rather than consult and they were held responsible for manipulating the new democratic regime as politicians. Below is the table for conceptual framework for democracy, originally developed in Chapter Three, that is used as a conceptual lens for this discussion.

Table 5: Conceptual Framework for Democracy

DEMOCRACY			
Emphases/aspects of democracy	Value (Blatter, 2008; Cawthra et al., 2007; Hazoume, 1999; Khaketla, 1971; Machobane, 2001; Makoa, 2014; Pacho, 2013)	Social process (Blatter, 2008; Cawthra et al., 2007; Jarvis, 2008; Kabemba, 2003; Kelly, 1995; Khembo, 2004; Lindberg, 2006)	Political practice (Blatter, 2008; Bohman, 1996; Cawthra et al., 2007; Held, 2006; Kelly, 1995; Matlosa, 2008; Pacho, 2013)
Examples of democracy theories	Communitarian democracy	Liberal democracy and electoral	Republicanism and deliberative
Participation	Collective and voluntary in family, church etc	Rights and freedoms of citizens; stresses individuality	Political and direct decisions and in civil society organisations
Citizen responsibility	Limited responsibilities by citizens, good and interconnected as a society/community	Limited responsiveness by citizens, emphasises citizens legal rights and obligations under framework of law	Full responsibility by citizens Republicans put state first
Citizen roles	Obey and respect laws, leaders; act collectively	Elect representatives to look after their interests	Actively participate in policymaking decisions
Institutions	Family, church, khotla, public gathering	Executive government, legislature/parliament, judiciary	Political/public assembly

The respondents' understandings are mostly informed by historical events that took place in the past and by what later transpired as a result thereof. It is apparent that the post-colonial phase has resulted in a number of changes in the way society operates, including the change

of governance and the consequent loss of cultural values. The respondents talked about their understanding of traditional democracy. Gill (1993), Pule and Thabane (2002), Waghid (2014), Ngozwana (2014) and Khaketla (1971) point out that during chiefdom rule in Lesotho, decisions were communicated downward from the government to the people, and upward from the people to the government. Democracy was practiced in public gatherings by both leaders and followers when discussing issues that affected their lives. This practice fits well with the communitarian theory of democracy, where citizens collectively and voluntarily participate in decisions affecting their lives, as shown in the conceptual framework above. This suggests that civic education is needed to bridge the gap between traditional and modern practices by shaping such practices through broader, more inclusive and hybrid understandings.

However, the respondents also revealed that chiefs who succeeded the Basotho founder, Chief Moshoeshoe I, refrained from involving the citizens in the process of decision making. As a consequence, their understanding of traditional democracy was that democracy was no longer being practiced. This is because they saw chiefs imposing their own ideas over people, thus contradicting a communitarian democratic practice, which is outlined in Chapter Three according to Blatter (2008) and Pacho (2013). The transitional phase from the traditional to the modern understanding of democracy was mentioned by respondents in the urban Maseru District. In this phase, they believe, a few political elites negotiated for power and self-governance from the colonists and thereafter Lesotho was granted independence. The respondents in Maseru seemed to be more critical about Lesotho's historical events, perhaps because of their higher level of education and their exposure to different sources of information such as libraries and mass media, compared to respondents in Qacha's Nek, who did not mention the transitional phase.

Basotho have traditionally lived under a communitarian way of life where people are connected with one another. The introduction of democracy was not a homegrown initiative emerging from a popular struggle, but could be attributed to the imposition of the results of negotiations between political elites and colonialists before Lesotho achieved her independence. The prevailing tide of democracy is, thus, seen as an invasion of that communitarian way of living, and which has brought such confusion and misinformation to citizens, in their interpretation of their rights and obligations under the framework of laws.

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This is aligned to how the introduction of democracy was articulated by some politicians and other citizens.

The respondents expressed their understanding of modern democracy as representation and freedom. This is how respondents elaborated on their political rights of electing leaders to represent them and look after their interests, as tabulated in the democracy conceptual framework under the notion of citizen roles and democracy as a social process. Furthermore, democracy as freedom was illustrated by respondents as how citizens exercised their freedom of speech and freedom of participation without restriction in a non-threatening environment by joining political parties and associations of their choice. This is also reflected in the table under democracy as a social process.

The findings identified a theme of democracy as representation, which the respondents demonstrated as their understanding of Lesotho's electoral type of democracy, which is considered to be a minimal form of democracy. In this type of democracy, there is limited responsibility by citizens, whose roles are focused on respect for laws, loyalty to leaders and good behaviour. Therefore, the interview responses supported the liberal form of democracy, as described in the literature (Cawthra et al., 2007; Kabemba, 2003; Khembo, 2004). Table 5 once more reflects this form of democracy as a social process rather than, for instance, as a political practice.

Maseru District respondents, additionally, showed their appreciation of democracy as growth and development, while this was not mentioned in Qacha's Nek District. Respondents in the urban context saw democracy to have brought liberation and development to citizens in terms of the freedom and equality which they enjoy. Clearly, the difference in the responses between Maseru and Qacha's Nek District implies that there is a need for tailor made civic education programmes for adults who reside in rural and urban contexts, which would start at the level of where citizens are and what they know in their understanding. This also shows that democracy has to incorporate the cultural context of people, particularly those who live in the rural areas like Qacha's Nek, where they still rely on a traditional way of life.

It was found that democracy, in practice, was understood to have brought several tensions to the country. The respondents used the illustration of the abuse of governance, where

leaders seemed to be personalizing offices and thereby providing services only to those with patronage networks with them, instead of addressing the interests of all people. This is supported by Matlosa (2008) and Makoa (2014), who describe Lesotho politics in terms of the personal interests of politicians who focus on developing themselves into political parties, thus perpetuating corruption. These findings also support the view expressed by Abdi (2008) and Shizha and Abdi (2013), that citizens do not have much say in either the government structure or the economic interactions that mostly determine their lives, which amounts to the abuse of governance. This is attributed to the way adult citizens were socialized into an authoritarian post-colonial system that oppressed them. The above finding indicates that democracy is manipulated to the advantage of the political leaders. The practice outlined in the above findings, where there is a contradiction between theory and practice in which people do not freely elect their members, but abide by the pre-elected list of members identified as a 'skeleton list' contradicts the theories of liberal and electoral democracy because citizens do not freely elect their representatives (Blatter, 2008; Lindberg, 2006). Even those elected representatives do not look after the interests of citizens (Jarvis, 2008). Citizens, too, do not engage those representatives by participating in policy and decision making, both of which are elements of electoral democracy that is practiced in Lesotho. These responses illustrate that the potential values of a modern form of liberal democracy are neither well practiced nor well understood.

The findings reflect several tensions that were brought about by democracy, including its association with modernisation and new information technology. This was also associated with further tensions where democracy was blamed for the erosion of traditional cultural values. This blame was shown by the respondents to illustrate how democracy has given individuals freedom to exercise their choice under the findings that stipulated children's behaviour, the exercising of rights and gender equality. Lesotho is still in transition from a patriarchal society to the present democratic one where men and women are equal under the law and therefore can equally exercise their rights and freedoms. Gender and children's rights were introduced two years after the first democratic elections in 1993, which took place after the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference. The conference promoted the advancement of women's empowerment. It has been found that in Lesotho, gender equality is a challenge as far as culture is there because it was not contextualised for citizens to grasp

and understand it well. This information coincided with the advent of democracy in Lesotho and has contributed to catapulting elements of democratic rights into the traditional arena with little time for changes to evolve organically. The status of women changed rapidly from being minors and the property of men (according to customary law) to becoming decision makers who could access power and economic independence. The findings confirmed what the literature suggests in terms of equal treatment of both men and women, in particular when exercising their political rights (Cawthra et al., 2007; Kelly, 1995; Lindberg, 2006). Children, too, behave differently from children of the past, as a result of democracy that brought new information and technology, and have become more critical. The findings revealed that democracy is blamed for according children rights and freedoms to exercise their choices. This implies that the need for civic education that can enable discussions where adults can learn about the importance of critical mindedness in children in a modern democratic society.

The findings also revealed that respondents understand that democracy has been inadequately taught and misinterpreted. This has been shown in the data where citizens stated that they are misinformed by politicians, who then take advantage of their passive behaviour of being good citizens who are loyal to their leaders (Maathai, 2009). This is exacerbated by the type of civic education that is provided in Lesotho (see Chapter Two and Seven). Lastly, the respondents in urban Maseru showed critical thinking about democracy, which was not raised among Qacha's Nek respondents. In Maseru they went further with recommendations on how parliament could function and how civic education could be provided. The fact of their being critical on issues affecting them may be attributed either to their level of knowledge, or because of situated learning, where activities take place in infrastructures based in Maseru like parliament, where they actually see what happens and therefore learn differently about democracy, compared with other respondents in the rural context. Another factor may be as a result of their expert knowledge as civic educators who work for the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and who are lawfully mandated to provide civic education in Lesotho. It has been noted that respondents in the urban context illustrated a more positive view about democracy in terms of it bringing development, redress and inclusiveness, where values such as freedom and equality for both males and females are now practiced. The exercising of rights, especially in relation to children and

gender, liberated both women and children from the historical and customary tradition of oppression and patriarchy, where the former were regarded as minors who were dependent on males for various issues: social, economic, cultural and politically. In contrast, respondents in the rural areas more consistently spoke about democracy in a negative way, where it was seen to have destroyed traditional and cultural values. Values of equality, freedom and rights challenged traditional inequalities. The notion that all individuals have equal rights appeared threatening and disrespectful of social cohesion.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that there is a deficiency in democracy and fragility in Lesotho, where liberal democracy has brought bitter sweet conditions and there is difficulty in blending together the modern notions of democratic governance and the traditional way of life of a homogeneous society of Basotho. The traditional democracy emphasized collective responsibility in order to enhance the strength of the community. This chapter illustrated that the past traditional democracy operated as a bottom up approach where consultations were made before collective, consensus decisions could be reached by both chiefs and adult males (Gill, 1993; Khaketla, 1971; Ngozwana, 2014; Pule & Thabane, 2002; Waghid, 2014). Culture consisted of deeply rooted practices and values that cannot shift in a short space of time, therefore democratisation disturbed the prevailing traditional structures of authority and replaced them with elected leaders. Therefore, the transition to modern democracy brought values that conflict with traditional values because they were never successfully merged. Instead, there is a psychological competition where political elites band together and control and profit from the masses, the majority of whom are poor.

The political elites divided Basotho through the different political ideologies - of BNP who preferred chiefs and BCP who were not in favour of chiefs - and these politicians controlled the passive citizens who seemed to have put their trust and respect in these party leaders (Maathai, 2009; Waghid, 2010). The state of marginalisation of the citizenry in the entire policy process, through corruption, the prevalent patronage system and nepotism among others, is worse than disturbing, indicating the political domination of decisions in governance. Furthermore, the culture of silence is also deeply rooted among the citizenry,

especially in rural areas, but also in urban areas even with the existence of civil society organisations, while there are also some who engage in policy advocacy work.

There is an element of resistance to change from a patriarchal society to becoming a democratic society where rights and freedoms are exercised by all individuals alike. This was illustrated by reactions to democracy in relation to children's rights and gender equality. New education that has enabled children (and women) to behave differently is blamed on democracy. There is a sense that misinformation about the exercising of children's rights and legal misinterpretation caused confusion among citizens. The responses heavily blame democracy for eroding culture and for disinformation that is provided by politicians where democracy is seen almost as a villain. The responses have implications for how civic education is provided by the IEC and other providers, where disinformation and manipulation by politicians is rife because of the absence of civic education, which goes beyond the mere mechanics of voting processes.

The findings demonstrate the need for a democratic society with informed political participation, well trained civic educators and citizens who can critically challenge the status quo, and thus, help people in their transition from a communitarian focus to a more deliberative form of democracy. The findings also indicate a need for more open and frank discussion about traditional communitarian values, why they served their purpose and to what extent such values could play a part in a modern democracy. This implies, also, the need for a planned and structured civic education programme, which should play a role in promoting democracy and citizenship by enlarging human choices and voices, while giving correct information, skills and knowledge to a passive electorate.

The findings indicate that there has, however, been some cultural, political and social liberation as a result of democracy. This has been shown where Lesotho has experienced a transition from the social and cultural practices of patriarchy and from the oppressive dictatorship rule to democratic rule, which brought certain freedoms and development, especially to urban citizens who enjoy inclusiveness, equality and freedom of speech, which was not the case in the past. The findings further indicate that democracy is equated with equality and freedom that allows the participation of citizens in issues that affect their lives. This is reflected in gender equality and the exercising of rights where women are now able

to own property and contribute to the household income through employment like their male counterparts. However, efforts to promote good and effective governance in African countries, particularly Lesotho, have currently failed to achieve a synergy between the modern notions of democratic governance and traditional African forms of political and social organisation. These systems are not mutually exclusive. Democratic behaviour must be learnt continually, in families, through mass media, in community based groups and institutions.

Democracy has been understood as reflecting three key issues: as a way of life, as a socio political process and as an outcome. Firstly, as a way of life certain values have to be exercised socially and culturally by all individuals. However, in this, there is a danger that the traditional African values of *botho*/*ubuntu* overemphasised the value of respect that seemed to have been used by elite politicians to their advantage. The politicians controlled citizens by nurturing their patriotism, loyalty and passivity, as people who obeyed and respected authority, particularly leaders. The value of respect included an element that did not challenge, but cherished adults and authorities such as leaders (Waghid, 2010, 2014). This was evident after the 2012 elections when the former leader, having lost, pronounced that he had won the elections, but claimed the IEC had cheated him of victory. Moreover, there is evidence in the findings that politicians give false information and mislead people while the latter do not challenge them. What determines the notion of respect is often conflated with obedience in African contexts. Hence, the culture of silence is deep-rooted, thus supressing the critical minds of the populace.

Secondly, democracy has been understood as a socio-political process where the activity of electing representative leaders is undertaken by different individuals in society who also exercise their political rights. Comparatively, African perspective of *botho*/*ubuntu* seems to be viewed differently by African countries and therefore is enacted and understood differently by citizens, while political elites seem to have used it in order to control citizens to their advantage. The fact that *botho*/*ubuntu* stresses the idea that 'a person is a person through other persons', which means the interdependency and connectedness of the individual with others, has limited the thinking capacity of most individual citizens to act individually. It suggests they would rather opt for acting in concert with others, including when there is a need to challenge the status quo. This is evident in the silence of citizens

and civil society organisations in the face of the abusive governance by politicians. Civic education providers showed their awareness of unjust practices by politicians, but also did not exercise their responsibilities of challenging controversial action by political elites. It seems, therefore, that generalisations were made about ideas related to *botho/ubuntu* in terms of values of respect for self and others.

Third and lastly, democracy is seen as an outcome, which reflects the political rule where leaders exercise their authority of governing a country. This is where citizens are included only in the decision of voting for their representative leaders. This means that citizens elect leaders to govern, but without the involvement in how those leaders should govern, which ought to happen by public participation in developing policies that affect their lives and interests.

Nevertheless, it has been observed that education in general and civic education in particular has not brought the populace properly into a liberal or republican form of democracy where representatives are elected to look after community interests. Likewise, if citizens are able to exercise their rights and freedoms, then this has to be seen within the context of responsibility and active participation in policy decision making. This suggests that civic education should bridge the gap between traditional and modern practices. This lack of proper education has affected the Basotho's citizenship identity in several ways where there has been a paradigm shift from cultural values of team work and collectivism to notions of freedom and individuality amongst citizens.

The next chapter presents the findings on how the respondents of the study understand the concept of citizenship. Responses from ordinary citizens, civic educators and community leaders are illustrated to support the themes that were derived from the data. The data has shown that democracy is a concept that is well tied to citizenship; therefore the word democracy is included in the subsequent findings chapters.

Chapter Six

Understandings of Citizenship

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five presents the findings on how respondents understand the concept of democracy. Democracy is understood in various ways as a value, a social process and a political practice. Democracy, as a concept, is closely tied to citizenship and the exercising of political rights, including voting and holding of public office.

In this chapter the findings on how the concept of citizenship is understood by the respondents of the study are presented, along with the inductively derived themes that emanated from the data, showing responses from leaders, educators and citizens for both Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts. The themes are discussed in relation to the conceptual framework that was developed in Chapter Three. These themes are classified under two broad categories of citizenship behaviour that emerged in the conceptual framework. The first is communitarian citizenship behaviour divided into the themes: citizenship as belonging; citizenship as identity; citizenship as maintaining good relations. The second category is civic republican citizenship behaviour with the following themes: citizenship as exercising rights and citizenship as participation.

6.2 Communitarian Citizenship

In communitarian citizenship citizens behave in a communal manner identifying themselves as members of the same group such as in ethnic groups, communities or as part of a larger society. The international literature talks about communitarian citizenship as a way of participation (Delanty, 2000; Stroobants, Jans, & Wildemeersh, 2001). In this category citizens are seen as interconnected and interdependent, as described by Kelly (1995), Pacho (2013) and Duncan et al. (2007). An individual is defined in terms of their existence with others, either through relationships or collectively as members. Citizens, therefore, show concern for others, as is expressed in the African ideology of *ubuntu* or *botho*, by caring for them (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Ntuli, 2013; Pacho, 2013; Sindic, 2011; Waghid, 2014). These authors summarise the communitarian view by emphasizing that in most African countries, Lesotho included, a person is defined in connection with their community. This shows that a person relies on others and vice versa (ibid). The moral value of oneness or unity is

emphasized amongst individuals, starting in families, extending into communities and then societies. Expressed in African ideology, this is broadly understood as humanity and called *botho* in Sotho languages (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Ntuli, 2013; Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2014). In African communitarian citizenship, citizens are expected to perform practices and activities together as part of their culture and that is done voluntarily to show engagement and respect for self and others, where they act as good citizens who obey the laws that regulate their behaviour in a group (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). On the other hand communitarian citizenship may also be reflected as both a legal and cultural form, as is the case in Lesotho, in addition to the discussed notion of *ubuntu*. The respondents' interpretations of these forms of citizenship are organised thematically into different kinds of belonging.

6.2.1 Citizenship as Belonging

Citizenship as belonging is seen in different dimensions as: through legal status, through membership, through having responsibilities and rights and through community engagement. Legal status, in communitarian terms, for these respondents includes expecting people to conform to community expectations for living peacefully.

6.2.1.1 Citizenship as Belonging Through Legal Status

Citizenship as belonging is understood in terms of having legal documents or residing in a country officially. This was articulated as citizenship by birth, which participants referred to as nationalisation, meaning that a person originates in a country where they permanently stay because they were born there. The other legal dimension is when a citizen is naturalised into a country if they come from a foreign country. In the latter instance, citizens would have to undergo certain processes, including the application for legal documents that permit a person to become a full member of a nation in terms of belonging. In both nationalisation and naturalisation citizens acquire legal documents such as a birth certificate, an identity card or a passport showing their nationality or citizenship. This supports what Bagnall (2010) termed as a formal conception of citizenship. Belonging is a legal state where citizens abide by national laws and have legal documentation.

As part of their legal recognition citizens are expected to live peacefully and morally and abide by the laws of the country, the community or any group or institutions that specify

how people should relate and respect each other. Citizenship, by belonging through legal terms, is commonly determined by the state or country whose laws are enforced for citizens to abide by. A male politician in Qacha's Nek explained this as follows:

> Citizenship is guided by the laws of each country that gives the right to live in that country by issuing legal documents as proof that one is entitled to live therein (Male politician, Qacha's Nek).

The following responses from people in both the districts of Qacha's Nek and Maseru still reinforce the idea of citizenship in terms of acquiring legal documents and abiding by the laws and living peacefully with other people as is expected by the state:

> It [citizenship] is to have documents such as birth certificate and a passport of Lesotho (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> Citizenship relates to a state of being a legal inhabitant of a specific country ... Therefore, a citizen is obliged by the laws of a country to live peacefully with other citizens, be obedient to orders and exercise all the rights as explained in the constitutional laws (Male citizen, Maseru).

Citizenship is legally attached to certain benefits as illustrated in the following quote:

> It [citizenship] is important because there are some places where a person cannot take part if not a citizen, like when going to school, one cannot get a scholarship if they are not a citizen in a country. Even in elections only the qualifying citizens are allowed to vote (Female, IEC educator, Maseru).

The above comment further illustrates how important it is to legally belong in a country by having the legal documents in order to access some of the benefits that are provided to citizens by the state. However, there may be a large number of people who reside permanently in a country without such legal documents due to ignorance or other factors. The data suggests that, for a person to be a legal citizen, they have to abide by laws that require citizens to be in possession of legal documents. The following statements clarify the whole idea:

> Citizenship by naturalization means that a person was born in a foreign country and then came to Lesotho to stay for a specified period upon which he applied for legal documents to become a citizen. Citizenship by nationality means that a person is legally a citizen of Lesotho because it is their birth place (Male councillor, Qacha's Nek).

But lately people are issued with documents to show where they come from. As a chief I [would] write a letter to the Principal Chief of the area where one needs to go and reside, I recommend that he or she [would] be welcomed and accepted as a new resident there. It is not necessary for this long [no longer necessary for this letter writing] process because a person is still a Mosotho in the country (Female chief, Qacha's Nek)

Some people stated that legal citizenship can also be obtained by other means such as employment for a specific period or through marrying:

There is citizenship where people who don't originate in a specific area are naturalized, those who have crossed the border from somewhere or from other countries. When they arrive here in Lesotho they have to work hard before attaining citizenship, like staying here for specific years and attaining the required set rules. Some even commit themselves and marry just for the sake of acquiring citizenship of a country (Female, IEC educator, Maseru).

It can be noted that the state expects its citizens to be in possession of legal documents in order to become fully recognised citizens and belong in the country. Another expectation of new citizens is that they should abide by law and carry passports so that they become officially recognised citizens. This is of course essential because most services such as commercial banks, post offices, education institutions, among others, demand the production of a legal document as a proof of legal citizenship before services are provided. The legal document, which is a passport, is also used when crossing the borders to South Africa.

However, there is currently a strained attitude towards legal citizenship in Lesotho because some citizens are said to be deliberately relinquishing their Lesotho citizenship status because their passports are seen as a burden for gaining employment in neighbouring countries; for instance, in order to obtain South African identity documents they are prepared to 'throw away' their legal documents and status. For example:

Nowadays even this green Lesotho passport is heavy to carry: it has become a burden to most Basotho where it is even difficult for them to get employment in Ladybrand [a town on the South African border] because of them [passport]. Most Basotho people have thrown them away and obtained South African Identity so that they get employed across Mohokare River [boundary] … A [Lesotho] passport has

become a burden that hinders the opportunities of people to get employed in South Africa (Male, DPE educator, Maseru).

The above statement refers to citizens who deliberately do not abide and respect the laws of legal citizenship. Thus, they do not meet the expectations of acting as legally abiding citizens according to the conceptual framework (see Chapter Three) and the literature (Arthur, 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). Perhaps acts of this nature can be attributed to the weariness of citizens who reside in a country that may be democratic in name but not in practice. They may experience violations of the rule of law when government is perhaps not accountable to the electorate as it is in a full democracy. From another perspective, citizens who are desperate to survive can be forced to seek elsewhere for employment which their country does not offer, so they resort to becoming illegal aliens in their own country of birth.

Citizenship as belonging is also understood as a relationship, which in one sense, is about membership.

6.2.1.2 Citizenship as Belonging Through Membership

In citizenship understood as belonging through membership, citizens behave in a manner in which they identify themselves as members of the same group such as in ethnic groups, communities or in a larger society. Membership can reflect citizens who form part of a certain group, either through relatives or upon marriage. The findings reflect that some respondents understand citizenship as belonging to mean that the same people or members 'originate' from the same area as a collective membership of a group. This notion of citizenship by belonging through membership is not determined by the state, but by the people themselves, who freely join different groups or move to different places of their own will. This is what citizenship as a mobile status that is linked to residence in Lesotho was raised by a DPE educator:

> Citizenship is a state whereby certain people feel that they belong together in one community or country and explain or identify themselves as 'we' against 'you' or 'they' meaning other people of another citizenship. There is a strong tolerance level among people who share the same citizenship because they belong together as people who originate from one area in the same manner (Male, DPE educator, Maseru).

In the above quotation, tolerance is understood as a member being accepted by other members simply because of sharing the same space or group to which they belong. This was echoed by a citizen who expressed the importance of citizenship in terms of how it defines a specific area where people belong together and are, therefore, able to follow the written and socially constructed rules and laws that are set out for that defined area. The defined area provides the rules on how people can relate, in the words of a male citizen:

> It [citizenship] assists in terms of having a belonging. We have [a] specific place where we follow the rules and regulations, we have our way of interaction and relationships that are managed either politically in terms of boundaries, we know where they lie and do not encroach other peoples land; we have our ways of doing things socially and we abide by the constitution. In terms of ownership or accessing land or resources we are guided by our legislature to have assets (Male citizen, Maseru).

The above quotations describe a sense of common belongingness and a sense of mutual acceptance of one another as members of a group. A clear example is seen when people associate themselves with different tribes, ethnic groups or clans such as a group of Basotho, Xhosa or Zulu. However, citizenship in terms of belonging can also be fluid or unstable. For instance, there is a common practice among citizens where they change their citizenship as a sense of belonging, especially when moving permanently from the rural to urban areas to work or reside. Therefore, citizens are required to be responsive to their communities once they arrive as new residents and to live according to new ways, as one citizen suggested:

> … even if a person has moved from one place to another [they have] to live according to the ways, traditions, interests and cultural rules of a new place after a person has moved to stay as a new resident (Female, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

Another citizen, interjecting in the discussions, stated that:

> It [citizenship] means … even if a person has moved from one place to another place, whether from another village, district, or country, [a person has] to live according to the ways, traditions, interests, and cultural rules of a new place after a person has moved to stay as a new resident (Male elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

Belonging as membership in a group is commonly seen among different families, whether nuclear or extended, where there are large numbers of members who are related by blood. This category of membership includes the cultural belonging through marriage, when one of the family members brings in a new partner (as when a male marries) or moves out of their family to join another family as a new member (as when a female marries). The educator in the NGO Development for Peace Education (DPE) highlighted that:

> When I marry a wife from another district … upon her arrival at my home she assumes all the rights that I have. She is regarded the same way as I am regarded as original citizen like myself … she is not taken as an outsider … as you have seen in different families the rituals or cultural practices are performed by women, who have entered those families through marriage and do not originate there. It is because upon their [women] marriage, they assume the same rights as their husbands and are regarded as fully citizens who belong to those families [as members]. Most cultural practices are done by women though we know that they were not born in those families, they went there upon marriage (Male, DPE educator, Maseru).

Thus, marriage gives women similar rights to those of their partners; they are able to become comfortable in their new homes as members of families with similar interests and cultural practices. This also gives women a sense of recognition because they are even allowed to perform cultural practices of the new families they join. Citizenship as belonging in this manner also applies to people who have relocated from their place of origin to reside in new areas but are still in the same country, as an elderly female in Qacha's Nek said, 'It can refer to someone who has moved from one district to another or from one village to another.' In this context, the nationality of a person does not change.

The above quotation by the DPE educator indicates that there is an element of learning in citizenship, because once a member has relocated to another place there is an expectation that the cultural practices of that new place need to be followed in order to be regarded as a member; the new member has to learn those practices, as in Delanty's (2003) notion of cultural citizenship as a learning process. Delanty's contention is that:

> Citizenship is a learning process … a matter of participation in the political community and begins early in life. It concerns the learning of a capacity for action and for responsibility but, essentially, it is about the learning of the self and of the relationship of self and other. It is a learning process in that it is articulated in

perceptions of the self as an active agency and a social actor shaped by relations with others (Delanty, 2003, p. 7).

This view by Delanty is confirmed by what actually happens when a bride learns to adapt to her newly acquired citizenship. This happens through informal social interaction, where values and cultural practices such as mourning for the dead or performing a ritual for a newly born child are performed by married women. This idea of learning also echoes Jarvis's (2008) emphasis that learning empowers individuals who therefore develop themselves as a result thereof; meaning that citizens learn in order to empower themselves on how to become full members of where they belong. This is illustrated by a DPE educator, who talked about newly married wife who ultimately performs the cultural practices of that new family as a legal member therein.

Belonging is also understood in a political sense. For instance, politicians encourage people to live in their constituencies when it appears as if they will vote for them. This is what a male politician stated:

> … As a leader, I teach people about citizenship issues because in politics, we campaign and compete [with other political parties] with membership numbers, which means more citizens for this country. I teach a lot about citizenship and its importance because I try by all means to retain and encourage citizens not to go to other places because they will make us lose in terms of numbers. I teach them to know that they can handle issues of development and poverty reduction. I try to avoid losing the membership by all means (Male politician, Qacha's Nek).

Membership is regarded as important to people such as political leaders who mainly compete and win elections based on the numbers of people who vote for them. The belief is that the more membership numbers they have, the more chance they have of winning in elections. However, citizens also interpret citizenship as belonging in terms of having rights and responsibilities.

6.2.1.3 Citizenship as Belonging Through Rights and Responsibilities

Rights and responsibilities were discussed in an integrated fashion in the focus groups, so it was difficult to talk about one without mentioning the other. Moreover, there was a tendency among the respondents to more often see women as having responsibilities/duties and men as having rights. This was evidence that citizenship had a

strong gender dimension linked to specific gender roles in terms of rights and responsibilities in society. Zwart (2013), in his study entitled 'Relying on Africa's strengths in the Area of Human Rights: The Receptor Approach,' concludes that African cultures have rich indigenous human rights practices that are based on familiy, community and religion. Zwart postulates that Western-centred concepts of human rights need to incorporate and build on local notions of human rights instead of replacing them. These gender roles are linked to the idea of a good citizen. However, in Lesotho, the notion of gender issues differs from South Africa (Hames, 2006), where the state is responsible for taking action against gender inequalities, whereas in Lesotho there is a weak political commitment regarding gender equality (Kolisang, 2012). Some of these gender issues have been discussed in the chapter 5. Here, they are discussed in terms of the roles that men and women are expected to play. This sub-theme emerges mostly from the data that was collected in Qacha's Nek and less so from the Maseru data. This may be attributed to the rural context that still holds more strongly onto the traditional gender roles that were assigned by society for both men and women. In Qacha's Nek, information about rights and duties still follow what the customary laws stipulate in terms of practice. Nevertheless, there was evidence from both Maseru and Qacha's Nek of a gendered distinction regarding rights and responsibilities. For women, citizenship was strongly associated with family responsibilities, as carers and also as upholders of values:

> Women have the full responsibility of taking care of their families and ensuring growth [of their families], and become good role models for their female children so that they can copy good examples of behaving like women and become responsible as expected … It starts from the family by upbringing their children with respect and good habits. Citizenship starts in the family before it goes outside to meet other people (Male politician, Qacha's Nek).

> Women have more responsibilities than men. In practice men do not take part in upbringing of their children (Female politician, Qacha's Nek).

> However, women play a strong role and responsibilities of upbringing children and building up their families. Women are far on top when coming to this issue of building up families compared with their male counterparts (Male councillor, Qacha's Nek).

> The upbringing of children and taking care of them is the responsibility of women more than men. A family is raised by a woman more than a man (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Maseru).

> Rights are the same but responsibilities differ according to how the society has defined them by gender roles and norms and some are biological. Otherwise they [rights] would remain the same (Male, LCN educator, Maseru).

While the Maseru respondents still recognised traditional attitudes towards women's responsibilities (IEC quote), there were indications that they understood the issue of rights at least to be legally the same (LCN quote). However, in Qacha's Nek the gender differences were more pronounced (Qacha's Nek quotations); for example, responses from the participants showed that parenting and family maintenance responsibilities are expected more from women than their male counterparts, indicating that a woman's role in the home is recognised as citizenship, which is not the case in the Western context (Preece, 2002). What is observed is that males appreciate the strength of women in building families. This is attributed to the reproductive role together with other social roles of bringing up children and taking care of families that were assigned by the patriarchal society where women were highly dependent on the financial support of men. This is further illustrated here:

> Men are responsible for providing for the family, I mean money and food are provided by men. It is true that nowadays both men and women provide for their families but men are more responsible for providing while women implement the activities (Female, IEC educators focus group, Maseru).

The concept of rights is not regarded with any great significance with respect to the cultural situation of gender, especially in the rural parts of the country like Qacha's Nek. This suggests that rights are not universally defined as absolute, but must be considered in relation to culturally accepted ways of relating and acting. An example is that of rights with regard to women where traditional African life under the communitarian notion of citizenship is practiced, as reflected in the conceptual framework later in this chapter. Zwart (2013) asserts that in African cultures like Lesotho, human rights are based on collective survival where people rely on cooperation, interdependence and collective responsibility in the local community, extended families and other social institutions. This is the opposite to what happens in modern societies where rights are legally enforceable for an individual or a state, which determines human rights in the Western concept (Zwart, 2013). In Western

cultures, nation states are expected to assist vulnerable citizens, like the elderly, widows and orphans through social welfare. In African cultures, vulnerable citizens get assistance from their families and relatives who are close-by, who ensure the provision of human rights of such members (Zwart, 2013). However, in Lesotho women are still discriminated against with regard to inheritance to chieftainship and other customary practices in section 18 (4) of the Constitution of Lesotho (Government of Lesotho, 1993). Furthermore, the literature shows that most legal procedures where women are victims take a long time before justice is served (Hames, 2006), thus making women more vulnerable as victims because they are mostly not familiar with the laws which could eradicate some grievances they endure under customary laws (Kolisang, 2012).

Respondents were asked to mention the rights and responsibilities that they think men and women have. The responses revealed further gender distinctive traditional roles:

> A woman should stay in her house and take care of her children and keep the house clean. A man has to wake up and go to work so that he can support the family (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> Men have the right to support their wives. They should see to it that they take care of their partners no matter whether they have employment or not (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

It is interesting to note that rights and responsibilities are not always clearly distinguished, as evidenced by the idea that it is a man's right to support their wife rather than a responsibility, as expressed in the last quotation. Rights go along with power, thus, traditionally a man as head of household has more power and authority over women and children and this is backed up by unwritten rules and cultural norms that are considered as acceptable behavioural practices.

In summary, customary and modern systems often place different emphases on rights and power with respect to particular roles (Zwart, 2013). In view of the international human rights laws, these cultural expectations have implications for how citizenship education is addressed in a country like Lesotho. In Maseru, however, the relationship between rights and responsibilities in the context of modern Lesotho was described with less emphasis on traditional patterns of behaviour. In that context, there was a sense that the onset of democracy had influenced how people interpreted their roles. Maseru respondents seemed

to have a stronger understanding of the link between rights and responsibilities in a democratic regime.

6.2.1.4 Relationship Between Rights and Responsibilities

It was evident that the respondents in Maseru had a more informed understanding about the relationship between rights and responsibilities, even when they felt that there were occasions when these were not recognised by officials. This is what the male educator for the Lesotho Council for Non-governmental Organisations (LCN) stated in respect of connecting rights with responsibilities:

> My responsibilities are to be a law abiding citizen who has to see that I earn all the rights and know how far they go, to perform my own work, to cater for my children, parents and perform societal responsibilities and expectations as an adult.

The issue of taking responsibility for exercising those rights ethically became a point of discussion in Maseru:

> I have all the rights in democracy like [the] right to association, right to life, right to be heard and that of speech. It is my responsibility to know the extent to which I can exercise my rights without overstepping on the rights of others (Male citizen, Maseru).

Another male citizen in Maseru said:

> The rights that I have are mostly stipulated/enshrined in the Constitution of Lesotho. Every right goes along automatically with responsibilities. Every person's right should not overstep other people's rights, which is also mentioned in the constitution … The responsibilities will be to assemble freely with other people either politically or in a social manner and as long as that will not affect other societal running, one has to acquire the permission from chief or police for such an assembly (Male citizen, Maseru).

It is interesting to observe that the above respondents understand the supreme law of Lesotho, the constitution and its contents, where the exercising rights is stipulated, as something that goes along with responsibilities. A male politician in Maseru mentioned the incidence in society of a lack of connection between rights and responsibilities:

> There is lack of knowledge … about freedoms and rights, many times people omit the issue of responsibilities that go along with them [freedoms and rights] … We don't understand that rights go along with responsibilities to avoid getting lost.

> Some people misuse their rights and that can cause danger of infringing on other people's rights too.

A male educator for the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) NGO also corroborated these responses about legal rights and responsibilities:

> I have the rights as stipulated in the constitution … though they are limited to civil and political rights. The socio-economic rights are treated as principles and therefore not considered in the constitution as rights … Responsibilities go along with rights even though the law enforcement officers or state agencies are often violating the rights of the people.

The above mentioned TRC educator indicated the awareness that these rights and responsibilities are sometimes violated. From the above data it is clear that people in Maseru are better able to articulate the relationship between rights and responsibilities; but the rural people of Qacha's Nek indicated some confusion as to how rights and responsibilities interrelate in a modern democracy. It can be seen that citizens can only pray and hope for improvement in terms of their basic survival needs such as food and education, for example, which falls under the social and economic rights not enforceable by law in Lesotho. As an illustration, chapter III of section 25 of the Lesotho Constitution expresses that:

> The principles contained in this Chapter shall form part of the public policy of Lesotho. These principles shall not be enforceable by any court but, subject to the limits of the economic capacity and development of Lesotho, shall guide the authorities and agencies of Lesotho, and other public authorities, in the performance of their functions with a view to achieving progressively, by legislation or otherwise, the full realisation of these principles (Government of Lesotho, 1993).

It is clear that there is no direct assistance towards basic survival rights in the form of statutory laws or by the courts despite these rights affecting the majority of the population, which are usually the rights of the poor and the disadvantaged and the illiterates in society (Government of Lesotho, 1993; Nwafor, 2012). Consequently, such people are left to drown in a sea of abject poverty and deprivation. This unfavourable social and economic state of affairs in Lesotho creates a high chance of public mistrust in the government.

Understandings of citizenship as belonging in a communitarian framework extend to how citizens engage in different social activities, as discussed below.

6.2.1.5 Citizenship as Belonging Through Community Engagement

Citizenship as belonging further extends to the notion of engagement by citizens through the manner in which they participate in community activities. There were differences in the interpretation of engagement between the urban and rural locations. In rural community settings social interaction often takes place informally in a communitarian way of life (Delanty, 2003). Being engaged could mean that citizens participate by way of sharing their skills, knowledge, commitment or time to community concerns. Bagnall (2010) states that the more a person participates, the more they engage, thus the more they belong in a community. Citizens voluntarily engage in community activities such as funerals. This is what they revealed in Qacha's Nek:

> … I refer to someone who voluntarily assists when there is a funeral, who attends to public gatherings and community activities whenever a chief has requested his people to do so. It is someone who is interested in participating in community development issues (Female, elderly citizens focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> It is when a person is interested in community issues, attends social gatherings and participates voluntarily (Male, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

A female chief in Qacha'sNek also echoed these communitarian notions of citizenship:

> … [people] who voluntarily assist when there are funerals or whenever there are community activities.

From the above quotations it is clear that respondents in Qacha's Nek understand engagement by citizens in a communitarian way in which people voluntarily engage and participate in community activities to assist other members when it is needed. The respondents reflected Bagnall's (2010) position that, the more a person engages in different community activities, the more they feel they belong as citizens. This extends to activities such as attending social gatherings where citizens are called by a chief to gather in one place when any information has to be disseminated. Citizens who belong frequently attend public gatherings and this is also seen as engaging. These community activities are common in the rural areas like Qacha's Nek District and serve as a reliable means of disseminating government decisions to the rural population.

This is in contrast with Maseru respondents who understand citizenship as participation under the notion of civic republican (discussed below in section 6.3), perhaps due to the

reasons that most of the people interviewed are educators of civic education who belong to civil society organisations and also because information is commonly disseminated through modern technological devices and mass media, ensuring that there are more varied sources of information.

Citizenship is, thus, a complicated issue. The Maseru respondents took the notion of citizenship further than the Qacha's Nek respondents in that citizenship was also revealed as an identity in its own right.

6.2.2 Citizenship as Identity

There is a fine line between what respondents discussed in terms of citizenship as belonging and citizenship as identity. The following sections subdivide the Maseru conceptions of identity into individual, collective, and fluid and vulnerable identity. Lappegard's (2008) view is that identity is a distinguishing character of an individual from others, meaning that, it is a person's internal construct in terms of how they see themselves as opposed to others. Citizenship as identity illustrates how people are characterised with certain qualities either as individuals or collectively in groups. The characteristics extend further to practices that are performed by certain people together, in which they are easily identified from others because of what they usually do or practice. Identity can be explained as a situation where groups or cultures provide people with a sense of self, thus they acquire a sense of who they are through the varied experiences of life as opposed to what others see or wish them to be (Lappegard, 2008; Mason & Vella, 2013). Citizenship as identity can be constructed when membership of a social group serves as a point of reference with which individuals identify. For instance, Sindic (2011) opines that a person is not a citizen in isolation; hence, they share common qualities of nationality, religion, culture or a family. Identity is contextual in the sense that it relates to the needs, interests, attitudes and behaviour that people portray in different contexts or in different relationships.

6.2.2.1 Citizenship as Individual Identity

The issue of identity is strongly embedded within a person's self-awareness, but it is influenced by the conceptions of others of how that person should be in certain contexts. When performing certain activities, therefore, individuals can easily be identified by their acts as to where they come from or who they are. Identity, here, is not what a person has,

but what a person practices or does in public, which allows one to be known because of those practices. The focus of identity, in this sense, is more on an individual's sense of self through their personal conduct. This follows Yeatman's (2007) specification of what a person is when they are in the company of others, whether in a family, in a friendship, employment or anywhere else with others, as a unique unit of social action. Here is an example of how a male educator from Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN) in Maseru explained citizenship:

> It [citizenship] defines how I do things, it influences the way I perform things or how I am in the back of my mind; it is so heavy that it may hinder people's success and people may not want to be adventurous [especially] Basotho [who] think of safety first rather than other avenues in terms of those who are selling [and] who cannot go to other countries. Basotho consider so many things before going out [to other countries] such as where to sleep; while other tribes may not think of such things. It affects how we perform things because of the nature of how we were brought up, it upholds dignity and how we perceive things.

The above description reflects a multitude of identity considerations for Basotho and is closely tied up with culture and, perhaps, also the physical location of a country which is surrounded by South Africa – often seen as a 'colonial' force of its own on the continent (Rosenberg, 2001, 2007). Citizenship as individual identity distinguishes the way Basotho people perform different activities either positively or negatively as a result of how they identify and define themselves. It further shows the pride that some people may hold as their individual identity and dignity, which also informs their perceptions of different activities. Perhaps it reflects the Basotho need to distinguish themselves, as an independent nation with culture and values, from the more cosmopolitan and economically powerful South Africa.

Citizenship as identity, therefore, refers to who a person is in terms of being known to others:

> It is the core issue that describes who a person is, how one lives, where they come from and how they are differentiated from other tribes (Male citizen, Maseru).

This is where people feel confidence and pride in their sense of who they are so that others cannot impose an identity on them. Therefore, a person is easily identified because of certain practices/activities that they do. In Sesotho there is a common saying that: *motho o*

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tsejoa ka metsamao ea hae (translated as one is easily known by activities that they perform).

Identity, however, is never solely how an individual identifies him or herself. There is also a collective identity, particularly in African contexts.

6.2.2.2 Citizenship as Collective Identity

Identity was also viewed as a collective relationship, which entails a social, shared identity and further extends to cultural identity. This implies the sameness of people, because they share culture or have similar physical traits. This is what the citizens in Maseru said:

> It is important for all people to know their self and where they belong in terms of identity as Basotho people (Female citizen, Maseru).

> It defines us differently from other nations or countries. There is uniqueness in someone who is a Mosotho from other tribes (Male IEC educator, Maseru).

> It gives an Identity of who we are and how we differ from other nations. Therefore it is important to uphold as a nation because they [nations] are formed out of citizens, we become a particular nation that has [our] own way of doing things from other nations, we are family and part because of the norms and principles that make us or derive from it [citizenship] (Male LCN educator, Maseru).

These responses show social identity to mean that there is a special and unique way of identifying the nationality of a person who is a Mosotho (singular) and Basotho (plural), identified as people who live in Lesotho as their country. This may be through typical physical features of people such as complexion, texture of hair, dress code and probably the body size, all of which could contribute to revealing the social identity of a person; but citizenship as collective identity is also visible in terms of what people wear, something which is common amongst people in the same tribes or nations, but different from those in others. An example, is what Rosenberg (2001) expressed in her study: 'The justice of Queen Victoria: Boer Oppression, and the Emergence of a National Identity in Lesotho', when referring to the wearing of Basotho grass hats known as *mokorotlo* and wool blankets. The attire that Basotho wear show the symbol of honouring and resembling Moshoeshoe's hut and of a national identity (Rosenberg, 2001). The attire is also seen as representing the founder of the nation, Moshoeshoe, and as promoting the shared collective national

identity among Basotho people (Ibid). Furthermore, a shared identity can be demonstrated through a shared language which transcends geographical or legal location:

> It makes people who share similar characters [characteristics] of Basotho to belong together [and identify as one]. For example if you can go to England and find an English person who speaks Sesotho, you will get closer to that person because of that language ... that is the same thing when you go to school [out of the country] and find someone who speaks your language. You will get closer to them because you speak the same language and share whatever with them. Citizenship [as shared language] brings people together (Male IEC educator, Maseru).

A politician echoed a similar issue:

> It promotes the culture, which people become proud of when they meet with other tribes outside the country. When hearing your language spoken by others in other countries that gives interest to people and builds friendship with others (Male politician, Maseru).

Language is a powerful tool that connects people even if they do not know each other. It serves as a unifying factor amongst people who commonly share and speak similar languages. Language easily connects people in such a manner that it becomes easy for them to relate well and make new friends. It can be noted from the above statement that a shared language (Fincham, 2012; Mason & Vella, 2013) is viewed as powerful an aspect of citizenship as identity, and as one that binds people together despite their legal nationalities.

Citizenship as collective identity is also noticed when people freely reveal or make known the qualities that differentiate them from others. This is also understood as cultural identity:

> I am a Mosotho because I was born here; I live here and speak Sesotho. I should be seen doing acceptable things by all other people and even the country, which is what determines what is appreciated by others. It includes culture, acceptable values, and language is another part of citizenship. To be a citizen of a country one should reside there and belong there as other people, accept their culture and speak their language (Male IEC educator, Maseru).

The above comment reveals a sense of *botho* which is showing the connectedness of African values as in the interconnected concept of "I/We" that was emphasised by Lekoko and Modise (2011, p. 10). These authors discussed the concept of "I/We" as one of the aspects

of lifelong learning in the African philosophy of 'I am because we are', which shows the communitarian notion of interconnectedness and a strong mutual support. This is evidenced in the above quotation where a male educator from IEC in Maseru shows that cultural identity is about a person "seen to be doing acceptable things by all other people and even the country." This means that one person's identity also represents the collective others. In other words, the manner in which one conducts oneself is seen as important in not letting others down from the same culture or background.

The sense of being part of a collective is increasingly being confined to membership of different organisations such as political parties, church groups, workers unions among others. Thus, collective identity changes depending on which group or organisation members associate with at a particular time. This is the case with elderly citizens in Lesotho, who mostly identify with political ideologies, religious denominations and workers unions among others. Nevertheless, there are groups who bear similar identities such as people with disabilities, migrant workers, youth, and street vendors, all of who also uphold certain social values within their groups of collectivism, social rights and solidarity under a communitarian approach to life. This was demonstrated by a youth in a FGD in Maseru, when saying:

> When I arrive at my community council to encourage them about the importance of keeping a healthy environment, I have to be listened to and heard, instead of being told that I am young (Female, young citizens' focus group, Maseru).

This is an indication that some youth are still interested in pursuing community activities that relate to their cultural identity by acting responsibly in a communitarian way of living. However, they are challenged in traditional communities by the issue of their not being heard by adults because of their identity as youth. In the eyes of adults, youth identity is seen to be inclining towards individualism as citizens who are only interested in exercising personal identity (Bennett et al., 2009) rather than a collective identity. This suggests that, culturally, youth are denied their full potential for social responsibility and prevented from behaving as active citizens. The expectation, instead, is that they conform as 'good citizens' with limited chances of exercising their individual capabilities.

Identity, however, is fluid and there are examples of people consciously changing their identity for different purposes.

6.2.2.3 Citizenship as Fluid and Vulnerable Identity

In spite of the above observations, citizenship as identity was understood by some in terms of specific geographical boundaries that are not necessarily country specific; those who reside within certain informally defined boundaries are identified in a different manner to others who also reside within those same boundaries. Therefore, people give themselves different citizen identities in different locations because citizen identities have a different and hierarchical status in different locations. This is what a male Development for Peace Education [DPE] educator mentioned in this regard:

> Currently citizenship is explained in terms of boundaries, once a person crosses Mohokare River (Caledon) they are no longer regarded as Mosotho. However my brother who lives in South Africa but attends a relative's funeral back in Lesotho performs all cultural practices here at home. When asked to explain himself, he identifies him[self] as South African [citizen] just across Mohokare [Caledon River], which is now regarded as more important than a [Mosotho] person … people even oppress themselves because of a secret identity.

This perception implies that some people change their identity, perhaps, because of a sense that a Mosotho identity is less important or respectable than a South African identity (Rosenberg, 1999, 2007). It appears as if some people are ashamed of their Lesotho identity, or feel they will get less recognition as Basotho when they cross the river to the neighbouring country; even though they know that they belong to Lesotho they oppress themselves by hiding their true identity. This may also reflect some sense of agency in people who project different identities to improve their standing in different contexts, especially when looking for employment opportunities or other livelihood avenues. The data supports what Rosenberg (2007, p. 9) postulates, that Basotho identity is almost vanishing within some young citizens who state that, "South Africa is more advanced than Lesotho."

However, there is also a sense that through globalisation people are placing less importance on the idea of a national identity since cultures and practices are more intertwined than they used to be and there is an acceptance of globalisation as a challenge to boundaries and

changed identities. This means that citizenship is defined in new ways due to globalisation, as Bennett et al. (2009) opined. One male citizen in Maseru concurred, saying:

> Globalisation has led to a declining concept of citizenship because it [citizenship] is defined in terms of territorial boundaries, so globalisation is moving towards a definition where we no longer have the demarcations or boundaries, and then it is going to be difficult for one to say I am a citizen of a certain country or I am a Mosotho (Male citizen, Maseru).

The above quotation supports authors like Isin and Wood (1999), Pacho (2013), Mahafza (2014), Bennett et al. (2009) and Delanty (2000) among others, who have noticed that globalisation has brought change in the way citizenship is regarded. As a consequence, through globalisation different nations' identity and the way they function have changed because of the influence of cosmopolitan values that prevail over different country's boundaries. This citizen further identified trafficking as a challenge to citizenship. In his words:

> The second challenge is trafficking where people are kidnapped to live in other countries for many years and they are denied their political rights because they do not vote or perform any social rights there (Male citizen, Maseru).

In these cases, citizenship identity is challenged due to rising incidences of human trafficking in different countries where victims have no formal status.

In terms of more formally recognised migration, however, some citizens end up being naturalised and obtain dual citizenship from countries where they migrate to. Such forms of acquired citizenship are not popular among the Basotho populace:

> … the issue of migration for either work or leisure affects citizens because people, who end up moving to our country and upon their arrival access Lesotho's citizenship, manipulate the systems and step into other peoples' rights harmfully …they infringe other citizens' rights and the latter do not live freely as a result of that (Male citizen, Maseru).

Technological advancement enables such citizens to communicate across countries and access services in any country (Mahafza, 2014; Nagel & Staeheli, 2010). According to the quotation below, due to technological freedom of movement, people build different citizen

relationships with countries, which in some cases are seen as a way of avoiding certain obligations between citizens and countries:

> Technology has also posed a challenge where it is now possible to acquire everything across the world; it revolves around globalisation issue[s] because there are certain things reserved for a particular state's citizens. Education is now accessible worldwide and one gets a certificate online from overseas; therefore, citizens no longer have to pay international levies and study permits, which are monies that boost certain countries. It is hard to control other things that are done technologically (Male citizen, Maseru).

The above comment signals a view that globalisation is changing the idea of citizenship identity as a result of modern and more dominant influences (Bennett et al., 2009; Isin & Wood, 1999; Mahafza, 2014; Pacho, 2013). The Mayor in Maseru referred particularly to young citizens, who seem to be influenced by modern lifestyles, in terms of values of morality and their environment:

> When naturalised citizens enter our country, they come with their own values that mix with our Basotho values therefore they easily dominate us (Female Mayor, Maseru).

A male citizen echoed this concern regarding the dominance of some identities over Basotho identity and the fear of losing a sense of self as a result:

> It is easy for foreign people to have our citizenship because of the relaxed laws in our country. Not knowing ourselves as Basotho can be a danger because we are easily influenced by the foreign tribes and their lifestyles (Male citizen, Maseru).

It is apparent from the data that, generally, citizenship is understood as what people do or practice as their performance, but specifically, citizenship as identity relates to the way people construct their identities as a result of their practices. However, identity in Lesotho is also very vulnerable. An indication of changing identity in Lesotho is reflected in the diminishing of collective traditions. Apparently, individualism, by which people uphold the right to exercise individual decisions to act as a result of personal motivation, is more prevalent than it was in the past during traditional communal life where involvment and participation was seen as obligatory for people, as a collective identity and as a means of good mutual relationships. This is clearly expressed below:

I don't know how to put it, but that is caused by economic growth lately. The current economic condition propels people to look upon themselves as individuals and become selfish people who do not want to share resources with others even their family members or their children. People do not love one another anymore, it is survival of the fittest where if a person comes across a certain treasure, they acquire it all to themselves and don't share it. Even those who make policies, rules and regulations do that in such a way that it does not accommodate others; instead individualism is encouraged. That in itself makes other people want to leave this country and go somewhere else to live there. Or even when people stay, some then decide to kill others so that they can also have a share of treasure (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

The above description confirms what Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013) assert, when referring to *ubuntu* in the current context; they claim that *ubuntu* is an outdated concept which is embedded in traditional village life, but sits uneasily within modern, individualistic lifestyles. The above quotation signifies individualism where people put themselves first rather than live in a communitarian way in which people act and think for others and share with others. This has an implication for civic education in modern day Lesotho in which issues of *ubuntu* as an African value base in African countries has to be considered and embedded within an ethics of care and compassion (Waghid, 2010, 2014) that can enable citizens to understand the transition from traditional communitarian to modern living.

However, regarding citizenship as a fluid and vulnerable identity for women, the data seemed silent. Women's identity is formally changed through marriage and is traced through paternal lineage and descent, which is the longstanding cultural history of identity formation for women. This is where, upon marriage, whether customarily or through modern union, a woman is made to change her identity to that of her partner by using the latter's surname and also by being given a new name as her new identity. Perhaps that is common under Basotho's ideological framework of patriarchy, but more often that practice poses a challenge to women whenever the bonds of the marriage union break. The practice is more constraining on women who experience the inconvenience of the change and loss of identity (Kolisang, 2012) when getting married, followed by the further inconvenience of divorce. Women's status still remains subordinate to men (see Chapter Five section 5.4.6) despite the notion of democracy that brought equality among all individuals alike.

In addition to citizenship being discussed in terms of belonging and identity – and in spite of concerns about globalisation influences and encroaching individualism - it was also understood as a relationship beyond the notion of belonging, particularly in terms of reflecting 'good relationships'.

6.2.3 Citizenship as Maintaining Good Relationships

Maintaining relationships refers to ways of living together and being mutually connected. This is a communal way of living where people act in the name of a common good towards one another and show respect, solidarity and concern for others. Pacho (2013) asserts that in African communities, the relationship between individuals and their community is strong because the individuals are not separated from the latter. In this notion of citizenship, there is a concerted effort where people work together to promote the morality of their society. This is done either through neighbourliness or through connections where people build and maintain strong networks or bonds amongst themselves for their entire life.

6.2.3.1 Maintaining a Harmonious Neighbourhood

Most respondents in Qacha's Nek expressed the need to relate well within communities and amongst neighbours so as to maintain good relationships and act as good citizens under the communitarian notion of citizenship that was discussed in Chapter Three and is reflected in the conceptual framework. The responses highlighted that:

> It is important to live harmoniously with neighbours because they can provide assistance in case a person can fall sick, get broken or encounter any problems. It is important to relate well with other people who can help when there is a need (Male councillor, Qacha's Nek).

> I greet my neighbours when we meet because I am showing that I am at peace with them … It [citizenship] is important because when I come across any problem, my neighbours are always there to help. The love of the country and neighbourhood can only instil peace among us (Female politician, Qacha's Nek).

> I live peacefully with my people and my neighbours (Male chief, Qacha's Nek).

> It is important to know the citizens especially your neighbours and where they come from … we assist each other where there is a need (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

As illustrated above, knowing neighbours by name and where they come from shows the element of care about others, which reflects the traditional African concepts such as *ubuntu* or *botho* (Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2010, 2014) through which people relate well to each other. It is a common practice to visit new residents, especially in the rural areas like Qacha's Nek, with the intention of building good neighbourly relations, thus showing a sign of good citizenship. Furthermore, the practice of greeting every passer-by means a great deal according to Basotho culture. It is not only a sign of being at peace but it also extends to the concept of *botho*, which is understood as showing respect for other people. The focus on peace appears in the Lesotho Vision 2020 document, which envisions 'a united and prosperous nation at peace with itself and its neighbours' (Government of Lesotho, 2004, p. 1). The Sesotho greeting that says *khotso* is translated as 'peace' and is commonly used amongst strangers as a welcoming cue, also reflecting the communitarian values and good citizenship. Similarly, a person one meets casually is often called *mokhotsi*, (peaceful friend) which is a label given to someone you know but do not know by name, showing that the person is recognised and absorbed into the community by locals. Greeting is seen as an important value, a very basic one that is taught to young children as a sign of good behaviour. Even foreign people who come into Lesotho are socialised into Basotho culture by being taught how to greet so that they can be accommodated and included amongst other citizens. Only then is one seen as a good citizen in the traditional way of living. The greeting opens doors for a person everywhere and in return makes it easy to get needed assistance, even from strangers, just because it symbolises a good citizen who is at peace and respects and relates well under a communitarian notion of citizenship.

However, there are challenges associated with good neighbourliness that were expressed by the respondents as requiring a positive attitude of mind:

> The challenges [for good neighbourliness] need understanding and patience. If for instance I have children and animals, they can ruin my relations with my neighbours even if I did not plan to. They can cause problems or damages that can now destroy our good neighbourliness (Female politician, Qacha's Nek).

> I can say that citizenship issues should be taught at schools, families, public gatherings where people should be equipped with good ways of approaching others. The love of the country and neighbourhood can only instil peace among us. Even if my animals can destroy my neighbours' crops, if that neighbourliness of love reigns,

they [neighbours] can understand that the damage was not done deliberately; then we can continue to live peacefully (Male, elderly citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

Citizenship, in this respect, was seen to be a challenge because people do not choose their neighbours but instead may reside in a place that has been allocated to them. The implication here for civic education is the promotion of peace and the acknowledgement of difference within the same context. This is what was mentioned in a focus group:

It is a challenge because we sometimes end up having neighbours whom we do not choose to have. Some peoples' characters are difficult to tolerate (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

Some neighbours keep chickens, which really cause problems for [others] their neighbours. Even the characters of people differ; some are difficult to understand (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

The above comments imply a need for human rights education that should be provided in a real life context. This means that civic education provision has to follow the situated learning method (Hoskins, Janmaat, & Villalba, 2012) where content is not separated from the form. In other words, democratic approaches have to be applied when teaching democracy, including the issues of handling conflict and maintaining good relationships.

Maintaining good relationships is also seen in terms of being connected, as in 'networking' with others for a person to feel connected, as discussed in the following sub-theme.

6.2.3.2 Citizenship Through Connections

The notion of maintaining good relationships was expressed by Maseru respondents in terms of connections between people or countries as follows:

It is about … how I do things as I interact with other people in my country and from elsewhere (Male citizen, Maseru).

In term of connections, while collecting data in Maseru District, it was difficult to engage respondents from other NGOs (elaborated further in the methodology chapter) until I was introduced by other people who were familiar with the employees in these organisations. The following extract from my field notes further illustrates the issue of connection:

I called Lesotho Council for Non-Governmental Organisation (LCN) several times in September and even went there two times but was told that the person in charge is

on annual holiday leave. It was until [only when] I met one of the citizens that I interviewed in mid-September when he asked me if everything was still going well. I then related my challenge with getting an interview from LCN. He then used his cell phone to connect me to one gentleman who works there by asking him to give me a chance to interview him. We agreed on a particular date in October. It was on the 15 October when I went to LCN but could not find him. I was told that he went out to the field. I got disappointed but then asked for the person who was in charge. I was told to come the following week as he was on sick leave as he was not feeling well. On my way out, I bumped into one lady that I know who has worked for the Red Cross where I used to work. I related my story and the challenge of getting a person to interview there at LCN. She immediately asked me to go inside and wait for her at the reception while she tried to connect me with a person who is responsible for democracy and public participation. After about two minutes she came with someone who greeted me and asked me to follow him to his office where I started to introduce myself and then interviewed him (Field notes, Maseru).

The above account illustrates the importance of being connected in order to make progress, as shown by the manner in which I was finally able to interview a person at LCN. This reflects the notion that social capital is an important feature of citizen relationships and connections. In a study that was conducted in Botswana by Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) communitarian social capital provided a resource of mutual information sharing between the youth. It should also be noted that the snowballing type of purposive sampling (discussed in Chapter Four) partly deals with connections as on the occasions when one participant referred me to another for an interview, thus resulting in the selection of people who are somehow connected in a similar network. All these accounts reflect the idea of citizenship as maintaining good relationships, showing the communitarian notion of connectedness, and bonding, as in a village life where people act collectively and assist each other. With regard to my challenging personal experiences revealed in the above field notes, I felt I was not being a full enough citizen because of not having connections at LCN. In other words, I had a feeling that I was not relating well enough to penetrate even difficult situations so as to interview one person. The need for connection remains strong even among younger generations. A youth group in Maseru emphasised this when they highlighted those important values that were lived and transmitted from generation to generation through proverbs such as:

Cooperation is one value. An injury to one is an injury to all; united we stand and divided we fall; and unity is power … cooperation is always and whenever important (Male, young citizens' focus group, Maseru).

These proverbs all indicate that good relationships are demonstrated through helping one another by being involved. These have been longstanding practices among Basotho where even work parties are held, commonly called *matsema*, where a person considers him/herself in relation to others, as articulated by Pule and Thabane (2002), Pacho (2013), Waghid and Smeyers (2012), Ntuli (2013) and Gill (1993) in the literature section in Chapter Three. The authors such as Pule, Thabane and Gill elaborated that *matsema* started at the field of the chieftaincy, which was known as *ts'imo ea lira*, where people worked as 'intensive' labour at the chiefs' fields as a way of paying allegiance to the chief in order to get access to community resources such as land, cattle and fields (Gill, 1993; Khaketla, 1971; Pule & Thabane, 2002). Ironically, the Lesotho's current coalition government is called *puso ea letsema,* which means 'government of work parties', reflecting the element of working together by the three different political parties in governance. The idea of cooperation also portrays the traditional notion of citizenship as having a sense of interconnectedness and communitarian practice in which different members collectively come together to assist one another when the need arises, thus having a unifying potential for the entire nation.

Perhaps one could compare Basotho's way of understanding citizenship as maintaining good relationships with their traditional practice of how marriage was conducted in which paying bride wealth[5] and polygamy were practiced, which required different families to relate well and accept each other. All parties acted humanly towards one another and participated jointly whenever ceremonies and cultural events were held to show good will and act as good citizens. This practice is linked to communitarian democracy (Blatter, 2008) and supports communitarian behaviour in similar African countries like Botswana (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004) where traditional life is still valued, even in this democratic era.

As has previously been mentioned, there were indications that a civic republican form of citizenship was growing in the more cosmopolitan urban location of Maseru. The next section deals with civic republican citizenship behaviour, which is regarded as different from

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[5] Paying bride wealth is a Sesotho tradion that is practiced when a girl is married, then cattle are paid by the family of the bride-groom as a symbol of showing the bondage between the two families whereby they have entered into a relationship with each other.

communitarian citizenship behaviour in terms of how people relate and engage in activities that affect one another.

6.3 Civic Republican Citizenship Behaviour

Civic republican citizenship is exemplified by citizens exercising their rights in civil society groups. This is where citizens interact directly with government as a group or an organisation in addressing issues that affect the masses of people (Delanty, 2000; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). People join voluntarily and participate in activities in which they are guided by modern laws to strive for justice and harmonious living (Kelly, 1995; O'Ferrall, 2001). Citizens in these civil society groups freely participate in issues of development, serve as advocacy groups that communicate with government and often mediate between government and the community. Civic republican citizenship is a more deliberative behaviour where action is taken through participation rather than as in communitarian where the main focus is on sustaining culture and geography and belonging and where there is less emphasis on exercising rights. This is discussed below under the themes of citizenship as exercising rights and having a voice and citizenship as participation.

6.3.1 Citizenship as Exercising Rights by Having a Voice

Lesotho is a signatory to and has ratified international conventions addressing civil and political rights, often known as first generation rights, which are enforceable in law (Government of Lesotho, 1993; Nwafor, 2012; United Nations General Assembly, 1966). Others, such as economic, social and cultural rights, known as second generation rights, that include the right to basic necessities such as food, shelter and social services are not enforceable and not statutorily protected in Lesotho, despite the fact that they affect the majority of citizens who are poor, uneducated and disadvantaged (Government of Lesotho, 1993; Nwafor, 2012; United Nations General Assembly, 1966). Internationally, the protection and enforcement of human rights depend on the acceptance and implementation of these conventions by individual states. Some countries have signed up to these conventions, including Lesotho, without clearly understanding the implications therein. An observation by Nwafor (2012) is that rights, in theory, guaranteed under the constitution of a state, may in practice not be accessible to men and women who belong to a marginalised group or who are intimidated by the powerful from claiming their rights. This

assertion is correct when considering the issue of second generation of rights (basic necessities of food, shelter, health, education) that affect masses of people, when government officials enjoy luxuries at the expense of tax payers, who are mostly poor. This problem was discussed in the chapter on democracy, where it was shown that passive citizens fail to exercise their rights by not making their representative leaders accountable. In other words, it can be argued they do not act responsibly in this matter. This has a serious implication for civic education in terms of fostering a more deliberative, republican role by citizens who could challenge these unfair practices.

Citizenship as rights is explained by some respondents in terms of having a voice. A male politician in Qacha's Nek revealed that a citizen has a political voice in that:

> A citizen has got rights because he/she has a say [voice] in different things that take place in the country. A citizen determines the person to become a leader, he/she determines the laws to rule people, and also determines how people should be developed in a country. He/she has a voice (Male politician, Qacha's Nek).

> … I have the right to be heard and responsibility to be heard whenever participating in public issues. One should take responsibility to participate in development of the country. That responsibility has to be pushed and pursued because one has the right to be heard (Male, young citizens' focus group, Maseru).

In the context of this focus group all the participants interjected in support of this:

> We have the right to be heard regardless of age and whether [we are] young or adults (Female, young citizens' focus group, Maseru).

Similarly a female IEC educator asserted her right to be heard:

> … I am an open minded person who stands by those values, and at times people hate me for who I am because of what I will be saying when confronting situations everywhere where I am. I am open even if I am in the meetings here [at the workplace] I raise my voice where I see things not going well (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

In the above responses the understanding is that some respondents clearly exercise their right of freedom of expression. The last quotation illustrates the situation of a person who confronts and challenges the authorities. However, people are sensitive to criticism and confrontation (Waghid, 2014) and these are often taken as disrespectful, which discourages

most people from engaging with others during discussions. Nonetheless, the following comment from Maseru demonstrates a deeper understanding of the complexity of rights and some additional tensions that exist in an economically poor country in which democratic rights such as voting hold higher status than the more essential survival rights to health, shelter and education:

> I have two types of rights per our constitution: civil and political rights that are entrenched and that I can go to court to demand them; and the socio-economic rights, which are not entrenched and referred to as principles of economy that I cannot demand. When resources are not enough I cannot demand for education, shelter and health rights, which I regard as more important for me than the political and civil rights (Male LCN educator, Maseru).

This comment indicates that institutionalisation of rights does not necessarily lead to the inclusion of disadvantaged citizens, especially in addressing their basic interests and needs, which are articulated as 'principles of economy' by the LCN educator. This is corroborated by another educator in Maseru as follows:

> If I understand well about citizenship I have to know my obligations well and what government has to provide as its responsibility of providing services like education, health and be given chance to have a legal representative in case I am suspected to have broken certain laws. [Employee disturbance for 5 minutes who came and discussed work-related issues with an interviewee] sometimes it looks like one is being done a favour when we are supposed to be given free services and we keep quiet when we are not served properly. We need to know about such things. For example there is a case where in one area a community councillor had to ensure community development and hired people in a community to do work for pay. The people were working in a councillor's home; chopping wood, sweeping the grounds, ploughing the fields, paved way and maintained road to a councillor's place because they did not know that that was wrong. These people did not make enquiries, they kept quiet and when they get paid they saw a councillor as their boss who gave them employment and afforded to pay so many people. The same example that took place not long ago is when people have worked in the community road maintenance for their term, [and] when they were supposed to be paid a councillor told them that the computer has swallowed their names, meaning that [the] information reflecting names of those who worked has been deleted therefore they were told that they could not be paid their monies. Our people are vulnerable; they vote for leaders, pay tax but do not know their rights (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

The above description reflects the situation of passive citizenship as opposed to citizens who exercise their right of having a voice by demanding those rights. However, this female IEC educator is aware that those employed citizens ought to have made enquiries as a way of exercising their right instead of maintaining silence. This demonstrates that civic education will have to teach people about their rights and advocate for partnerships between government and civil society organisations where decisions can be made that include citizens so that they can demand services that they are entitled to.

Although, in civic republican terms, the position of having a voice was prominent among the Maseru respondents, the role of community participation still features in their civic republican notions of citizenship. The next section discusses how the respondents described the responsibilities of citizens under the theme citizenship as participation.

6.3.2 Citizenship as Participation

Citizenship is also understood as participation by citizens in their community. This means that citizens perform certain activities because they are affected as members of society. Two distinctive ways of active engagement and voluntarism have been identified and discussed to show responses that reflect republicanism citizenship behaviour where citizens are involved in developments activities. It has been observed that citizenship as participation under civic republican behaviour was mentioned more by Maseru respondents than Qacha's Nek respondents. The latter's responses leaned towards a communitarian way of participation in terms of their level of engagement towards communal activities and the maintenance of good relationships and connections. This differs with civic republican behaviour where participation is more about active engagement for improvement or change. Maseru participants appear to be more actively engaged within their civil society groups, as discussed below.

6.3.2.1 Citizenship Through Active Engagement

For Bagnall (2010), the more a person engages or participates, the more they become active citizens who share their knowledge, skills and commitment responsibly. This is how a Maseru respondent described a citizen:

> … [Someone] who participates actively by engaging lively in activities that contributes to the country's development (Male citizen, Maseru).

This brief description also indicates the presence of a social conscience – an interest in broader issues, rather than the communitarian focus on social harmony:

> It [a citizen] is someone who assists others, who engages in the country's development and is a change agent in issues of community improvement. It is a person who gives advices to people, who sensitizes others about how to improve themselves within their own environment (Female citizen, Maseru).

The above signifies a sense of progress and change for the better. The responses further indicated an element of active citizenship:

> It is my responsibility to ensure good governance among Basotho by raising awareness to our leaders in respect of unfulfilled promises so that they can work according to what they offered to deliver and also to ensure implementation of the rules and laws that are passed … I mean that I confront the leaders especially to discuss issues that are not right, when things go wrong, I make sure that such things come to their realisation (Male politician, Maseru).

> My role is advocacy; provide assistance in the curriculum development that it should integrate civic education from the basic level or stage of childhood (Male TRC educator, Maseru).

> An active person is the one who participates in issues affecting other citizens and is interested to know about their country and how it is ruled (Male DPE educator, Maseru).

> Someone … who is involved in development issues of the country or community such as in community policing, establishing of projects and the one engaged in political issues who is influential and culturally active in the language spoken and Sesotho issues as well as socio-economic improvement of their country (Female citizen, Maseru).

> A person who fully participates in all activities that relate to oneself either in policy analysis and development, by attending meetings and who takes part in national issues like in voting. Who provides guidance and shares knowledge as well as raising issues where needed (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

There was also a mention of outspokeness in participation by a TRC educator in Maseru:

> Someone who is heavily involved in governance issues, who is concerned about what takes place in their country, about the decisions that are made, service delivery, someone who can voice their opinion in a group or in its behalf (Male TRC educator, Maseru).

The above comments reflect the work done by civil society groups who mostly speak on behalf of the majority of their members. Therefore, by virtue of the civic educators' work in Maseru, it was easy to understand and link active citizenship with the notion of civic republican. This shows that, in civil society, groups network and people join them with common goals to uphold and act as active citizens who voice the concern of other members, especially when communicating with the state on issues that affect the masses of people. The way in which active citizenship is conducted reflected a range of concerns. For instance, one male citizen talked about service delivery. He revealed that:

> Citizenship issues affect me and hinder the development as well. It is because poor service delivery is seen in all ministries (Male citizen, Maseru).

A female educator highlighted the need for both men and women to play equal roles in communities, thus, reflecting an equal family relationship:

> The family is like an organisation where there has to be a gatekeeper and should have meeting[s] or work together and communicate freely. In a community setting or in development issues they [men and women] both play the same responsibilities of contributing towards the improvement of their place (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

However, active citizenship is not without challenges. For instance, active citizenship is always seen as party politicised. An NGO educator illustrated this:

> When a person is actively involved one is labelled to associate with certain political parties. Everything is politicised in this country and therefore there is no progress (Male TRC educator, Maseru).

This quotation by a TRC educator shows a situation where people are labelled, according to whom they associate with and where they participate, by the people who have allegiances to certain political parties. In these situations, those who label others ignore an important value of citizenship as a flexible concept that has to embrace tolerance and "the celebration of difference" as reflected by Nyamnjoh (2007, p. 74). This scenario, as articulated by the TRC educator, in itself demotivates other active people from getting involved in public issues for fear that they will be given labels or politicised. This indicates that civic education will have to engage citizens in critical enquiry and to question the status quo on issues pertaining to democracy, citizenship and government.

6.3.2.2 Citizenship Through Voluntarism

Citizenship as participation is also understood as the responsibility of citizens who exercise their choice to do voluntary work or self-help work to promote self-sufficiency; they, thus, become active citizens under the concept of civic republican citizenship (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). This again contrasts with communitarian citizenship which places more emphasis on the duty to participate for the sake of social harmony. Voluntarism reflects a pre-thought through a decision to take action on a particular issue. This came out clearly when the respondents were asked to explain their understanding of what active citizenship means. In the Lesotho context, even civic republican still retains an element of communitarian philosophy in that the concept of the collective and ubuntu as an ethic of care (Waghid, 2014) is reflected in voluntary activity. In other words, it is not all oppositional or challenging the status quo – it is also contributory. Although respondents described it as voluntary work, they also linked it to moral obligation:

> It is a person who looks at things in different dimensions, who is commonly chosen or elected in leadership positions or who normally volunteers in development issues (Male citizen, Maseru).

> It is someone who understands and is interested in the way a country is administered, how elections are managed, and the model used, to take part in whichever way that can be useful and impart their knowledge where and when needed. It is someone who listens with care to the news that is disseminated to the public. In 1993 I was interested to know how the parties were fared and I thought that there was a mistake done [when all constituencies were won by BCP through FPTP model]. Anyway every country chooses its own electoral model to use. People differ in having interest of how things are done and what government is doing. Some people are less interested to know about issues that affect their lives. Even in different political parties there are those who are interested to know about certain things while others are interested in just singing and some just attend for the sake of being there. An active person is the one who participates in issues affecting other citizens and is interested to know about their country and how it is ruled (Male DPE educator, Maseru).

This theme is linked to democracy and implies that active citizens are able to participate in the exercise of political power, rather than being passive citizens as mere bearers of rights. However, in Lesotho many people, although they are citizens, are excluded from participation through unemployment, poverty and things like political affiliation where the

patronage system is prevalent and only members of the ruling political party benefit, as previously discussed in the chapter on democracy. Despite some passive citizens, there are people who are well informed and knowledgeable, as reflected by the civic educator in the above quotation. This indicates that the educated citizens, who have the ability to create change, seem also to be apathetic and uninvolved in the country's political decision making. It is, therefore, the responsibility of civic education to encourage citizens to participate in decision making and it should be tailored for different contexts and different people, depending on their levels of knowledge.

The comparative table (Table 7) below displays how the respondents of the study understood citizenship in both Qacha's Nek and Maseru respectively. From the table, it can be seen that citizenship as belonging was expressed through different dimensions by respondents in both Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts. An exception is apparent where the relationship between rights and responsibilities was voiced by Maseru respondents exclusively and belonging through community engagement was only mentioned by respondents in the Qacha's Nek District. Citizenship as identity, in its different notions, was revealed by Maseru District respondents alone. Citizenship as maintaining good relations was understood in terms of maintaining a harmonious neighbourhood within the rural context of Qacha's Nek, while it was understood as citizenship as connection by the people in the urban context of Maseru. All these are classified under the communitarian citizenship category.

For the civic republican citizenship category, respondents in both Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts understood citizenship as the exercising of rights through having a voice. Respondents in Maseru further expressed the notion of citizenship as participation under the dimensions of citizenship through active engagement and citizenship through voluntarism. The discussion section follows this table.

Table 7: Comparative Summary Showing how Citizenship is Understood

Citizenship Themes	Qacha'sNek	Maseru

Communitarian citizenship behaviour
Citizenship as belonging
  • Citizenship as belonging through membership
  • Citizenship as belonging through legal status
	
	√
	√
	√
		
		√
		√
		√

• Citizenship as belonging through having rights and responsibilities • Relationship between rights and responsibilities • Citizenship as belonging through community engagement	√	√
Citizenship as identity • Citizenship as individual identity • Citizenship as collective identity • Citizenship as fluid and vulnerable identity		√ √ √
Citizenship as maintaining good relations • Maintaining harmonious neighbourhood • Citizenship through connections	√	√
Civic republican citizenship behaviour • Citizenship as exercising rights by having a voice	√	√
Citizenship as participation • Citizenship through active engagement • Citizenship through voluntarism		√ √

6.4 Discussion

The interviews and focus group discussions indicated a dominance of two forms of citizenship. In Qacha's Nek District, a rural context, the focus was on communitarian citizenship. In Maseru District, an urban context, there were indications that a more civic republican form of citizenship was being practiced – as indicated in the conceptual framework, developed in Chapter Three and outlined below.

Table 4: Conceptual Framework for Citizenship

CITIZENSHIP			
Characteristics	**Communitarians (Arthur, 2000; Bagnall, 2010; Pacho, 2013; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004; Waghid, 2014; Zwart 2013)**	**Civic republican (Bagnall, 2010; Delanty, 2000; Jarvis, 2008; Nwafor, 2012; Nyamnjoh, 2007; O'Ferrall, 2001 ; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004)**	**Deliberative democracy (Delanty, 2000; Isin & Wood, 1999; Mahafza, 2014; Pacho, 2013; Torres, 1998)**
Responsibilities	Bonding of village life	Civil society main source	Protest action
Values	Collectivism,	Organisations	React to social justice

	voluntarism		issues
Relationship to state	Obey and respect state and the laws	Civil society communicates with the state	Challenges the state in opposition to state
Pedagogy	Banking education	Reflective education	Critical education
Participation level	Good citizens	Active citizens	Critical citizens

The different forms of citizenship behaviour largely reflect differences in rural and urban contexts in terms of the respondents' lifestyles, the environment and what practically happens therein. Other forms of citizenship, such as cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2003), were not mentioned by the respondents of this study, probably because Lesotho is a mono-cultural society that is geographically surrounded by South Africa, and it is relatively homogeneous. There is an obsession with South Africa as a mediating force in all that Lesotho does, and this is evident in the current political instability where the South African vice president is facilitating Lesotho's preparations for elections to be held in 2015 as a resolution to the nation's political challenges (see Chapter One and Eight). Lesotho is, therefore, fairly introspective in its views – as reflected in the Government's vision 2020 (Government of Lesotho, 2004). There is less concern or interest in a contribution to global debates, perhaps because it has very little economic power on an international scale. It mostly only interacts with South Africa in all matters.

The responses revealed that there is an understanding of citizenship as belonging through legal status, as reflected by Bagnall (2010). This is where government determines citizenship, unlike in citizenship as belonging through membership where citizens determine where they want to belong as members. Belonging through legal status is a formal means where government expects that people should act as good citizens that abide by the laws by acquiring legal documents such as a birth certificate and passport that shows a person's nationality. This is highlighted in the above conceptual framework under the communitarian characteristic as 'relationship to the state'. This notion of citizenship does not promote active democratic citizens, but instead fosters obedient loyal citizens who abide by the laws in expectation that government will in return provide certain benefits to them. This

situation of passiveness amongst citizens was made worse by the past historical and political space in Lesotho where people were oppressed and remained silent and inactive on issues affecting their lives. Moreover, belonging through legal status is disregarded by some Lesotho citizens who undermine the laws by deliberately relinquishing their citizenship status to get employment in South Africa.

Furthermore, the findings reveal that citizenship is understood by respondents in both the rural and urban context as belonging through different forms of membership. This is where citizens belong to specific groups such as an ethnic group, belong to a certain community where one originates or belong to a society where one resides as a member. The findings also confirm what Arthur (2000) and other authors pointed to as the responsibilities of citizens in communitarian citizenship where citizens bond together in village life as shown in the conceptual framework above under the characteristic of 'responsibilities'. Belonging through membership was shown to extend to women who change their original homes and join their spouse's homes, in which they become culturally recognised as full and equal members. In this context citizenship implies that learning takes place, as articulated by Delanty (2003), for instance, where a new bride learns some of the cultural practices that are performed in her new home. Citizenship as belonging through membership was seen to be important to politicians who value the numbers of citizens and do not want to see the latter moving out of their constituencies. It has been illustrated that politicians believe that the more citizens who belong to their constituencies the more chance they have of winning the elections. Civic education, therefore, has to bridge the gap between politicians who are often policy makers and the sometimes excluded citizens on whom the policies impact and, consequently, on their lives and wellbeing.

Citizenship is understood as belonging through the exercising of rights and responsibilities, but there were differences of emphasis in the two districts. It was found that Qacha's Nek followed a communitarian approach of citizenship behaviour where the rights and duties followed traditional notions of gendered roles and responsibilities, which are predominantly assigned by the traditional cultural community in a patriarchal society (Kolisang, 2012). This is because the responses showed that parenting and family maintenance responsibilities are expected more from women than their male counterparts. Therefore, men, too, have shown their appreciation of women's strength in building families. This is attributed to the

reproductive and other social roles of women that were assigned by a patriarchal society where women were highly dependent on the financial support of men while having to take care of the familiy. In contrast to this, Maseru respondents elaborated on the relationship between rights and responsibilities, showing a clearer understanding of their complementary roles than Qacha's Nek respondents, who did not clearly distinguish between rights and responsibilities. This was evidenced by some responses from female citizens in Qacha's Nek, who mentioned that 'it is a man's right to support their wife' rather than a responsibility. Maseru respondents were able to articulate the relationship well and were regularly quoting the supreme law, the constitution and what it stipulates. The other important finding is that Qacha's Nek is predominantly a rural and traditional area that does not have good communication systems. This, therefore, suggests strongly that civic education programmes need to be tailored to meet the needs, resources and interests of rural communities.

Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that government does not provide for social rights of citizens (employment opportunities, education, and health) and they are expected to provide for themselves. This has implications for the way citizenship allegiance is acted out, where citizens may fail to be loyal and dutiful to the government, because the state shows scant care and responsibility towards them. Similarly, citizenship was understood as belonging through community engagement by the rural Qacha's Nek respondents only. It was revealed that belonging in community engagement is determined by the extent an individual participates and contributes to community activities such as the attendance of funerals and community gatherings. However, the implication is that these conceptions of citizenship are not conducive to developing and sustaining a democratic society. There is a need for civic education that can help citizens to re-conceptualize citizenship in a manner that facilitates the development of a more democratic society and an active citizenry.

Citizenship was understood in terms of identity, either in an individual or a collective form, or as fluid, vulnerable identity by the urban respondents of Maseru, while Qachas 'Nek respondents were silent regarding citizenship as identity. Identity formation requires more critical and analytical citizens, capacities which perhaps the Maseru respondents displayed due to their more advanced level of education and exposure to different urban lifestyles. This differs from Qacha's Nek respondents, who reside in a rural context with less exposure

beyond their immediate surrounds and a more limited educational background. The findings reveal that identity is embedded in peoples' self-awareness (Mason & Vella, 2013) and their conduct and character, which distinguishes them from other people especially when doing certain activities. Even in citizenship as collective identity, peoples' tribes (such as being a Mosotho tribe member) embrace typical identifiable features such as hair texture and complexion. Citizens also build their identity through dress code such as blankets and *mokorotlo* (Rosenberg, 2001, 2007), known as the Basotho hat, that other people can recognise. This means that citizenship conception in this dimension follows what Lappegard (2008) and other authors state as the way a person's self definition with qualities and attributes that characterise their group (Rosenberg, 2001; Sindic, 2011; Yeatman, 2007). The findings further illustrate how language, as a shared collective identity, is a powerful means that brings people together regardless of their nationality (Mason & Vella, 2013). Respondents further articulated that citizenship was a fluid and vulnerable identity because it changes easily for different purposes. It is believed that citizenship identity changes due to reasons of employment opportunities, a feeling that Mosotho identity is less important than other identities of countries like South Africa or because of the external influence resulting from globalisation. There is a sense of a declining citizenship identity building among the youth that is affected by modernisation and globalisation where some people obtain false and forged identities for the sake of survival. Therefore, there is a need for the adaptation of international policies, so that the Basotho can preserve their identity even if they mix with other ethnic or cultural groups from other countries due to globalisation and modernisation.

The citizenship conceptual framework as illustrated above did not capture what the data revealed about citizenship as identity, which was expressed by Maseru respondents in particular. Perhaps the conceptual framework could be extended by including concepts of *ubuntu/botho* to create a more Afrocentric citizenship. In this citizenship as identity there is a strong element of the African perspective of *botho* and *ubuntu*, as reflected by Lekoko and Modise (2011) regarding the 'I/We' concept, and Pacho (2013). This form of identity reflects a strong connectedness where one person is identified in terms of the collective others; hence, the issue of good human conduct as discussed in the literature on African values by Lekoko and Modise (2011), Waghid (2014), Metz (2014). However, Matolino and

Kwindingwi (2013) regard *ubuntu* as outdated in a cosmopolitan and globalised context. In contrast, Metz (2014) asserts that *ubuntu* has the qualities that are required in modern democratic societies, while Waghid (2014) further discusses the role of *ubuntu* as essential for nurturing citizenship education through the ethics of care, particularly in addressing corruption, individualism and selfish behaviour of politicians. This is an issue that would merit further consideration in a civic education programme in the Lesotho context.

Citizenship in its communitarian form was understood by Qacha's Nek respondents as maintaining good community relationships by maintaining harmonious neighbourhoods. Qacha's Nek respondents talked about citizens operating interdependently in a neighbourhood setting and assisting each other collectively. This idea conforms to the values of voluntarism and collectivism that are articulated in the conceptual framework and applied in Botswana by Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) where citizens are expected to behave as good citizens who respect and obey the laws. Citizenship as maintaining good relationships was also expressed as citizenship through connections by Maseru respondents. These connections are either between people or countries. Connections were expressed by the respondents as demonstrating good relationships through helping one another. The African values of connectedness and interdependence were a common theme of communitarian. In a study conducted in Botswana by Preece and Mosweunyane (2004), connections were linked to social capital where networks are a powerful resource in which people cooperate and provide information whenever needed. The Lesotho data confirmed what the literature (Gill, 1993; Khaketla, 1971; Pule & Thabane, 2002) has articulated in regard to work parties known as matsema and the value of cooperation or working together collectively to assist one another. This is made even easier by people who reside in a homogeneous small country like Lesotho that is landlocked by South Africa.

Respondents in both districts demonstrated their understanding of citizenship as exercising rights by having a voice, which showed civic republican citizenship behaviour, represented in the conceptual framework characteristics under 'relationship to state' and 'participation level.' Responses have shown that citizens have a voice to determine the improvement of their lives within their communities. However, it was observed that in Qacha's Nek, this was only rhetorically acknowledged by a male politician, whereas, in Maseru several respondents gave examples of a deeper understanding that citizens are able to exercise

their rights by having a voice in society. The responses concurred with observations made by Jarvis (2008) in relation to civic republican and communitarian notions of citizenship.

Citizenship as civic republican participation in terms of active engagement and voluntarism was articulated by Maseru urban respondents only. Several responses showed that citizens actively participate in development issues and by helping others whenever there is need and some even volunteer to be chosen as leaders when necessary. It can be assumed that Maseru urban respondents are more critical; therefore, they correspond to what Pacho (2013) outlines as critical and educated citizens who are said to be knowledgeable on issues that affect their country, rather than being ignorant and passive. It is noted that citizenship is tied to democracy or any form of governance; therefore, a culture of participation is central to democratic citizenship. It follows, then, that civic education has to engage citizens in critical enquiry and encourage the questioning of the status of issues pertaining to democracy, citizenship and government.

In general, it was found that, in Maseru respondents' understanding of citizenship was informed more by civic republican, as outlined in the literature (Harber & Mncube, 2012; Jarvis, 2008; O'Ferrall, 2001 ; Preece & Mosweunyane, 2004). This is evident in how citizens exercise their rights and engage in activities by joining civil society groups and advocating and interacting with government about issues that affect the majority of people. However, the interviews also indicated that even aware citizens do not challenge the government. Nevertheless, in the spirit of civic republican they may sometimes enter into a dialogue with the hope of advocating for situations to change. This supports what Jarvis (2008), Preece and Mosweunyane (2004), O'Ferrall (2001) and Harber and Mncube (2012) reveal in relation to the role of civil societies in citizenship activity (see Chapter Three) on citizens who communicate with the state through civil society groups. Moreover, most of these Maseru-based educators in this study come from such groups. The indications are, however, that there is a need for enhanced civic education, even for adults who can foster the creation of public spaces where citizens and civil society groups can contribute to government policy development and ensure full participation. Furthermore, civic education should empower people with information, skills and knowledge to give them the capacity to influence government policy decisions, most especially those that affect the masses of

citizens such as matters concerning social and economic rights that impact on disadvantaged groups.

6.5 Conclusion

The findings have illustrated that citizenship is formally determined by government and carries notions of the "good citizen"; this is where the state determines that people can only belong to a country when they show respect for other people, abide by laws and regulations that control the obedience of loyal and patriotic citizens. This is an indication of imposed citizenship. The passivity evident in Lesotho's citizens was made worse by the political history of oppression of people, which caused them to remain silent and inactive regarding issues affecting them. However, it was found that there is an unusual practice where some citizens are willing to relinquish their citizenship status in desperation to gain employment in South Africa. This reflects the fragile state of citizen identity in its legal sense, which also impacts on citizen loyalty to the country. Nevertheless, the formally determined status of citizenship extends to an understanding of citizenship as belonging through the exercising of rights and responsibilities. These are circumstances in which the government still expects citizens to abide by the law by exercising the rights that are legally stipulated under the framework of laws; but they also have to act responsibly as good citizens who behave well. By the same token, the government promises to give benefits to citizens that are loyal, obedient and respectful. Citizenship, in this formally determined manner, does not promote active citizens, but instead the government encourages good citizens who are law abiding and loyal to their leaders as domesticated citizens. This situation is reinforced by strong requirements for political party allegiance: for getting a job and to be recognised for other benefits, so that effectively, citizens, even in a passive unthreatening form, do not manage to act out their citizen rights as part of a democracy.

It was additionally found that citizenship is a flexible conception that is exercised in the way citizens want to interpret it. This can be viewed under the notion of citizenship as belonging that reflects a free choice by which citizens determine where they want to reside by becoming part of a membership of the place they want to belong to. In this respect citizenship is reflected as part of humanity and *botho* and *ubuntu*, which is an African value of connecting and providing for others by assisting them. The African perspective of the

I/we identity conflation, with the sense of connectedness (Lekoko & Modise, 2011), links well with citizenship as belonging, as it is understood when people move from one area to another, perhaps through marriage into another family, and stay collectively and connected in terms of identity, which shows the African communitarian approach to living.

Furthermore, citizenship is understood as a performed act through which citizens can freely participate and engage in community activities. Citizenship of this kind is determined freely by citizens themselves. Therefore, there are some conflicting tendencies. These include the issue of citizen identity as a legal status that is influenced by the physical location of Lesotho and its socio economic context. Moreover, there are still strong notions of how a citizen should behave in terms of communitarian values. There are hints of changing values as reflected in youth and female voices that are looking for more equal identities. In the urban context some of these tensions can be acted out through civic republican activities, but to a limited extent because the fragility of the nation state does not lend itself to strong civil society action for fear of disrupting peace.

The findings have also revealed that citizenship is an intrinsic feeling of being an individual in terms of citizenship as identity. This has been illustrated by the responses that showed this notion as a distinguishing factor for different people on how they perform and behave with a sense of pride. Furthermore, citizenship is reflected as part of humanity expressed through the concepts of *botho* and *ubuntu*, which, in turn, reflect the African values of connecting and providing for others by assisting them. This was espressed under citizenship as maintaining good relations, behaviour which extends being helpful by maintaining a harmonious neighbourhood (Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2010, 2014). It also, according to the literature and the Lesotho language itself, goes deeper than that: in that – in spite of changing times – people's sense of their connectivity is strong. It is expressed in the way in which mobility within the country creates unwritten assumptions and laws about how wives, for example, should be inculcated into the spouses family practices, and how chieftainship practices ensure newcomers understand local expectations. This has potential to be built on in civic education as a positive force, as suggested by (Waghid, 2010, 2014); but it should be done in a way that engages with globalisation influences.

An element of democratic citizenship is evidently being practiced or understood by Maseru urban respondents. These respondents expressed awareness of critical and active citizenship under civic republican citizenship behaviour that is distinguished from the kind of passive citizenship that presided during authoritarian governance. This was reflected in the responses that illustrated understandings of citizenship as participation through active engagement and through voluntarism. In both instances, citizens were described as being expected to participate actively in development issues that affect peoples' lives in their country.

Like democracy, citizenship is a process that involves courses of action. It also involves both procedures when acquiring a legal status and membership where people strive to belong either in a community or in society. Citizenship is also a practice because it involves what people perform in different places where they belong. The practice further extends to actions and procedures that people undertake, such as performing marriage and other cultural roles by, for example, married females. There is evidence of the need for capacity building and learning by which individuals and groups can practice their actions for change by participation and engagement in decisions that affect their lives. The citizenship concept is dynamic, however, and it changes focus from time to time. There is a need for a civic education that can encourage the piecing together of the different strands of understanding and behaviour in a way that produces a greater critical awareness across the populace so that it can contribute as a body of informed citizens towards the development of a democratic nation.

The next chapter discusses the findings regarding the nature of civic education that is provided in Lesotho. This is also being compared to civic education curricula offered in other countries.

Chapter Seven

The Nature of Civic Education for Adults in Lesotho

7.1 Introduction

The findings from the responses to the first research question of how participants of the study understand the concept of democracy in Lesotho are presented in Chapter Five. It was found that democracy is understood as both a traditional and a modern notion in the lifestyle of a democratic society. The findings further revealed that the introduction of democracy has brought about several tensions between traditional and modern values and practices, particularly in relation to rights and gender equality.

Chapter Six presented the findings from the second research question of the participants understanding of the concept of citizenship in Lesotho. Here, it was found that the responses from the participants indicated a dominance of two forms of citizenship: communitarian and civic republican behaviour. The different forms of citizenship behaviour largely reflected differences between rural and urban contexts in terms of the respondents' lifestyles, environment and what happens practically therein. The findings revealed that the dominant understanding of citizenship is as belonging, identity and maintaining good relationships, reflected by respondents in both the rural and urban contexts. These are all characteristics of communitarian citizenship and an expression of the African ideology of *botho* and *ubuntu*.

Respondents in both districts also demonstrated their understanding of citizenship as exercising rights by having a voice, which indicated there were sympathies towards civic republican citizenship behaviour. However, the urban respondents in Maseru expressed their awareness of a more critical and active citizenship under civic republican than the rural respondents in Qacha's Nek. This can be attributed to the reality that civic education for adults in Lesotho is offered mostly informally through the use of media that reaches mainly the urban rather than the rural citizens, and civil society organisations and politicians are largely based in Maseru.

These findings have implications for how civic education should be taught in order to deepen understandings of democracy and citizenship, suggesting that civic education should

be tailored for the rural and urban citizens in a context of democratic transition in a country that still embraces strong traditional ties to communitarian living.

This chapter presents the findings in respect of research question three: what is the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho? It analyses the curriculum materials/documents that were collected from organisations that provide civic education. This data is supplemented by interview data, where relevant, and the field notes made by the researcher, in particular, from an observation of one civic education workshop in Maseru.

Civic education is provided by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of Lesotho, which is mandated by the supreme law in the country, the Constitution of Lesotho, to provide such education. Additionally, civil society organisations provide civic education such as the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC), Development for Peace Education (DPE) and the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN). The civic education that is discussed is compared with the literature from the international curricula on civic education that is reviewed in Chapter Two. From this, implications are drawn for further analysis in this chapter.

The following is a table showing a list of documents that were received from the three different institutional providers of civic education. The LCN NGO, offering citizenship education in Lesotho did not provide any materials.

Table 8: Civic Education Documents Received

District	Provider Institution	Name of Document
Qacha's Nek	IEC	Tataiso ea Barupeli Ba Bakhethi (Voter Education Manual): National Assembly Elections 2012
	IEC	National Assembly Electoral Act 2011
	IEC	Voting and Counting Manual 2012
Maseru	IEC	Tataiso ea Barupeli Ba Bakhethi (Voter Education Manual) 2013
	IEC	Electoral Education Manual: National Assembly Elections 2012
	DPE	Ba Re'ng Batho ka likhetho? National Assembly Elections 2012
	DPE	Motataise Voter and Civic Education Manual
	TRC	Nolofatso ea molao oa motheo oa Lesotho (Simplified Sesotho version for Lesotho Constitution) 2nd Edition 2000
	TRC	Transformation Resource Centre Lesotho-brochure "If you want Peace, you have to work for Justice"

The civic education documents are all analysed in terms of: content, delivery mode, frequency and who delivered the curriculum of civic education. The gaps and silences that are noticed in the documents are identified in the discussion section.

The following documents from IEC are analysed: Electoral Education Manual: National Assembly Elections (IEC, 2012); Tataiso ea Barupeli Ba Bakhethi: Likhetho Phetho Tsa Lekhotla La Sechaba translated as Voter Education Manual: National Assembly By-elections (IEC, 2013); Tataiso ea Barupeli Ba Bakhethi : Lekhotla la Sechaba translated as Voter Education Manual: National Assembly (IEC, 2012a); and The National Assembly Electoral Act 2011. Additionally, Development for Peace Education manuals that are analysed are Motataise Voter and Civic Education Manual and Ba re'ng Batho ka Likhetho? Translated as 'What do people say about elections?' Below is the summary table reflecting all the manuals that are analysed and further elaborated on and discussed according to the chosen themes. The materials from the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) are not included in the analysis, mainly because it was a brochure that showed programmes offered by the TRC organisation. The second document is the constitution that is a translated Sesotho version; therefore, I referred only to the English version.

Table 9: List of Documents Analysed.

Themes	Content	Delivery Mode	Frequency	Recommended Training Provider
1.Electoral Education Manual: National Assembly Elections (IEC, 2012b)	Electoral education What is democracy Elections: free, credible and fair Registration Nomination Formal recognition of contestants Campaign and code of conduct Voting and voting stages Counting and announcement Electoral model: seats allocation Managing electoral conflicts peacefully	The manual encourages the use of enabling approaches to learning, which are explained as adult learning approaches versus conventional methods. Enabling uses one's experiences, resulting in change of behaviour. Examples are: community mobilisation, pictures, role plays and simulations.	The manual is silent regarding the frequency. However, the manual is used with different groups such as political party representatives, youth in politics, women, security personnel and others that are trained in the workshops in all the districts.	IEC takes the responsibility of maintaining standards and quality but the manual stipulates stakeholders such as political parties, civil society organisations, church leaders, chiefs and other community leaders, media, IEC.
2. Voter	Preparation for	Public gatherings;	For the duration	Voter educators;

Education Manual (IEC, 2012a)	conducting voter education, IEC structure, voter education, What is democracy, Elections, IEC stakeholders in elections, Registration, Promulgation of elections, Nomination of candidates, code of conduct, Advance electors, Counting and announcement, allocation of seats, elections observation, elections petitions	workshop training; educational printed materials; media; role plays and simulations; discussions	time of elections.	civil society groups; political parties; schools; media
3. Voter Education Manual (IEC, 2013)	As above	Public gatherings; workshop training; educational printed materials; media; role plays and simulations; discussions	Provided at all times (Ongoing)	Voters; educators, civil society groups; political parties; schools; media
4. National Assembly Electoral Act (Government of Lesotho, 2011)	The Act covers the method of registration of voters; registration of political parties; nomination of candidates; conduct of election campaigns; conduct of elections at polling stations; counting of votes; election petitions. The Act includes an Electoral Code of Conduct, outlining the responsibilities/ guidelines for the behaviour of all key stakeholders, including the IEC and political parties.	The Act provides for elections campaigns in Chapter V of the National Assembly Electoral Act 2011 that are done in the form of meetings, processions, rallies or demonstrations by political parties.	The Act is silent about voter and civic education. The campaigns by political parties take place from promulgation of elections until 24 hours before voting day.	IEC staff and trained voter educators during the dissemination of voter and electoral education manuals
5. Motataise Voter and	The introduction entails: the art and	The manual encourages	The manual is silent on how	All civil society organisations

Civic Education Manual (DPE)	science of approaching communities; what are elections; how does my vote turn into governance; registration; voting; counting and announcement; electoral model; conflict management; citizen participation; local government; election observation	liberating/enabling education. It encourages educators to learn and know about communities, the groups found therein, and then do an initial contact with relevant gatekeepers like chiefs or leaders of different groups. Community education through pitso, workshops to community based groups.	often it should be provided but assume that, since its central focus is on elections and voting, it is provided during elections period.	that offer voter and civic education.
6. Ba re'ng Batho ka Likhetho? A Sesotho comic translated as: What do the people say about elections?	Elections; misconceptions about registration; election results and facts that rectify the misconceptions; election campaigns; voting process.	The comic has shown pictures of people listening to the radio, people holding discussions in the veld, in public transport, in churches, funeral gatherings among others.	During the elections period,	IEC staff; civil society groups; political party candidates

7.2 Content

The content involves the key concepts that appear in the above analysed manuals and are relevant to the focus of the study. The analysis of the concepts is based on the way they are defined and discussed in the manuals. These content areas are: civic education; democracy; public participation; and rights, freedoms and responsibilities.

7.2.1 Civic Education

Civic education is explained in different ways in the different manuals. In the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) manuals it is defined as electoral education in one instance and voter education in other manuals. According to the Electoral Education Manual by the IEC (2012b):

Electoral education is a process of involving electorate in the electoral processes through persuasive and effective communication. Electoral education provides key factual information regarding electoral law, procedures and other important responsibilities of electors. It serves to:

Help people understand all important electoral process steps and play [an] active role in their realisation such as registration, cleaning the voter register, reporting irregularities etc.

Dispel misconceptions about different electoral process stages and replace them with clear and factual information;

Mobilise people to participate in peaceful electoral activities;

Build confidence and competence among electorate in the electoral process (IEC, 2012b, p. 2-3).

The manual indicates that the mandate for the IEC is that of ensuring the responsibility for maintaining standards and quality; however, electoral education is a task for different stakeholders in elections to educate people about electoral law, encourage people to participate and ensure that elections remains a process of free will and choice, free from any form of coercion and intimidation (IEC, 2012b).

The above definition reminded me that one of the IEC educators in Maseru mentioned that they had provided comprehensive education before the 2012 National Assembly Elections. She said that the education was civic education, even though they did not call it as such, because they fear using the word civic education; hence, they use electoral education to avoid getting into trouble with the authorities. She explained as follows:

As far as concepts are concerned we started prior to 2012 elections to give that information [civic education] to people and we ended up naming it electoral education that covered more stakeholders, and the timing was a short term [that was] provided before elections and the information was comprehensive. We tried to work together with NGOs to address the myths and misconceptions that people have. That is why we called it [civic education] electoral education, in fear and running away from civic education, a word that the authorities feel sensitive when they hear about it (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

At this point, I asked: Why do you say that you feared to call it civic education?

It is because we had had organisational politics about civic education because [the] legal authorities here had earlier shown that civic education can be provided by human rights specialists only. So we ended up not doing it [civic education]. Just like UNDP had funded us, we had gone to a study tour in Ghana to see how it was taught before it [civic education programme] was implemented. However, that was stopped by the authorities even though there was funding for it. We surrendered when our legal office raised an issue [...] that is why I talk about fear. We also argued about curriculum issues because people's understanding about it [civic education] was that it should be a formal thing that has to be undertaken by the ministry of education or NCDC [National Curriculum Development Centre] is the only one to do it (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

It was interesting to learn that civic education was narrowed by the IEC to electoral education, as the above interview with one of the educators revealed. This narrowed definition is a direct contravention of the constitutional mandate of the IEC, as discussed below in section 7.5. The above IEC educator showed the challenge faced, when illustrating that:

In the constitution it is expected that IEC should ensure the understanding of democratic processes amongst people, but in the electoral law it now says IEC should ensure understanding of electoral processes. That is a challenge. When we encourage people to vote, they [people] ask about elected representatives [who did not deliver] therefore, the focus has been narrowed to establish our [IEC] focus only on election process ... (Female IEC educator, Maseru).

The narrowing of the definition of civic education to electoral education by the IEC shows that it was done to suit the National Assembly Electoral Act, 2011 that was also used to repeal and replace the National Assembly Elections Act 1992. IEC also diluted the issue of ensuring an understanding of democratic processes, which became: understanding of electoral processes. It shows that the IEC managed to get away with ensuring that they reduce their constitutional mandate, from that of ensuring and deepening democracy, to a limited focus of promoting electoral law and its processes. The review and replacing of laws is passed by the house of parliament, which entails representative leaders that are both elected and non-elected (traditional leaders), all of which did not question the omission or cancellation of the promotion amongst the people of democratic process by IEC. This shows that education is a political process and, therefore, these documents are political instruments. This "domesticated citizenship education" that is provided by IEC, shows a

clear link with what Basotho citizens revealed as their understanding of democracy and citizenship both in Chapters Five and Six. This shows that, indeed, civic education is facing serious challenges in Lesotho particularly in relation to ensuring citizen participation in the democratisation process. As I was writing this thesis, an attempted coup occurred, which further demonstrates the fragile state of democracy in Lesotho.

There is no definition of either voter or civic education in the Motataise Voter and Civic Education Manual formulated by the NGO of Development for Peace Education (DPE). However, both IEC voter education manuals define voter education as follows:

> Thuto ea bakhethi ke thuto e fanoang ho bakhethi ka linako tsohle e le hoba hlomella ka litaba tse ka ba thusang ho kenya letsoho likhethong. E reretsoe ho tataisa bakhethi le ho chorisa tsebo ea bona ea molao oa likhetho le tsamaiso ea tsona. E kenyeletsa thuto ka tsamaiso ea likhetho ho tloha sethathong ho fihlela qetellong le methati eohle e lateloang tokisetsong ea tsona (IEC, 2013, p. 9).

Translated as:

> Voter education is education provided to electorates at all times so as to equip them with knowledge on how to participate in elections. It is meant to help the electorates to become knowledgeable in electoral law and its processes. It includes elections management information throughout all stages as well as its preparations (IEC, 2013, p. 9).

In another instance, the IEC voter education manual of 2012 (page 9), differs in its definition with respect to explaining when voter education is provided.

The two manuals use different words that contradict each other in the explainion of when voter education is provided. The 2013 manual states that voter education is provided to electorates 'at all times', while the 2012 manual shows that voter education is provided 'during elections period only'. In practice, in Lesotho voter education is offered for about three months before elections are held, as a once off activity. The manuals are not consistent, yet both are the official documents of the same institution, IEC.

From what the manuals state, civic education in Lesotho is offered as voter education. It is also a 'one size fits all' curriculum, because it is offered to all citizens alike as long as they are eligible to vote, whether literate or not, and with different age groups. Furthermore, voter education does not take account of the rural-urban locations, as the content is the

same across the country. This is revealed in the Chapters Five and Six where respondents portrayed differences in understandings of democracy and citizenship between Maseru and Qacha's Nek. The manuals' purpose is to sensitise citizens about elections and motivate them about how they can exercise their voting rights in electing their representative leaders. This is a narrow and shallow focus for civic education, as it is provided for adults in Lesotho, and a definition for civic education is not provided in any of the training manuals.

It is interesting to observe that one of the civil society organisations, Development for Peace Education, has developed its own manual with an impressive title of Motataise Voter and Civic Education Manual without mentioning the year in which it was developed. The manual does not attempt to define or explain what voter or civic education is. This manual's foreword was provided by the former IEC chairperson, while the afterword was provided by the president of the Lesotho Council of NGOs. Both of them could not foresee the importance of defining either voter or civic education as the focus area of the training manual, including providing the year when it was produced. It can, therefore, be surmised that civic education for adults is not taken seriously, either by either IEC or civil society providers, until the actual time of elections, indicating that civic education is a limited and periodic education in Lesotho. Following this overview definition of how civic education is provided in Lesotho, the next section discusses the concept of democracy as it appears in the training manuals.

7.2.2 Democracy
The three IEC manuals provide an explanation of democracy, and in the two IEC voter education manuals, the explanation is the same and written in a vernacular language (Sesotho) as follows:

> *Puso ea Sechaba ka Sechaba ke tsela ea tsamaiso ea puso eo ka eona ho seng ts'oso kappa qobello sechabeng se ikhethelang babusi ba sona. Ka eona, mekha e ratang ho tsamaisa puso e qothisana lehlokoa ka bolokolohi, 'me sechaba ka boithatelo ba sona se tla tsamaisa le ho aba moruo oa naha ho ntlafatsa bophelo ba son aka kakaretso.*

> Translated as: democracy is the way of governance in which there is no intimidation and coercion on the people who have elected their own representatives. Through democracy, political parties freely and voluntarily govern and share their country's

economy for the betterment of their lives and the livelihoods in general (IEC, 2012a; 2013, p. 11).

According to IEC (2012b, p. 12), in its Electoral Education Manual, "Democracy is government of the people by the people for the people with the people." The manual extends by explaining that:

> Government is a form of authority and that authority has to come from people, be used for the benefit of the people, be applied by the people accountable to the people and be shared with the people for a government to be democratic (IEC, 2012b, p. 13).

The above definitions of democracy reduce it to the notion of representation of leaders, who are simply elected by the people. The conception is also shallowly defined and channelled to the element of representation alone. Similarly, the word democracy is mentioned in the introductory part of Motataise Voter and Civic Education Manual by Development for Peace Education. The word appeared in this opening introductory paragraph as follows:

> Election is the direct way through which citizens give consent to be ruled by those they vote into power. It is of critical importance in the case of an election in a democracy that NGOs are encouraged to join hands with the IEC, church and other institutions involved in voter and civic education to sensitize the populace about elections, their rights and motivate them to stand up, vote and meaningfully participate in their own governance. When this happens then a hope that *people shall govern* is attainable, theory of government being **of the people, for the people, with the people, for the benefit of the people**[6] becomes practical (Development for Peace Education, Undated, p. 5).

In the above definitions of democracy by IEC and DPE there are subtle differences. The DPE manual refers to 'government for the people by the people' as a theory and includes the notion of 'for the benefit of the people' that is not mentioned in the IEC manuals. The use of different words for democracy in these manuals may be confusing to the readers, who may grasp the meanings differently. This is of obvious concern, because the manuals are intended for training people who are expected to become trainers, who may also impart confusing knowledge to the people who are trained, hence, the potential message distortion about democracy to the populace. For example, the Electoral Education Manual

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[6] The bold appears as it is in the manual.

outlines the different types of government, which are dictatorship, authoritarian, totalitarian and democracy in the table below, as follows:

Table 10: Types of Government (IEC, 2012b, p. 14)

DICTATORSHIP	AUTHORITARIAN	TOTALITARIAN	DEMOCRACY
1. One person holds power	1. A clique holds power	1. Power held either by a clique or one person	1. Power shared among offices and institutions
2. Governance goes as the ruler wishes; She/he is superior to any other institution	2. The rulers are powerful and account to no one.	2. Seek(s) to control every facet of life and therefore suppress people's liberties	2. System protects civil and personal liberties
3. Tortures people especially those who challenge the regime	3. No respect for human rights	3. People cannot exercise rights against national programmes e.g. how many children to have	3. Personal rights are protected by law
4. Leader is not elected	4. Put through questionable elections- may be only one party contests elections	4. Gets to power either through free-fair elections or military means	4. Rulers are elected through free fair and periodic elections
5. Relies on military force to sustain his stay in power and silence people	5. Use forceful means to ensure their bad laws are obeyed.	5. Use state machinery to control people's lives	5. The military and the state machinery used to make people's lives good.

In the manual, the above table is followed by an explanation that every type of government has power to make laws and enforce them. The manual does not make any reference to the past traditional chieftainship, a longstanding type of rule that is even recognised by the Lesotho Constitution and the entire nation. Perhaps, it might have been relevant for the manual to have provided an explanation that traditional democracy was practiced during the traditional rule by the founder of the Basotho nation, Chief Moshoeshoe I, and then make connections between the two different traditional and modern contexts. That would acknowledge the indigenous and modern forms of rule, particularly as some citizens illustrated their understanding of traditional democracy in Chapter Five, which was traditionally practiced before this modern democratic era. The manual is also silent about the type of government that is practiced in Lesotho, most probably because there is the belief that it is common knowledge that Lesotho is a democratic country and, therefore, follows the democratic form of government. Thus, the manual leaves the readers to make their own judgement about the type of government practiced in Lesotho. This is a risk

because it does not bring people to a common understanding of how democratic government functions. Different people have their own understanding and way of interpreting what is written if the content is not well elaborated with real examples.

The above different types of government illustrated in the IEC Electoral Education Manual overlap with what Harber and Mncube (2012) discuss, when referring to authoritarianism as government that is not representative of the people, but which operates as it wishes. The authors go on to explain that in authoritarian government citizens do not contribute to how the country is governed and their rights and freedoms are not guaranteed. Harber and Mncube (2012) give examples of authoritarian government as a military rule and a single political party rule that suppresses the views and opinions of citizens, while the IEC manual uses separate titles of 'dictatorship' and 'authoritarian'. The given explanation by IEC and these authors reflect what has been practiced in Lesotho during post-independence by BNP, and military rule from the time it toppled the BNP, until 1993, the first democratic elections were held (See Chapter One). The IEC manual describes totalitarian government, which again tallies with Harber and Mncube (2012), that in this aspect, government has extreme control of all aspects of life: from education, family life, the media, and religion among other things. The description of democratic government in the manual confirms Harber and Mncube's (2012) illustration that the citizen rights are entitlements that are protected by government and that citizens are free to participate in decision making in an equal manner. However, the manner in which citizens actually participate in decision making in Lesotho is virtually not happening as it should (Chapters Five and Six evidence this). The IEC manual reflects that in democracy, power is shared amongst offices and institutions instead of referring to people, even though common definitions of democracy refer to 'rule by the people for the people with the people', as is reflected in Harber and Mncube (2012). The power sharing focus among offices and institutions, as stated in the IEC (2012b) manual, may have a negative consequence in not considering the importance of peoples' participation in decision making or how government is run. This could also lead to expectations that only the people who occupy the concerned offices and institutions are the ones considered to have a say in a democratic government.

From the above table showing the types of government it can be noticed that their respective characteristics are summarised, but without actually illustrating the processes

and implications of each type of governance for people's lives, except in a very shallow and ambiguous manner in the last column. In this table the last point (5) under democracy, in relation to the role of the military states: "The military and the state machinery used to make people's lives good"; this provides an unclear explanation of how this would operate in practice. The statement runs the risk that 'making people's lives good', especially by the military and the un-named state machinery, could mean endorsing anything, whether liked or disliked by the people, that in the eyes of the 'makers' (military and state machinery), it is seen as 'good'. This could include undemocratic acts, about which the people would keep silent out of fear of reporting against the powerful 'makers'. The current political situation in Lesotho reached its peak when an attempted coup by the military occurred in August 2014, where the police stations were raided and their firearms confiscated. The military spokesperson reported that they were on an 'official operation'. However, the prime minister and his BNP coalition partner denied this and, together with the majority of the police and other government officials, went to South Africa for safety. The tension that led to the instability of the government came a day after the Lesotho military commander's termination of employment, which was followed by allegations revealing his refusal to resign. This form of democratic government, as outlined in the table, therefore, indicates serious flaws when it is seen in practice.

Characteristics of democracy, as described in more detail in the manuals, are discussed further in the next section.

7.2.2.1 Characteristics of Democracy

The characteristics of democracy are listed as follows in the IEC Electoral Education Manual (IEC, 2012b, p. 16) and in Voter Education Manual (IEC, 2013, p. 11):

> Accountability, regular, free and fair elections, transparency, equality, political tolerance, respect of human rights, rule of law, public participation and effective and independent institutions of government.

The above listed concepts are not explained in the manuals; except that on the issue of tolerance the IEC Electoral Education Manual expressed that:

> In a democracy people should be tolerant by appreciating ideas advanced by others even if one does not agree with; encouraging freedom to hold views even if they are

different from those held by others; accepting to run public affairs in the manner that people can see how various stages of government processes are handled; accepting election results; listening to the minority views (IEC, 2012b, p. 16).

In the above quotation, recognition of difference is stated as a foundation of tolerance and that is well appreciated. However, there is no deliberate intention to acknowledge or explore how recognition of difference can become a value in the democratic process as a way of fostering deliberative democracy, thus promoting active critical citizenship. In another instance, the characteristics of democracy are mentioned in the Electoral Education Manual and Voter Education Manual of 2013, but not included in other voter education manuals or other manuals from other NGOs, showing that the training manuals are not uniform and consistent.

The IEC Electoral Education Manual also mentions that:

There is direct and indirect (representative) democracy. Given the growing population and other reasons, direct democracy is becoming increasingly impossible (IEC, 2012b, p. 17).

Representative democracy (where people elect representatives to run their affairs) is explained with an emphasis on parliamentary democracy that is practiced in Lesotho. The manual stipulates that the prime minister, the head of government, is a member of the national assembly and is elected by parliamentary majority. While it is relevant that the IEC Electoral Education Manual explicitly indicates that a direct/participatory form of democracy is impossible to arrange, because of the growing population and other factors, it would also be relevant to have mentioned and recommended it as the ideal and as a substantive democracy. This assumption or perception about direct/participatory democracy that is provided in the manual may hinder the cultivation of active democratic citizenship. As of now, the manuals do not encourage, promote and advocate for suitable conditions such as active and direct involvement of members of society in governance that can enable active citizenship in a democratic society, where people can learn democratic social cooperation and also appreciate the experiences of other people.

The IEC Electoral Education Manual (IEC, 2012b) does at least illustrate how government functions.

7.2.2.2 How Government Functions

The IEC Electoral Education Manual demonstrates that government functions through the use of the constitution, which is the law that consolidates the rules, principles and procedures that inform the principles of respect for human rights. In the manual it is stipulated that the constitution:

- Establishes the state organs (Branches of Government): Legislative – which is the law making organ of state; Executive – the Cabinet and government functionary which implements the programme of the government of making life not only possible but better too; Judiciary – the courts of law.
- Provides for the Bill of Rights which guarantees the individual rights and freedoms. This further limits the chances of abuse of power by those in authority by making such rights justiceable i.e. the courts have power to enforce them.
- Is a supreme law in the land. This means that all other laws that are made by parliament must comply with the constitution. If they are against the constitution they are null and void to the extent they conflict with the supreme law (IEC, 2012b, pp. 17-18).

The IEC Electoral Education Manual showes that in a democratic society, there is power sharing within institutions of governance commonly known as the state organs. In the direct words that are used:

(i) Legislature: This makes laws, approves the national budget, and sanctions major decisions of government such as declaration of state of emergency, makes policies and monitors implementation of government policy. This is parliament. It is established through elections.

(ii) Executive: This runs the day to day business of government. It implements the laws approved by parliament and utilizes the resources (budget) approved by the parliament to advance people's lives. Prime Minister is the Head of Government, the Cabinet and the functionaries of the government. These include Ministries and the Local Government councils though are guided by specific laws in dispensing their functions.

(iii) Judiciary: This interprets the law. It seeks to ensure that justice reigns by making decisions over matters where interpretation/understanding of the law may differ between two parties. It also limits government excessive powers over the citizens and even among themselves. These are the courts of law.
The legislature representing people directly that is bestowed with power to make laws. This means that a process of putting people in parliament, which is

elections, is extremely important in democracy. Although parliament is so powerful in the governance dispensation, it is itself vulnerable to the choice of people. This highlights the significance therefore of elections in a democracy because it ensures popular supremacy over the most powerful organ of governance (IEC, 2012b, p. 19).

It is noted that parliament is bestowed with a salient responsibility of making laws and monitoring the executive branch of government, amongst its major works. However, the IEC Electoral Education Manual illustrates in the above section (iii) quotation that parliament is vulnerable to the choice of people. Perhaps this is an indication that, given the task that is done by parliament of monitoring the powerful executive branch, there is a need to review the laws that specify the entry qualifications into the National Assembly of Lesotho. Currently the constitution states that for a person to be elected as a member of parliament they must know how to read and write either the Sesotho or English languages. Based on the challenges to and the vulnerability of parliament in choosing the representatives who can effectively monitor the cabinet, Kapa (2013) opines that:

> The parliament of Lesotho is weak relative to the executive, and is not able to effectively perform its key oversight function (Kapa, 2013, p. 86).

Another issue is that, in theory, the state organs are commonly referred to as the separation of powers. In practice, however, the two organs of judiciary and parliament are often dependent on the executive branch for resources that enable the two branches to perform their daily operations. The executive branch actually dominates the two other branches. This was voiced by one of the educators in this study when he said:

> When looking at the extent to which the three arms are independent, one does not see that [independence] because the executive branch is having more power than others and therefore obstructs the proper functioning or independence of the other two arms. We often see ministers who want to manipulate and control the judiciary (DPE educator, Maseru).

Similarly, the DPE Motataise Civic and Voter Education Manual has a chapter that explains how votes influence who governs. The manual explains that a political system also defines the makeup of government. It describes the three organs of state with different responsibilities, and which are referred to as parts of the single political system. According to the Development for Peace Education (Undated), the displayed political system structure

shows the king on top and above, with three arrows from him each pointing at the legislature/parliament; executive and judiciary, exactly like the Lesotho Government structure in Chapter One section 1.5.9.

The wording that is used in the IEC Electoral Education Manual (IEC, 2012b) on page 20 presents the same structure with a title: 'State Organs and their Interaction in a Democratic Lesotho', while the DPE manual (Development for Peace Education, Undated) on page 28 uses the title: 'The Political System.' Again, the manual titles are not consistent for a similar diagram that illustrates the interaction of the state organs of Lesotho.

The DPE Manual describes the formation of the government that has a national assembly with 120 seats, of which 40 are allocated through proportional representation, while 80 are won at the constituencies. The manual explains how constituencies are demarcated according to criteria set in the constitution. It additionally shows that each constituency has several polling stations where citizens go to cast their votes during elections and that the election results are announced from polling stations to constituencies up to the Manthabiseng Results Centre (known as Convention Centre) in Maseru, and finally candidates are elected to the national assembly and sworn in as members of parliament. The DPE manual states that the prime minister is elected by the party, or coalition of parties, with the majority of members in parliament. The functions of parliament are illustrated and explained in detail. These functions are the legislative formulation; representation; debating; supervision and budget allocation. However, the manual does not include the functions of other state organs: the executive and the judiciary.

This reveals that there is an element of bias by the authors in the highlighting of the functions of state organs, because the DPE manual concentrates only on illustrating the functions of the legislature and neglects the functions of other state organs. This makes it appear as if the legislature is the only important organ, while the other two are less important. Given that the manual is used for training, it would be expected to describe the functions of the executive and judiciary and to show that all the state organs are independent but interact in their duties. The IEC Electoral Education Manual does illustrate how the three state organs interact. Both the IEC and DPE manuals do not match in terms of what has been written and explained for use when training people. It follows, therefore,

that even the people who are given training by the different institutions of IEC and DPE will have different levels of understanding about how the government systems and structure function.

The DPE and IEC manuals concentrate mostly on providing information regarding the systems and structures rather than any other democratic notions such as values, which is mirrored in how people understand democracy in Chapter Five. While it is important to provide people with knowledge on how these systems function, this information does not constitute the whole picture of democracy. The manuals are silent about how citizens are expected to participate in those systems so as to produce and promote active democratic citizenship. Perhaps the manuals are meant to equip citizens with knowledge about the systems and structure to make them see their importance in a democracy. This could result in citizens who are trained to behave as good and compliant towards governance and the government as a way of domesticating them as opposed to preparing them to become active democratic citizens, as seen in the findings of Chapter Six.

All the manuals comprehensively discuss different chapters on the content of elections, registration, voting, counting and announcements of results, electoral models, and managing electoral conflicts. From reading all the manuals, one can observe that their central focus is on elections and voting. This implies that the manuals are projecting a narrow electoral democracy in which elections are taken to mean the same thing as democracy itself. This is because, more often, the manuals repeatedly mention that elections are part of democracy, as if the former also means democracy on its own. These statements can potentially create misunderstandings and misconceptions for people, who may think that democracy simply means the election process. It is noted that while elections are a viable way of engaging people's participation in democracy, it is as though citizens are turned into spectators of this democratic process. The other observation is that participation of representative leaders is rarely discussed in the manuals, thus giving no indication to the general public of the role they should play. In reality these representative leaders participate in the debates that are held within the national assembly and are also expected to participate in the constituencies where citizens elected them to go into parliament.

Public participation, as opposed to representative leader participation, is discussed in more detail next.

7.2.3 Public Participation

The IEC Electoral Education Manual (IEC, 2012b, p. 16) discusses public participation as follows:

> People vote for government and take part in governance. They express their views, on the media about governance, contributing ideas into the formulation of policies, laws, and budget, make submissions to the parliamentary portfolio committees, and summon MPs [members of parliament].

On the same note the voter IEC education manuals (IEC, 2012a, p. 11: IEC, 2013, pp. 11-12) explain public participation in Sesotho as:

> Sechaba se lokela ho ithukhubetsa litabeng tsa puso ea sona le ho kenya letsoho ka bolokolohi litabeng tse se amang. Sechaba se lokela hob a le tokelo ea ho khetha babusi, ho emela likhetho ekasita le ho ipopa ka lihlopha le mekhatlo joaloka bacha, balemi, basebetsi, bahoebi, mesuoe, joalo-joalo ho susumetsa 'muso hoe la hloko litlhoko tsa sona.

> Kaha litho tsa paramente li emetse sechaba, li lokela ho nonya maikutlo a sechaba khafetsa ha ho etsoa melao le maano a 'muso ekasita leha ho etsoa liqeto tse amang sechaba. Le sona sechaba ha sea lokela ho itheka moroalo, se lokela ho etsa maoala ohle ho netefatsa hore maparamente ha a itaole empa a laoloa ke sona sechaba.

> The above is translated as:

> The public has to participate in issues that affect their lives. The people have to participate by electing their leaders, to contest for elections and to form civil groups of youth, farmers, workers, business sector, teachers associations and the like so as to influence government to address their needs.

> Since the members of parliament are representative leaders, they have to regularly hold consultation meetings with citizens during the formation of government policies and bills as well as in decision making of issues that affect them. Citizens too have to hold their leaders accountable and make them work for them in return.

The manuals do not state where and how this public participation is expected to happen, even by way of giving examples, with an exception of the DPE manual that is discussed below. The formation of associations is encouraged, but the ways in which those associations can influence democracy not clarified, such as explaining the participation of

citizens in voting for representative leaders. In reality, the citizens freely express their views and opinions through the media, except on the government owned radio station where information is edited in such a manner that the government dictates what is broadcasted (Kapa, 2013). The state owned radio station and the only Lesotho television station, also state owned, cover the whole country while the rest of the local radio stations reach only a few districts that are mostly in urban areas (they do not reach Qacha's Nek District, for instance). The latter are the radio stations where citizens express their freedom of opinion/speech. In terms of citizen participation in the formulation of policies, laws and the budget, citizens play little or no role. Kapa (2013) concludes that participation in the policy process in Lesotho is poor and remains an issue that is conducted by government officials with no citizens input, including none from civil groups outside the government arena. In practice, public policies are developed at a higher level by government officials and the parliament, while civil society organisations hardly contribute to government policies. Even getting any information regarding the existing government policies is not easy; I encountered this difficulty and was provided with a new education policy through a friend. Information is obtained only through connections with those who can get them information from government ministries as a favour (see Chapter Six, section 6.2.3.2). Kapa (2013, p. 4-8) says this about participation:

> Citizens do not make any inputs in the preparation of the national budget … Ordinary citizens participate in political processes mainly through their membership of political parties, and vote freely in national elections … political parties in Lesotho therefore provide very little or no space for citizen participation in their policy-development processes and activities. This task remains the sole preserve of the leadership.

 In contrast, Motataise Civic and Voter Education Manual (Development for Peace Education, Undated, p. 48) provides a full chapter that is entitled: 'Citizen Participation'. Its opening statement is as follows:

> Contrary to the general perception that elections on their own breed democracy, people have to actively participate in governance if the roots of democracy are to be deepened and strengthened. This is very crucial in ensuring that people eventually benefit from the government they have freely chosen (Development for Peace Education, Undated, p. 48).

Furthermore, the manual defines participation to mean:

> The active and enthusiastic involvement of citizens in conceiving, designing, implementing and evaluating government policies, programs, legislation and functions of the organs of state. People need more than feedback and government announcements. They must advance their own course; push their agenda to be implemented by government. People again have full right to prevent government from making laws or programs against their interests as the governed (Development for Peace Education, Undated, p. 48).

The Motataise Civic and Voter Education Manual also mentions several strategies to show exactly how citizen participation can take place through the use of one or a combination of strategies. These are summarised below:

Use of Media: People can use media to express their views and opinions on different issues through arrangements with media houses. This can take the form of writing in newspapers and phoning into radio programmes where views can be exchanged with officials who are hosted on the programmes.

Dialogue and Lobbying: This can be done by inviting specific people to attend workshops or conferences in an organisation. Ministers can then be invited to preside over the opening or closing ceremonies using a theme specific to their ministry. Also, visiting government offices to exchange views and opinions with government officials and lobbying some members of parliament to table personal views when the Bills are being passed. Parliamentary portfolio committees can also be used to hold conscientisation workshops for policy makers.

People's Voices: Concerns and interests can be expressed to members of parliament when they are at public gatherings.

Petitions and Demonstration: These can be presented to parliament or any other authority to advance an issue for either a corrective measure or any interest area (Development for Peace Education, Undated, p. 49-51).

Accordingly, participation is an essential factor for promoting citizenship engagement in public affairs. However, the importance of a democratic space where engagement has to be under the salient democratic values of freedom and equality are not discussed in the manuals. The DPE Manual states how citizen participation can take place using different

strategies that are summarised above. While this is acknowledged, the manual has not stated the difficulties of limited channels and forums for participation or timeframes in getting through all these strategies and how to overcome such challenges. This is what a TRC educator in Maseru reiterated in his views to show the challenges of participation in the country:

> When a person is actively involved one is labelled to associate with certain political parties. Everything is politicised in this country and therefore there is no progress (Male TRC educator, Maseru).

It can be speculated from the above quotation that active participation is interpreted as being against the ruling party and thus takes on a party political dimension. Furthermore, it can be articulated that the government or regime seems to only want people who understand the structures and know how to vote and who can be compliant citizens. This may therefore influence the IEC to position itself in as reluctant to become involved in civic education. However, it can be noted that civil society group members are sometimes labelled as affiliates of certain political parties when they are seen to be actively involved in certain activities. Therefore, the strategies mentioned in the DPE manual are more easily used and accessible to people who are well connected to politicians or the media house personnel (See citizenship Chapter Six) in Lesotho. In practice, most people do not succeed in getting what they want unless the views come from the members of the same political parties as those of the officials or the ruling government of the day, which confirms a concern by the TRC educator in the above quote. Neither the IEC nor the DPE manuals state how participation in the policy process should be undertaken by citizens in a democratic country to ensure that their interests and needs are reflected and implemented by the government of the day. The IEC manuals reduce citizen participation to a minimum necessity during elections for purposes of registering and voting for their representative leaders. This differs from the DPE manual which introduced a citizen participation chapter to show the different strategies that can be used to engage with the government. The IEC manuals, therefore, implicitly leave the readers with an assumption that these elected politicians, who are the representatives, produce democracy in a way that will satisfy their electors. If citizen engagement and participation issues are left unattended by the trainers

(in the IEC manuals), as is the case, there is the likelihood of citizens becoming passive and apathetic, lacking interest and becoming withdrawn and ignorant in the democratic process.

In spite of the lack of attention to how citizens can participate in the democratic process, the manuals provide varying degrees of information regarding citizenship rights and responsibilities. The next section discusses the rights, freedoms and responsibilities of citizens as discussed in the manuals.

7.2.4 Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities

IEC voter education manuals list the freedoms and rights of citizens commonly known as human rights under the constitution and which are enforceable under law. These are listed as:

> Right to life, right to personal liberty, freedom of movement and to have a residential place, freedom from inhuman treatment, freedom of expression, freedom from slavery and forced labour, right to respect for private and family life, freedom of association, right to fair trial, freedom from discrimination, right to participate in government (IEC, 2012a, p. 11-12; 2013).

The IEC voter education manuals are in line with the constitution in terms of stating the rights and freedoms. A difference is noticed with the third 'right' for which the IEC manuals state: 'freedom of movement and to have a residential place.' In the constitution, it simply says: "freedom of movement" (Government of Lesotho, 1993, p. 18) and stops there. This can cause confusion because the legal status of the constitution will override any difference in the terms in the IEC manuals. A further point of concern is that knowledge of human rights does not automatically link or connect to knowledge of civic responsibilities. Perhaps the lack of connection creates a missing link in the manuals, meaning that, the manuals should state that the rights go along with responsibilities. The manuals concentrate only on providing universal principles of human rights as a way of protecting individual rights, but these protections are not linked to democracy. This is because human rights, as provided in the constitution, do not encourage citizens' involvement and participation in public affairs.

The IEC Voter Education Manual (IEC, 2013, p. 13) further elaborated the rights of citizens during elections, as follows:

It is the right of electorate to receive voter education, to freely vote for their choice of governance, to stand for elections, to register for elections, to express their opinions and to lodge a complaint where one is not satisfied.

The rights of candidates in elections are to receive free and fair services regarding elections, to be issued with voters' registration, to be given the chance for campaigning and to lodge a complaint when and where necessary (IEC, 2013, p. 13).

The IEC manual also articulated the following responsibilities:

It is the responsibility of an electorate to check the voters' registers, to transfer their names to a place where they reside, to lodge a complaint where necessary, to provide information regarding the deceased electorates, to carefully keep their voters card and not to misuse it for other activities other than for elections.

It is the responsibility of candidates to abide by the code of conduct with their followers, to encourage their followers to register for elections, to vote for their candidates and to provide their followers with knowledge regarding elections management (IEC, 2013, p. 13/14).

It can be noted that the human rights, and the rights and responsibilities of citizens during elections, are regarded as a form of citizen empowerment to vote. The 2013 IEC voter manual also holds that the fact that rights and responsibilities are stated in the manual facilitates a democratic culture among citizens. The manual states that human rights are protected by laws, which gives the impression that the expectation is that citizens have to abide by the law and keep the peace so that the government will protect their rights. This does not promote active and critical citizens; instead, it reduces the latter to a client-state relationship in which the citizens first have to be obedient and respect the laws and in return the government will protect their human rights. The rights are formally stated and the focus is more on the voting and election of candidates as representative leaders. The manuals do not advocate and promote the rights and responsibilities in the form of democratic deliberations in decision making, and only advance the importance of electing representatives who can deliberate on behalf of citizens.

All the manuals are silent regarding equality as a principle value of democracy and how that value should be exercised in a democratic state. If equality is not clearly discussed there is a risk that people may assume that only certain activities are done by certain people; an example is where people may be reluctant to stand as candidates themselves. The manuals

do not state how equality should be exercised by citizens to show their interests, either politically, socially, culturally or economically. Additionally, an observation is made by the researcher that 'equality and justice' is expressed under the principles of state policy in the Lesotho Constitution, which the law does not enforce, in case inequality is reported, as section 26 (1) states:

> Lesotho shall adopt policies aimed at promoting a society based on equality and justice for all its citizens regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status (Government of Lesotho, 1993, p. 41).

There is ambiguity in this principle of 'equality and justice', and where equality is considered a right. The constitution states it as "right of equality before the law and the equal protection of the law" as it appears in section 19 (Government of Lesotho, 1993, p. 35) under enforceable rights. It is assumed that the situation of inequalities and injustices present in Lesotho, where there is no deliberate opportunity for the disadvantaged groups to enable their participation in public affairs, is left unattended and not punishable by the law. In this case equality is merely rhetorically mentioned but not a binding factor. In other words, it is just said or mentioned but not practiced. It is observed that all the training manuals do not discuss issues of Basotho culture, norms and values in relation to modern democratic concepts of rights and freedoms. The manuals concentrate on the content that promotes elections and voting processes, which is derived from the Lesotho National Assembly Electoral Act (Government of Lesotho, 2011) and supports African civic education, as it is presented in Chapter Two.

Of particular interest in this study is the way in which civic education is provided or taught to adults. In the next section the delivery mode, as described in the analysed manuals, is discussed.

7.3 Delivery Mode
The delivery mode stated in the manuals focuses on the pedagogical processes and the place where training is provided. In terms of the training methods used, the IEC Electoral Education Manual (IEC, 2012b) illustrates the importance of using enabling approaches as opposed to conventional methods in learning. The manual state that:

Conventional methods have recognised and [honoured] authoritative holders of knowledge who have gone through certain identifiable programmes of learning to attain such positions. Because of their achievements in learning and certification in recognition of that, it is generally believed that they are a source and wealth of wisdom that can help better define and perhaps explain the world dynamism. These are people who hold various educational credentials: Certificate, Diploma, Degree, Honours Degree, Masters, Doctorate, Professorship etc. In this approach of learning one's level in terms of certification determines the level of influence one may have in society. On the other hand; Enabling methodologies are mainly adult learning approaches. They encourage use of one's life experience to question the social environment with the aim of transforming for the better. The Conventional Approaches are normally for the academic excellence while Enabling are relevant for functional literacy and activism (IEC, 2012b, p. 4-5).

It is interesting to note that the IEC Electoral Education Manual has mentioned the enabling approach to include activism and more engaged forms of civic education. It becomes apparent that the manuals seem prepared to venture into critical and radical terrain on pedagogy, though the content analysed in section 7.2 above is shallow. There is no value in teaching a domesticating content that enables patriotic citizens by using radical methods; this is a contradiction within the IEC manual. It can be argued that these methods were written by someone who is aware of adult learning strategies and how they can be applied, but not concerned with their practical application. The content that appears in the manuals does not promote free democratic and active citizens, but imposes dominant ideas from powerful people, thus creating passive, loyal and domesticated citizens, as illustrated by Shizha and Abdi (2013). These are the authors' comments in regard to the kind of civic education that has brought hardships in countries such as Lesotho:

African countries strike at the very core of the skills and information that should enable citizens to assess and access social, economic and political developments, learn the rules of government, form opinions about political performance and care about the survival of democracy. Thus education, particularly citizenship education is greatly needed in the continent to improve political literacy among the continent's citizens (Shizha & Abdi, 2013, p. 341).

This is a clear indication that education is shifting from its intention of social integration to becoming a political and economic tool that imposes the dominant ideas of politicians and donors over ignorant citizens (Crick & Joldersma, 2007).

Despite this, the manual does not appear to have a specific target group, and is, instead, provided as a one-size-fits-all to people of different ages who have different educational backgrounds and different interests. Similarly, both the IEC Electoral Education Manual and Motataise Voter and Civic Education Manual by DPE emphasise that the approach of the manual is based on a liberating and enabling rather than a banking methodology. The following table displays the pedagogical difference in the two approaches of both manuals.

Table 11: Pedagogical Approaches

Banking/Deposit	Liberating/Enabling
Dictates to people what the requirements are for living in peace and what the punishments for deviants are.	Attempts to draw people on their natural desire to live in peace
Teacher holds all wisdom and knowledge	Acknowledges students' potential and seeks to unveil, explore and develop it.
Develops obedient citizens and conformists to learning authorities	Develops critical consciousness among citizens
It is the teacher's knowledge that counts	Students' reality forms basis for learning

Extracted from (IEC, 2012b, p. 6) and (Development for Peace Education, Undated, p. 8).

The IEC Electoral Education Manual further explains the above table, stating that:

> The banking system is a depositing type that suggests that the depositor expects to reap from the particular reaction of the people on what they [have] been taught. This is one of the sentiments of controlling people-whereas liberation suggests independence. … Instead of telling people what is and what is not in relation to elections, it is better to help people understand issues by posing problems and encouraging them to argue and engage on them to seek answers and exchange views. This makes learning interesting and challenging. This is necessary because the intention is to help people make [their] own decision to **RISE, REGISTER AND VOTE IN THE COMING GENERAL ELECTIONS**[7]   (IEC, 2012b, p. 6).

The IEC Electoral Education Manual offers examples of enabling education as ones that reinforce a change in behaviour, unlike the conventional means that commonly end with examinations. The recommended methods are: community mobilisation, codes (pictures), role play and simulations (IEC, 2012b). The manual encourages these examples to be used interchangeably depending on the situation and states that the approaches are used as

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[7] This was quoted as it is from the manual – with grammatical and punctuation errors.

complimentary activities and not methods on their own. Emphasis is made that these interactive approaches are good in helping to convince and correct misconceptions and doubts about voting and elections. At the same time, these methods are encouraged for the use of trainers and leaders.

The method of community mobilisation that is recommended in the IEC Electoral Education Manual, confirms the delivery mode that is popularly used in traditional civic education, as it appeared in the conceptual framework in Chapter Two for the formerly colonised countries such as Lesotho. In this traditional civic education, public gatherings are a popular community mobilisation means that are used by chiefs when consulting their people for a variety of reasons, including information dissemination (Bwatwa, 1997; Kapa, 2013; Preece, 2009). However, the community mobilisation method that is mentioned in the IEC Electoral Education Manual refutes the liberating and enabling methods because the former is a traditional banking method where information is imparted by a speaker as a one way communication without any discussion with the people who are listening. Thus, the traditional education approach focused on communalism, connectedness, interdependency, as in *ubuntu* and *botho*, which encouraged the respect and concern of others (Abdi, 2008; Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Preece, 2009). The literature has shown that community mobilisation is commonly used as the delivery mode in the rural areas such as Qacha's Nek, where chiefs use public gatherings (lipitso) to consult with citizens on any issues, including calling such gatherings for government officials and civil society organisations (Kapa, 2013). The data concurs with the literature and other authors. For example, a chief in Qacha's Nek indicated that he uses public gatherings to disseminate information to his people. He expressly said:

> Yes I do [disseminate information] in the public gatherings. I usually tell them [citizens] about obtaining legal documents when they want to change their residence (Male chief, Qacha's Nek).

From the elaboration of the differences between the banking and liberating methods given above, the manuals do not state how the trainers assess the level of what is already known by the learners, that is, the learners' past experience. The two above stated approaches do not entail the adult education principles of starting from where people are, before the provision of training. The observation from the researcher's field notes below illustrates the

approach that was used by a Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) educator while providing civic education with a mixed group of youth, out of school and the school going, which was conducted in Life High School in Maseru:

> Facilitator was teaching about issues of democracy telling the youth that Lesotho is practicing representative democracy by the theorist called John Locke. He told participants that representative democracy has three arms across the globe. He pointed to the displayed white screen that showed the executive, parliament and judiciary. As he was speaking, few people were writing notes but then the facilitator said "stop writing and listen. I will print the hand-outs for people who are interested in notes." (Researcher's Field notes, Maseru).

The educator did not attempt to elicit from the participants the three state organs so as to establish the already existing knowledge of participants (see Appendix G). Instead he encouraged passive listening, where even note taking is not allowed. In his session with about forty-five participants, only four people participated actively by answering questions and the facilitator did not encourage involvement from other participants who were silent. It was noted that the adult education principle of assessing the learners' past experience before teaching a subject was not observed. As such, the educator did not follow constructivist learning theory that allows for the building on old schema to develop new schema by making connections with previous knowledge (Applefield, Huber, & Moallem, 2001; Jarvis, 2004). For example, Jarvis (2004) postulates that people absorb new information in different ways based on their past experiences. Jarvis asserts that some people experience a disjuncture and reject the new information; however, it could also be argued that some may attempt to integrate new information with the existing schema but produce a confused outcome and interpretation. Jarvis (2004), furthermore, asserts that some follow a more adaptive integration of new schema which may result in an evolution from previous knowledge and then result in transformation of ideas and so on. In this regard, the IEC Electoral Education Manual shows that pedagogically enabling and liberating methods allow for the students' potential to seek to unveil, explore and develop new understandings and that their own understanding of their reality forms the basis for new learning. This concurs with what Jarvis (2004) postulates when he refers to prior experience that serves as the basis for learning, either to produce new schema, or build on old schema. However, what was done by the TRC educator did not follow the enabling and liberating

methods that are advocated for by IEC and DPE training manuals. Therefore, the manuals illustrate a shallow content, which advocates for a radical open pedagogy, but was delivered by a poorly trained educator who could not implement the more progressive methods. This scenario poses a serious challenge for civic education in Lesotho. There is a need for a socialising democracy through the use of participatory methods of debate, dialogue and sessions packed with strategies using multimedia such as radio stations, television, print media, videos and the current social networks when providing civic education.

Several guidelines for consideration in public speaking by voter educators are tabulated in both IEC and DPE manuals. A few those are mentioned include speaking aloud for everyone to hear, being visible to everyone, being careful in the selection of words and cracking jokes, singing or doing other things which can facilitate rapport and break the barriers between the trainer and the audience. Furthermore, the two IEC voter education manuals list a few additional points to be considered carefully by a trainer, which entails that voter educators should introduce themselves and the objectives and expected outcomes of the training. In both manuals it is stated that voter educators are expected to clarify the appropriate question times during training sessions, are encouraged to distribute printed educational materials at the end of sessions, and to encourage participants to share the materials with others.

With regard to the places where trainings are held, the DPE manual went a step further to discuss the entry into the community, how to meet the community gatekeepers and to observe characteristics of different community groups and their interaction, which may enhance community education and awareness or serve as a barrier to learning. The DPE manual also provided steps to follow when conducting a workshop; such as breaking the ice, introductions by participants and trainers, set up of the venue, expectations, objectives, programme, ground rules, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The manual also differentiated between running a workshop and on how to conduct a public gathering (pitso).

The voter education manuals (IEC, 2012a, 2013) add that the voter educator has to prepare for the provision of training before the times of public gatherings or workshops. It is stated, also, that voter educators are encouraged to know their community boundaries and public

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places within their working area such as schools, churches, community halls and villages that fall within these boundaries. They are encouraged to work together with any local leadership within their areas. These IEC manuals stipulate that voter education includes the distribution of election messages and any other related information through the use of printed materials, radio broadcasts, public gatherings, workshops, role plays, drama and any other mode of transmitting information about elections. The manuals, therefore, address both the traditional and African forms of civic education, as outlined in the conceptual framework in Chapter Two, through its informal mode of delivery in which public gatherings and radio stations are used; and workshop trainings are through non-formal means. The manuals, however, omit the traditional civic education delivery method of storytelling and proverbs that are popularly used among Basotho for passing information from one generation to the next.

In addition to the above mentioned delivery modes, the National Assembly Electoral Act, 2011 (Government of Lesotho, 2011) also mentions that election campaigns can be done through meetings, processions, rallies and demonstrations by different political parties who often provide information to their members about elections and voting processes in this way (refer to Chapter Five, section 5.4.7 where democracy is identified as inadequately taught and misrepresented). The consequence of this is likely to be negative, as different political party leaders could indoctrinate their members, providing haphazard and censored information about voting processes and elections, thus causing different understandings about democracy and citizen involvement. The Act stipulates several sections related to election campaigns. It identifies the right to campaign, campaigning in public, equal treatment of political parties and candidates' freedom of expression and information, freedom of assembly and norms during campaigning, among others. Under the norms during campaigning, section 64, in its second subsection it states:

> (2) The political party in power shall take the responsibility to ensure that its candidates and office bearers -
>
> (a) do not abuse their positions for the purpose of their elections campaigns;
>
> (b) shall not use government vehicles during elections period except for Ministers and other officials entitled to the use of such government vehicles (Government of Lesotho, p. 621).

The above quotation shows the contradiction of the section relating to equal treatment of political parties and candidates because of the allowance given to the members who belong to the "political party in power", as stated in subsection (2) above. Its clause (b) even allows the "Ministers and other officials" to use government vehicles, which includes other resources such as fuel and transport officers that are assigned to those vehicles. As mentioned above, under 7.2.2 in the democracy section, equality and justice are not enforceable by any law in Lesotho; instead, they are classified under principles of state policy, meaning that, they can merely be aimed for by the government. This indicates that the Act was passed by the national assembly, and was reviewed by the IEC. Suffice it to say that the Act has an element of bias and seems to be in favour of the government of the day because resources such as vehicles, fuel and paid civil servants are controlled by those who are still in power at the time of elections. This also allows for the political party with power to frequently hold more political campaigns than the other political parties with limited available resources. However, the delivery mode of political campaigns is practiced by all Lesotho politicians. These campaigns and other forms of civic education by civil society organisations and mass media that are mentioned in the IEC manuals, the National Assembly Electoral Act and DPE manuals, reflect the African civic education delivery mode (Kadima et al., 2006; Matlosa, 2008).

7.4 Frequency

The IEC Electoral Education Manual does not mention the timeframe for providing training to people. However, it is assumed that the manual is used prior to elections, as the name suggests ('electoral education' manual). Even the IEC voter education manuals are a once off product, printed just a few months before elections. This is no different from the DPE manuals, Motataise Voter and Civic education manual and Ba Re'ng Batho ka Likhetho?. All the manuals appear to be used only during election times. This conclusion about the DPE manual is reached based on what has been written as the objective of the Motataise Voter and Civic Education manual, which is stated as two-fold:

- Provide relevant knowledge on an election as a significant part of democracy and the related processes on the one hand and promote citizen participation in governance on the other
- Orient trainers in skills of approaching the community (Development for Peace Education, Undated, p. 8).

In the above first bullet, it is presumed that the participation that is mentioned does not happen in a broader context, but, perhaps, it simply means participation in voting for the leaders. Both IEC voter education manuals state different times for the provision of voter education. The 2012 manual states that voter education is provided during election time, while the 2013 manual states that voter education is an ongoing activity. The IEC contradicts itself in the two manuals, which could lead to confusion among the readers of the documents. The IEC voter education manuals reflect what is mentioned in the civic education conceptual framework in Chapter Two where civic education is said to be a once off event in African countries such as Lesotho.

Taking into account the timing of the provision of civic education, in the form of voter education, for citizens in Lesotho, which targets the election period as a once off activity, it can be suggested that civic education is inadequate for a number of reasons. One reason is an assumption that most citizens are not reached through this type of civic education because of different factors. Some Basotho citizens return to the country from elsewhere where they work or attend schools for the few days required for purposes of voting. It is clear, therefore, that some people may exercise their voting rights without getting any voter education. Another inadequacy of the once off approach is that, even people who are provided with voter education, the limited time provision does not cater for the lifelong learning of a citizen to understand how to exercise the democratic behaviour that is discussed in the literature (Delanty, 2003), where citizens culturally learn much through interaction with other members in their communities. The data confirms that civic education in Lesotho is provided as a once off activity that targets the limited period prior to elections.

Despite these inadequacies, the interview responses indicated that regular information regarding the concepts of democracy and citizenship is obtained from the radio stations and other informal means:

> Information is regularly provided at the political campaigns, through the radios and in the church (Female, young citizens' focus group, Qacha's Nek).

> I often listen to people who talk about it [democracy] in the radio stations (Male, IEC educators' focus group, Maseru).

> I listened to the radios and interact with people that are discussing different issues relating to democracy (Female citizen, Maseru).

From these comments, it seems that radio is an important medium that frequently provides people with civic education. There are other informal means such as the church, political campaigns and daily interactive discussions where citizens can share information. These are mentioned in the manuals and are discussed below.

7.5 Who Delivers Civic Education?

The IEC Electoral Education Manual states that the commission is responsible for the provision and maintenance of standards and quality of electoral education. This manual states that different stakeholders in elections have the responsibility to educate people about electoral law and encourage voter participation. These stakeholders are political parties, during their election campaigns, civil society organisations, church leaders, other community leaders, media and the IEC. The two voter education manuals mention that parliament allocates funds to theI EC, traditional leaders, churches, NGOs, political parties, education institutions, security groups, media and IEC working committees.

The DPE manual identifies one of the election stakeholders as the IEC and emphasises that it gets its resources from government. The manual says nothing about education that is or should be provided by the IEC. It mentions that government ensures that the IEC receives resources to conduct elections; political parties are mentioned as key stakeholders who mobilise voter participation and civil society organisations. The international organisations are said to provide technical assistance, monitor elections and provide financial assistance, while voters are expected to register and energetically participate in elections, cheer their leaders and maintain peace.

In the above manuals there is a slight difference regarding the role of stakeholders that are involved in the delivery of civic education, which is described as electoral education and voter education. The IEC Electoral Education Manual clearly states that the stakeholders are all involved in the provision of electoral education to citizens. In all other manuals, both the IEC voter education and manuals by the DPE, the stakeholders are identified as the key

actors involved in elections, but not necessarily playing the role of imparting and disseminating information about electoral education to citizens. This means that misunderstanding or confusion could arise about who the involved stakeholders are who deliberately impart electoral education to the citizens. Even then, the mentioned stakeholders are different in the different manuals, showing that there is no consistency in what is written in all the manuals. The responsible institute, the IEC, that ensures quality and standards in civic education, is itself not consistent in what is written in its different manuals. It seems that there is no 'buy in' by IEC staff members in providing civic education to the public, even though the constitution mandates them to do so. When asked if the IEC provides civic education, one IEC female educator raised this concern:

> We do not [provide civic education]. It is a great concern here. We offer voter education and information about elections during registration, elections day, where and when to vote [she looked demotivated about the situation].

This was confirmed by another IEC focus group member based at the Maseru Central Constituency who responded as follows:

> No, democracy is not taught at IEC. They [IEC] only provide voter education during the time of elections. Civic education was supposed to be provided to the communities so that they can understand more [about voter education content] when voter education is taught (Female, IEC educators' focus group, Maseru).

Interestingly, one IEC male educator in Maseru contradicted the views by these female educators when stating that the IEC does provide civic education. The difference could be a result of his leadership position in the institute making him aware that the IEC is legally mandated to provide civic education. In his illustration he highlighted that:

> We teach citizens about ways of finding a forum where they [citizens] can bring out their ideas and opinions, exchange experiences and share ideas about the type of government they want and what they would want to see happening through our civic and voter education unit. We teach those [citizens] about their rights in civic education, where they are oppressed including women's rights. … civic education is continuous and we offer it in different constituencies in a country … we also offer voter education where we teach and focus on voter processes during elections to people who have made the decision that they want to exercise their right to vote (Male IEC educator, Maseu).

It can be noted that there is a lack of clarity on the mandate of the IEC about voter and civic education which needs further interpretation about what is meant by this in legal terms. The following are the legal quotations from the frameworks that address civic education provision, first from the National Assembly Elections Order in chapter 2 section 4 (d) Government of Lesotho (1992), that states its aim as:

> To promote through media and other appropriate and effective means the civic education of the citizens concerning elections (Government of Lesotho, 1992, p. 20).

From the second amendment to the constitution under section 66A (1) (f) it is stated as: "To promote knowledge of sound democratic electoral processes" (Government of Lesotho, 1997, p. 458). Then the latest National Assembly Electoral Act, section 135 (d) expressly states:

> To promote knowledge of sound electoral practices and processes through media and other appropriate and effective means (Government of Lesotho, 2011, p. 674).

What the above extracts from the three legal frameworks mean is contested among IEC staff. There is no consensus and support for what the IEC has to provide regarding the provision of civic education. The majority of IEC educators understand their role as that of voter education providers, although one member emphasised the provision of both civic and voter education. What is entailed in the manuals relates to elections and voting processes with a shallow content that defines democracy; but they also provide information about the governance systems and structures. This poses a challenge for civic education provision in Lesotho that is not clear even to people who are expected to provide it. Also, the legal frameworks are not clear and can be interpreted differently by the different stakeholders, thus, making it difficult to understand terms that are too ambiguous to convey the same message to all. However, as a researcher I asked this question of all the participants of the study: What can you provide as recommendations for making other people learn about democracy? (in terms of who to teach, what to teach, how to teach, where to teach about democracy).

The following examples from the answers that came from the respondents in Maseru and Qacha's Nek are almost the same as the responses from the IEC educators' focus group in Qacha's Nek:

IEC alone cannot manage to offer civic and voter education. There should be civil society groups that are government watchdogs like NGOs to provide civic education. Civic and voter educators should be placed in every constituency across the country … House to house education should be conducted because some people do not attend the public gatherings and [civic education] be provided as an ongoing process … School curriculum should include civic education from basic education to higher institutions of learning at universities (Female IEC educator number 1).

Information should be disseminated in the public gathering especially in the rural areas (Male IEC educator).

Drama, presentations that motivate should be run on TV programmes and through the radios because they are most listened and watched by the majority of people (Female IEC educator number 2).

It can be observed that even the current providers of civic education are of the opinion and view that civic education has to be an ongoing process provided by different stakeholders using different methods for different target groups. Moreover, the first respondent implies that IEC should not collaborate with other civil society groups when offering civic education, meaning that both should provide different civic education programmes. This wouldenable the civil society organisations to offer an independent civic education that can challenge the state and politicians.

7.6 Discussion

The training materials reveal that their purpose and aim is to motivate citizens about elections and how to vote for their representative leaders. This purpose confirms what is entailed in African civic education for the formerly colonised countries such as Lesotho (Kabemba, 2003; Kadima et al., 2006; Matlosa, 2008). This is reflected under different forms of the civic education conceptual framework in Chapter Two and displayed below for this discussion. These authors opine that the content for the formerly colonised countries mainly focused on electoral and voting processes and ballot counting. Therefore, civic education was limited in its purpose of preparing citizens for multiparty democracy and motivating citizens about the importance of voting in elections, which was necessary to ensure multiparty politics that was introduced after twenty-three years of authoritarian rule (Ibid).

The IEC manuals give the characteristics of democracy, types of government and functions of government. It is argued that the materials do not state explicitly the type of governance

that is practiced in Lesotho: that people are left to think for themselves, and that it is not contextualised, but taught as abstract concepts which are likely to cause misinformation or confusion. Given the political history of Lesotho, as elaborated in Chapter One, where different types of rule were experienced before democratic rule in 1993, alongside factors of ignorance in some citizens, illiteracy and apathy, it is likely that some citizens may not know exactly how Lesotho is ruled. Furthermore, traditional leadership is still recognised and used in the remote rural areas of Qacha's Nek, where democratically elected leaders are few and not as well recognised as traditional leaders.

The following is the conceptual framework for civic education developed in Chapter Two.

Table 3: Conceptual Framework for Forms of Civic Education

CHARACTERISTICS	TRADITIONAL CIVIC EDUCATION (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Octti, 1994; Pacho, 2013; Preece, 2009; Waghid, 2010, 2014)	AFRICAN CIVIC EDUCATION (Gyimah-Boadi, 2013; Kabemba, 2003; Kadima et al., 2006; Matlosa, 2008; Sears, 2008)	INTERNATIONAL CIVIC EDUCATION (Andrews & Cowell, 2005; Dahal, 2002; Ersoy, 2014; Faulks, 2006; Mahafza, 2014; Schaub, 2012)
Purpose	Give practical life skills and integrate into society	Motivate and prepare citizens for democratic process, voting in elections	Promote personal and political development, promote active citizenship
Content	Culture, norms, values and traditions	Electoral and voting process, ballot counting	How democratic system works, skills, values etc
Delivery mode	Informal: proverbs, storytelling, peer-to-peer, pitso, khotla	Informal: campaigns, social movements, mass media, civil society	Formal: schools Non formal-civic organisations
Frequency	Unlimited time, ongoing	Once off event	Ongoing at schools
Funding	Free of charge	Donors	Government
Ideology	Conservative	Western influence	Radical
Type of citizen	Good citizens	Loyal/patriotic citizens	Critical/active citizens
Pedagogy	Banking practice	Reflective education	Radical education

The training manuals that are used for civic education do not build on the traditional civic education methods and values of promoting communalism and connectedness, as is provided for in the literature by the different authors cited in the civic education conceptual framework (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Octti, 1994; Okafor, 2004; Pacho, 2013; Preece, 2009). Thus, that there is no harmonisation of traditional and modern practice in terms of how civic education is provided. Traditional civic education gave practical life skills where citizens were integrated into society by their elders who taught the younger generations about culture, norms, values through informal means of storytelling and proverbs (Ibid). The type of civic education that is offered in Lesotho by the IEC and other civil society organisations represents African civic education, which was applied in the formerly colonised countries which was intended to motivate and prepare citizens for the democratisation process and voting in elections (Kabemba, 2003; Matlosa, 2008). The Lesotho civic education manuals are preoccupied with inconsistent definitions and characteristics of democracy and with informing citizens of the importance of knowing how to vote and abide by the laws of the country. They provide nothing that promotes and encourages broader participation of citizens (IEC, 2012a, 2013). This supports what has been concluded by Kabemba (2003), Khembo (2004), Kadima et al. (2006) and Matlosa (2008) in their assertion that civic education in Lesotho is offered by politicians in the run up to elections as voter education.

The manuals encourage representative democracy and explicitly show that it is impossible to arrange for a direct democracy by the people due to the growing population (IEC, 2012b). This encouragement by IEC is seen as defeating the opportunities for people to deliberate on issues affecting them and thereby increasing their chance to behave as active democratic citizens. Furthermore, it was found that the manuals are silent about the citizen participation that should happen continually, even after elections, either through public deliberations or debates that promote meaningful respect of difference, for people to learn both indirect and direct democratic ways of dealing with issues that affect them regularly. These training manuals do not show how and when participation beyond elections should take place. The implication is that citizens are expected to remain passive while their representative leaders operate in the systems and structures that are mentioned in the training materials. Interpreted in this manner, the conceptions that are used in the training

materials are likely to produce unassertive citizens who exercise their freedoms and rights in a limited manner.

Furthermore, general citizen participation in the government is far from fulfilling the condition of democratic participation because of the limited number of people who participate in these processes (government institutions and structures). The findings support Abdi (2008) and Shizha and Abdi (2013) in their assertions that there was concerted effort by the first African political elites to keep the masses ignorant of extensive and active political awareness and participation, and instead made the masses feel that this was their best possible world which they needed to support. To redress this, Shizha and Abdi (2013) emphasise the need for citizenship education that can improve political literacy among citizens, particularly those in the rural areas. These authors further raise their concern regarding the formal education in African countries, which, in their view, does not provide democratic citizens' skills (Ibid). The authors, therefore, show that: "Education in all its forms (formal, informal and non formal) plays a vital role in enlightening people about their civil, economic and political rights" (Shizha & Abdi, 2013, p. 341). It is argued that education will assist and enable citizens to value the importance of participatory engagement in governance processes and its institutions, which will serve societal interests and needs. Ironically, citizen participation is mentioned in the training materials in relation to formulation of policies and budgets, which is refuted in the literature in which Kapa (2013) argues that in Lesotho the national budget is an elitist activity that is conducted as a closed business by high-ranking government officials. Perhaps the weak civic education programme in Lesotho is mainly there to allow those with power, the politicians, to prevail while it nurtures a weak and passive citizenry. Moreover, the state, through its weak education system, is also seen to promote unthinking patriotic citizens who act as good and compliant citizens. The implication here is, cultural homogeneity is likely to be stressed and the values of respecting difference and diversity that are necessary for democracy to grow may be extinguished.

When looking at the conceptions of rights, freedoms and responsibilities as discussed in the manuals (IEC, 2012a, 2013), they rely heavily on the formal constitutional form (Government of Lesotho, 1993) and do not provide sufficient conditions for encouraging active citizenship. As an illustration, the rights are reduced to a client-state relationship,

referred to as patron-client relationship by Lindberg (2006), by which citizens are first required to be obedient and loyal by respecting the law, while in return the government undertakes to protect individual human rights. The data in Chapter Six has revealed that not all these rights are enforceable by law.

The mode of delivering civic education, as discussed in the different training materials, is advocated as liberating and enabling pedagogy. Despite this advocacy, the adult education principles of starting where learners are or with what they know (Jarvis, 2004, 2008) are not explicitly mentioned in the manuals. Moreover, in an observed civic education training session that was conducted by one of the non-governmental organisations that provide civic education, the Transformation Resource Centre, the educator did not assess the level of learners by asking what they know before his facilitation of the content (refer to Appendix G for more details).

It was found that civic education frequency in all the training materials is provided as a once off event that targets the elections. This again concurred with the conceptual framework in Chapter Two where civic education frequency is shown to be a once off event in African civic education (Kabemba, 2003; Kadima et al., 2006; Matlosa, 2008). The findings revealed that civic education is provided by the IEC with the help of other civil society organisations and stakeholders such as political party leaders and the media. It is also revealed that, among different IEC staff members, there is no consensus about what civic education should entail. Furthermore, the role of the IEC in civic education is not clear; looking at the legal framework that mandated the IEC to provide civic education, it is ambiguous. This has been confirmed by Smiddy (2009), who concludes that civic education in Lesotho is broad and therefore there is no clear mission concerning what level the IEC should provide, how intensive their role should be and what interventions and programmes should be conducted. Smiddy (2009) recommends that civic education should be provided by different stakeholders that assist the IEC to reach different electorates.

When compared with an international perspective of civic education, the difference is that in Lesotho civic education is provided as voter and electoral education with content that heavily focuses on elections with key actors, registration of voters, nomination of candidates, voting and voting processes, counting and announcement of results, electoral

models and seat allocation, and managing electoral conflicts. Civic education, in countries like the United States and South Africa, prepares young adults (learners) for civic roles and responsibilities through the practice of community engagement and service learning courses for learners in the higher institutions of learning (Barber, 1994; Farouk & Husin, 2011; Pandor, 2008). Civic education in such countries is formally provided and the government takes initiatives to ensure its provision to all citizens, a situation which differs from Lesotho. However, the literature by the above authors does not show the extent to which this community engagement takes place, in particular, its regularity. Nevertheless, the findings of a university, student engagement project in Lesotho by Preece, Ngozwana, Ntene, Setoi, and Tsepa (2011), revealed that community engagement that entails sustained integration by several stakeholders to assist communities in self-sufficiency regarding their societal development, is not a once off activity. It was found that this kind of community engagement needs to be extended as a long term commitment that can nurture the skills for community members to become self-sufficient.

Approaches similar to the civic education provided in Lesotho are those of the United Kingdom, Nepal and Greece which prepare citizens to 'rule and be ruled' (Andrews & Cowell, 2005; Crittenden, 2007) and for them to participate and get involved in the democratic processes of their countries.

In contrast, Oxfam (2006) has a clear curriculum for global citizenship that focuses on formal education beginning with the lower age levels. The content is classified according to the target audience of different age groups from less than five up to nineteen years of age. Topics that are provided include: social justice and equality, diversity, globalisation and independence, sustainable development, peace and conflict, all of which fall under the category of knowledge and understanding. Another category looks at skills, which entail topics such as critical thinking, ability to argue effectively, ability to challenge justice, respect for things, cooperation and conflict resolution. Under values and attitudes, topics include: sense of identity, empathy, humanity, value and respect for diversity, concern for environment, commitment to sustainable development and beliefs that people can make a difference.

It is noted that the content of materials that are used by international bodies like Oxfam differs significantly from the provided civic education materials used in Lesotho. The type of civic education that is provided internationally aims to develop a person throughout their whole life; it is structured to be delivered in small units that are designed for a specific age group; it is a continuous process; unlike the Lesotho civic education that is time bound and aimed at providing election related information only.

The UNESCO (2006) and Oxfam (2006) civic education texts illustrate learner engagement through dialogues that are used to enhance the capacity and strengthen citizens' abilities to interact with others and make their voices heard by people in authority. Civic education in Lesotho, in contrast, is provided through public gatherings, workshops, media, and radios among others. These are non participatory methods and one way communication approaches that do not build on learners' past experiences. However, the global curriculum has not clearly spelt out how, according to Preece (2005, p. 5), the "respect for socio-political cultural differences and contexts" of countries is supposed to be fostered while developing global citizenship values. Countries like Kenya and Ghana undertook what is named 'rethinking of citizenship' by which concepts of citizenship were newly formulated to make the shift from Western influences and to incorporate their socio-political and cultural settings (Langdon, 2011; Wainaina et al., 2011). Civic education was informally provided in the social movement struggles where citizens learnt ways of challenging local and the global powers through incidental learning (Ibid). Participatory civic education through collaborative reflections of activist educators was used and knowledge was shared with other members. This latter form of civic education may not be applicable in the Lesotho context where there are no active social movements as in Ghana or South Africa. Most workers' unions usually do not challenge the state but will engage leaders who enter into negotiations with the state. Nevertheless, the political situation in Lesotho suggests that forms of civic education that have engaged in the global curriculum, as outlined by UNESCO and Oxfam, could produce more informed and critically aware citizens who could respond more pro-actively to the challenges of democracy that were outlined in Chapters Five and Six.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho is shallow, fragmented and time bound. The findings from Chapters Five, Six and Seven reveal

that civic education is provided by the IEC, centrally based civil society organisations (examples are DPE and TRC) and political party leaders and the media and heavily relied on informal means. It was found that the available training manuals by different institutions that provide civic education are inconsistent and not standard in the content that is provided. The curriculum in all the manuals does not encourage and promote conditions that can enable active citizenship in a democratic society. Instead, the training manuals dwell on the systems and structures of government, which implies that government expects good patriotic citizens. Furthermore, this civic education fails to build on traditional forms of education. The findings show that civic education in Lesotho is provided as voter education, a once off activity that takes place before election time. Again, the type of civic education that is provided for adults in Lesotho is a 'one size fits all', because it is provided to all citizens alike irrespective of their different ages, interests, educational and social backgrounds. Although there is evidence that people from Maseru civil society organisations have a broader understanding of their rights and responsibilities in a democracy, the education that is delivered appears to be similar across the different contexts. It has been found that informal means of political campaigns, the media and public gatherings, which are a one-way learning method, are mostly used. The content that appears in the training manuals used for civic education for adults in Lesotho relies heavily on the constitution. Therefore, there is likelihood that these training materials can confuse people and cause misunderstanding regarding the concepts that are discussed that include democracy and citizenship.

The type of civic education offered for adults in Lesotho is highly likely to produce passive and naïve citizenship by which citizens are simply encouraged to act as good, loyal and obedient subjects to the constitution and other laws. They are not encouraged to think critically about the status quo, as revealed in Chapters Five and Six. This conclusion is deduced from looking at the content of training manuals which focus heavily on characteristics of democracy, governance systems and structures as well as constitutional rights that have to be respected and observed by citizens. It is likely that civic education can be taken or mistaken as pre-electioneering in Lesotho. This is evidenced in the type of civic education that is provided as voter education, a periodic activity that heavily teaches about electoral law and processes, including voting during elections where citizens choose leaders

to govern the country. Civic education that is provided in practice focuses mainly on representative democracy rather than encouraging participatory and direct democracy, thus limiting the democratic disposition within citizens. Moreover, it is very shallow on democracy content and is mostly delivered as a one-way communication process, with the result that it is scanty in nature. These weaknesses have clearly surfaced in the prior chapters relating to understandings of democracy and citizenship.

My observation of one programme suggested that the civic education providers also lack the adult education skills of building on people's past experience of learning. They do not start at the level where people are, for instance, by building on traditional values using education methods such as the use of proverbs, in an effort to bring people closer to an understanding of the present democratic situation. Even the civil society groups that are commonly thought to be active do not provide for critical citizenship education. Critical citizenship or deliberative democracy education could enhance public awareness of how they can make the systems work for citizens rather than politicians who serve their own personal interests. The nature of civic education for adults is, therefore, fragmented and needs a concerted effort to be made available across the country, since it has been demonstrated that it often does not reach the more remote rural areas such as Qacha's Nek.

The next chapter concludes with a synthesis of the whole study. It draws together the various issues of the past chapters, reiterates the purpose and the research questions of the study and then discusses the findings of the study which can be identified as new knowledge. Responses to each key research question are summarised to show how the thesis has answered the research questions. The implications of the study are presented and the recommendations made in terms of how civic education for adults in Lesotho can be provided. The chapter also makes recommendations for further research based on this study. To conclude, the limitations that were experienced during this study are identified with an explanation of how these limitations were addressed, before the closing remarks.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

This thesis was written at a time when Lesotho was experiencing a new phase of political instability that led to the preparations of quick elections to be held in February 2015, following the 2012 elections which brought in a coalition government. The planned 2015 snap elections is a resolution facilitated by SADC to resolve the current political impasse encountered in August 2014 after an attempted coup by the military. The latter raided some police stations in the urban Maseru District, confiscated weapons and brutally assaulted those who were on duty. One officer was killed. The military surrounded the State House, but fortunately the prime minister, who is the leader of the ABC party, and the other coalition BNP leaders, together with the commissioner of police and other citizens, sought refuge in South Africa. All the local radio station transmitters were shut down. Lesotho's coalition government collapsed for almost a week. Citizens seemed to behave well during this period, in the absence of anyone to control and manage them, in that there were no serious crimes reported. The police services were not offered countrywide during this time while the correctional services and the judiciary that are also linked to the police services in their daily operation also stopped working. This meant that security was jeopardised in Lesotho. These tensions happened a day after the commander of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) refused to resign when a termination of service letter was issued to him.

At this time, the LDF spokesperson announced over the state owned radio station, and other privately owned ones, that the military had held a successful operation where they managed to confiscate illegal weapons from the police stations. The speculations were that the military operation had followed an allegation that the said weapons were intended to kill innocent opposition political party members who were to protest against the decision to close parliament by the prime minister. The parliament was prorogued by the king acting on the advice of the prime minister in June 2014 and it was intended to be opened again in February 2015. That came after an attempted vote of no confidence against the Prime Minister Tom Thabane, which happened in the National Assembly in March 2014. The incumbent prime minister seems to be committed to fighting acts of corruption, apathy and

laziness. There had been several incidents during 2014 when he exposed government officials and politicians who are involved in corruption and they were taken to the courts of law.

As explained in this thesis, Lesotho's early democratisation emerged as a topdown approach through negotiations by elite politicians. The democratisation process, therefore, did not actively include the citizenry as part of larger civil society movements. The first politicians who negotiated Lesotho's independence from colonial rule were against the traditional leadership of chiefs, claiming that the chiefs imposed their ideas over people in contrast to the practices of the founder of the Basotho nation, Moshoeshoe I, who ruled through consensus in a consultative and collective manner. Therefore, these politicians also took advantage of the passive citizenry by controlling and influencing them to act as good, loyal, obedient and patriotic citizens who merely succumb to the views and opinions of the politicians who claimed to have fought for independence against colonial rule. Moreover, these political elites implemented an education system that further reinforced passivity amongst the citizens, encouraging them to obey and respect the laws while paying allegiance to the dominant political parties.

In this context this thesis discusses the understandings of community leaders, civic educators and ordinary citizens from the rural and urban communities of Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts regarding the concepts of democracy and citizenship. The focus was to find out how participants of the study view democracy and citizenship as it is practiced today, in relation to their understandings of traditional leadership structures and values. The study further investigated the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho by analysing the training materials that are used by education providers of civic education in Lesotho. The aim was to study the kind of civic education that is provided to Basotho, looking at its goals, its purpose and how it is provided, with a focus on the concepts of citizenship and democracy in relation to traditional ways of life. There are three research questions that the study sought to answer. The first is: What do community leaders, civic educators and citizens understand about the concept of democracy? The second is: What do community leaders, civic educators and citizens understand about citizenship? The third question is: What is the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho? This chapter provides a brief synthesis of what was found in the study, reflecting on the responses to the different

research questions. Implications are drawn from the findings and recommendations made for future civic education programmes in Lesotho. The limitations are discussed and areas for future research suggested before the conclusion.

Chapter One discussed the Lesotho context and its historical political development pattern from a traditional chiefdom, to missionary and colonial interventions, followed by struggles for independence and the events leading to the current political instability of a coalition government in the country, and imminent snap elections. These historical contestations among political elites revealed actions to control rather than promote an active citizenry. This has resulted in a fearful, loyal, passive and patriotic citizenship behaviour that does not question the status quo, but instead, acts silently by paying political allegiance to those who are likely to provide jobs in return for citizen allegiance. Moreover, the way democracy has been introduced conflicts with traditional values because these forms of governance were never integrated. This has resulted in instability and corruption exacerbated by the lack of citizenship education particularly among the rural populace, who are vulnerable because they are not exposed to the different sources of information that Maseru citizens have access to.

Chapter Two reviewed literature on how civic education is provided in international and African countries and in Lesotho, beginning with an explanation of traditional civic education in pre-colonial contexts. A conceptual framework was developed from different models of civic education. Chapter Three presented a review of the literature in relation to the concepts of citizenship and democracy and the conceptual framework for these terms was developed thereafter. The last part of Chapter Three outlined the traditional regime in Lesotho, how it operated, its values and the transition to democracy. Chapter Four focused on the methodology of the empirical research. The chapter described a qualitative, small scale design in the districts of Qacha's Nek and Maseru where multiple interactive methods were used in the data collection. The ethics that were observed were elaborated, including the challenges encountered, particularly in relation to the African context. A summary follows of the findings that were presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven respectively.

8.2 Summary of the Findings

This section provides a summary of the responses to each of the research questions of the study and further illustrates how the thesis has provided answers to those questions. The first aim of this study was to explore understandings of democracy among ordinary citizens, community leaders and civic educators. This is addressed as follows:

8.2.1 Understandings of Democracy

The study found that democracy is fragile and deficient in Lesotho where liberal democracy has brought bittersweet conditions and where there is difficulty in blending together modern notions of democratic governance and the traditional way of life of a homogeneous society of Basotho. Basotho have acclaimed their understanding of traditional democracy, practiced by their founder, Chief Moshoeshoe, who used the bottom up approach of consulting citizens before decisions were made collectively (Gill, 1993; Khaketla, 1971; Ngozwana, 2014; Pule & Thabane, 2002; Waghid, 2014). This practice illustrated the African communitarian aspect of *ubuntu* and *botho* and indicates that the colonial imposition of a more individualistic form of democracy failed to reflect the positive elements of a system which may, in reality, have been an equally valid form of governance in the Lesotho context. Indeed, later, during the introduction of modern democracy, chiefs misused their power, oppressed people's rights and imposed their ideas and opinions over them. Thus, democracy was formed from ideologies that emerged partly in reaction to colonial abuse and mismanagement of traditional structures and partly as a reaction to concerns about the inadequacies of those same traditional structures. However, the political elites, with their different ideologies, worked hard to control and nurture the populace into apathetic and patriotic good citizens.

This research has evidenced the subtle differences in understandings of democracy by respondents from the rural Qacha's Nek and the urban Maseru contexts. Respondents in urban Maseru showed some critical thinking about democracy, which was not evident among Qacha's Nek respondents. Respondents in Maseru went further to recommend how parliament should function and how civic education can be provided. A contributing factor to this different thinking may be these respondents' more expert knowledge as educators who work for the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and who are lawfully mandated

to provide civic education in Lesotho. It was noted that respondents in the urban context illustrated a more positive view about democracy, seeing it as bringing development, as redress and inclusiveness in the society where values such as freedom and equality for both males and females can now be practiced. It was indicated that, nevertheless, political elites stick together and profit from the poor marginalized people who are thrown together in a sea of ignorance. The state of marginalisation of the citizenry in the entire policy process, along with corruption, a prevalent patronage system, and nepotism is disturbing, indicating a political domination of decision making. The study evidenced that the culture of apathy and silence (Maathai, 2009) among the citizenry is not only deeply rooted in rural areas, but is also evident in urban areas. This is because even the civil society organisations seem not to be capable of influencing government and political elites or to hold them accountable for their acts.

Modern democracy introduced values that conflict with the traditional values because the transition process never integrated these different value bases. The study found that democracy was blamed for eroding traditional cultural values and practices. It was found that there is an element of resistance to change from a patriarchal society to becoming a democratic society where rights and freedoms are exercised by all individuals alike. This was illustrated by negative reactions to democracy in relation to children's rights and gender equality. New education that enabled children (and women) to behave differently is blamed on democracy. There is a sense of misinformation about the exercising of children's rights and legal misinterpretation, which all cause confusion among citizens and which is exacerbated by politician behaviour so that democracy is seen almost as a villain.

The research has indicated that there has, nevertheless, been some cultural, political and social liberation as a result of democracy. This was shown in instances where Lesotho experienced a positive transition from social and cultural practices of past patriarchal attitudes and political regimes of oppressive dictatorship rule to democratic rule; this brought certain freedoms and development, especially to urban citizens who enjoy relatively more inclusiveness, equality and freedom of speech, which was not the case in the past. The findings further indicate that democracy, when equated with equality and freedom, has provided a measure of participation for citizens in issues that affect their lives. This is reflected in the areas of gender equality and women's rights where they are now able

to own property and contribute to the household income through employment like their male counterparts.

Learning about democratic behaviour in Lesotho, however, is restricted to certain pre-election times and is not a holistic, lifelong learning process such as in families, through mass media, in community based groups and institutions. Moreover, people learnt about democracy from equivocal information provided by politicians.

In summary, democracy has been understood in relation to three key issues: as a way of life, as a socio political process and as an outcome. Firstly, it is seen as a way of life where certain values have to be exercised socially and culturally by all individuals. However, there is a danger that the traditional African values of *botho* and *ubuntu* overemphasised the value of respect which appears to have been used by elite politicians to their advantage. The latter have controlled citizens by nurturing them to become patriotic, loyal and passive people who obey and respect authority, particularly leaders. The traditional value of respect includes an element that adults and authorities such as leaders are not challenged (Waghid, 2010, 2014), meaning that whatever they say is regarded as truth that must not be questioned but cherished. This was evident after the 2012 elections when the former leader pronounced that his party had won the elections but that the IEC had cheated them. Another example of deference to authority is the absence of any challenge to politicians who mislead people with incorrect information. What determines respect is not broadly enough defined in African contexts and it tends to be equated with obedience. As a result, the culture of silence has become deep-rooted, thus killing the critical minds of the populace.

A second key issue in the attitude to democracy in Lesotho is that it has been understood simply as a socio-political process where activities of electing representative leaders are undertaken by different individuals who exercise their political rights. In a similar manner, the African connotations of *botho* and *ubuntu*, which stress the idea that a 'person is a person through other persons' (meaning that an individual is interdependent and connected with others), seems to have limited the thinking capacity of most individual citizens in terms of acting in their own right, so they opt instead for acting in concert with others. The consequence of this is that, people are reluctant to take the first initiative to challenge the

status quo. This is evident in tendencies in the society that have led Lesotho to its present unstable situation where civil society organisations are silent in terms of acting responsibly. In this thesis, civic education providers show their awareness of the unjust practices of politicians, but at the same time hardly exercise their responsibilities of challenging controversial issues caused by political elites. It seems, therefore, that a generalisation has been applied to the traditional concepts of *botho* and *ubuntu*. These concepts represent values of respect of self and others and the notion of collectivity through the proverb 'a person is a person because of other persons', without critical appreciation of what that means in a modern society and how such values should operate in today's African context such as that present in Lesotho.

Third and lastly, democracy is seen merely as an outcome which reflects political rule and where leaders are those involved in governing a country. This is where citizens are included only in the decision of voting for their representative leaders. In other words, in Lesotho citizens elect leaders to govern, but have little or no subsequent involvement in how those leaders govern, involvement which ought to happen through public participation in developing policies that affect citizen lives and interests.

8.2.2 Understandings of Citizenship

This study has demonstrated that the respondents have a range of understandings about what citizenship means in the Lesotho context. On the one hand, there is an indication of imposed citizenship where it is formally determined by the government. Thus, citizenship 'as belonging in the country' is understood as a legal status where every citizen has to acquire legal documents such as a passport (Bagnall, 2010). On the other hand, it was found that there is a practice where some citizens are prepared to relinquish their legal citizenship status in desperation to gain employment in other countries such as South Africa.

This formally determined citizenship extends to citizenship as belonging through the exercising of rights and responsibilities. Here, the government still expects citizens to abide by the law by exercising the rights that are legally stipulated under the framework of laws and thereafter act responsibly as good, well behaved citizens. Further benefits may be promised by the government such as scholarships for further education to citizens that are obedient and respectful. It is argued that citizenship in this formally determined manner

does not promote active citizens, but instead government is encouraging good citizens who are law abiding and loyal to their leaders as domesticated citizens; and it is evident that the civic education materials reinforce this domestication (see Chapter Seven).

The study also found that citizenship is a flexible concept that is exercised in the way citizens want to interpret it regarding such aspects as their free choice of movement and determination of where they want to live and becoming a member of the community they want to belong to. In this case citizenship is confined to a social rather than active dimension. This is illustrated by citizens who engage in a representative democracy that is limited to citizen participation in the periodic elections, rather than participatory democracy where citizens can constructively engage in debates concerning their interests and needs. The state, too, appears not to be taking enough measures to promote active citizen participation; and the education system seems to reinforce the silences amongst the fearful and passive citizens who may even pay political allegiance in return for employment and other benefits.

These findings have revealed that citizenship behaviour is linked to an intrinsic feeling of individualism in terms of citizenship as identity. This is illustrated by those responses that revealed this notion as a distinguishing factor for different people, reflected in the level of the sense of pride in their performance and behaviour. In this respect citizenship has been reflected as part of humanity as expressed through *botho* and *ubuntu*, the African value of connecting and providing for others by assisting them. The African perspective of I/we, together with the sense of connectedness, (Lekoko & Modise, 2011) links well with citizenship as belonging, as it is understood when people move from one area to another or through marriage into another family, but still retain their collective and connected identity, that is, the African communitarian values for living. Moreover, this *ubuntu* form of communitarian citizenship is also expressed as maintaining good relationships (Pacho, 2013; Waghid, 2010, 2014), which, in practice, extends to being helpful within and maintaining harmonious neighbourhoods. Waghid refers to this aspect of citizenship as an 'ethics of care', which is a feature of *ubuntu* which he regards as worth preserving in modern a democracy.

Only the Maseru urban respondents expressed awareness of the potential for critical and active citizenship under civic republican citizenship behaviour. This was reflected in the responses that illustrated citizenship as participation through active engagement and through voluntarism. On the one hand, voluntarism is a communitarian activity at village level, but on the other, when citizens refer to voluntarism as active participation in broader development issues, through organisations that affect the lives in the whole country, it can be seen as civic republican.

Like democracy, citizenship is a process that involves courses of action. It also involves procedures such as when applying for a legal status a membership where people strive to belong either to a community or a society. Citizenship is also a practice, because it includes how people perform in the different places where they belong such as engagment in community work. This practice further extends to actions and procedures that people undertake in order to engage well with others. There is an element of capacity building and learning in these activities and actions in which individuals and groups participate and engage in decisions that affect their lives for change. The concept of citizenship is dynamic; hence, it changes from time to time. There is, therefore, a need for ongoing civic education to encourage and develop skills and knowledge that are necessary for citizens to participate effectively in all spheres of life.

8.2.3 The Nature of Civic Education for Adults in Lesotho

This research has illustrated that the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho is shallow, fragmented and time bound. The findings from Chapters Five and Six, and particularly Chapter Seven, revealed that civic education is provided by the IEC, centrally based civil society organisations (for example DPE and TRC), political party leaders and the media through which people rely heavily upon informal means of learning. It was found that different people understand democracy and citizenship in various ways. For example, in Chapter Five, the evidence showed that there is a disjuncture between the theory of democracy and peoples' understanding of the concept, because some citizens see the modern democratic that emphasis on individual rights and freedoms as contradicting, rather than building on traditional values. This is evident in the blame placed on democracy for eliminating cultural oppression over women and children, for example, which is interpreted as eroding discipline and respect.

It was found that the available training manuals by different institutions that provide civic education are inconsistent and not standard in their provided content. The curriculum in all the manuals does not encourage and promote conditions that can enable active citizenship in a democratic society. Instead, the training manuals dwell on the system and structures of government, with the implication that government expects good citizens. Furthermore, this civic education fails to build on traditional forms of education. Civic education in Lesotho is provided as voter education, a once off activity that takes place before elections. Again the type of civic education that is provided for adults in Lesotho is a 'one size fits all' because it is provided to all citizens alike, irrespective of their different ages, interests, educational and social backgrounds. The content and method of delivery are similar in all the different districts: rural and urban. It was found that informal means of political campaigns, the media and public gatherings, all of which are one-way learning methods, are mostly used. In terms of the content used for civic education for adults in Lesotho, there is heavy reliance on the formal constitutional format. Therefore, there is likelihood that these training materials can confuse people and cause misunderstanding regarding the concepts that are discussed, including democracy and citizenship.

Consequently, the type of civic education for adults in Lesotho is highly likely to produce passive and naïve citizenship where citizens are simply encouraged to act as subjects to the constitution and other laws. They are not encouraged to think critically about the status quo, which has been evidenced in Chapter Five and Six to be in urgent need of critique. On the other hand civic education may simply be taken, or mistaken, as pre-electioneering in Lesotho. This is evidenced in the type of civic education that is provided as voter education, a periodic activity that teaches primarily about electoral law and processes of voting during elections where citizens choose the leaders to govern the country. Civic education that is provided in practice focuses mainly on representative democracy rather than encouraging participatory and direct democracy, thus limiting the democratic disposition within citizens. Civic education that is provided is very shallow on democracy content and is mostly delivered as a oneway communication process, which is scanty in nature. This has clearly emerged as an issue in the prior chapters relating to understandings of democracy and citizenship.

My observation of one "civic/voter education" programme suggested that the civic education providers also lack the adult education skills of building on people's past experience in learning (see Appendix G). They do not start at the existing level of people's knowledge and understanding, for example, building on traditional values, and fail to draw on traditional education methods such as the use of proverbs, in order to facilitate people's transition in their understanding of the present democratic situation. This observation reaffirms what Pacho (2013) argued in terms of the need for African education to incorporate a critical element. Even the civil society groups that are commonly thought to be active do not provide for critical citizenship education. Critical citizenship or deliberative democracy education could enhance public awareness of how they can make the systems work for the citizens rather than politicians who serve their own personal interests. The nature of civic education for adults is, therefore, fragmented and needs a concerted effort to be tailored to address contextual understandings, since it has been demonstrated that it often does not reach the more remote rural areas such as Qacha's Nek.

On the basis of these findings it is clear that there is need for: harmonization of the transition from traditional to modern democracy; nurturing of a more informed understanding of how to move beyond the historical fragile democracy and peace; addressing the role of corruption, the patronage system and domesticated citizenry; re-visiting the role of *ubuntu* and putting it into a modern day context with a view to nurturing direct and deliberative democracy. These considerations are all discussed below.

The Need to Harmonise the Transition from Traditional to Modern Democracy
The contextual background has shown that, historically, Lesotho was ruled under a traditional communitarian democracy in which decisions were made by adult males and a consensus reached collectively through the bottom up approach. Later on, when Lesotho was colonised, chiefs had a monopoly in the colonial rule, abused their power and oppressed people's human rights. As a result, a few political elites negotiated for power and self-governance from the colonialists and, thereafter, Lesotho was granted independence. Thus, democracy was formed from ideologies that emerged partly in reaction to colonial abuse and mismanagement of traditional structures and partly as a reaction to concerns about the inadequacies of those same traditional structures. However, the political elites

with their different ideologies worked hard to control and nurture the populace into becoming obedient, loyal, apathetic, and patriotic people who are good citizens.

In this context, democracy was blamed for the erosion of traditional cultural values. This is because there was a conceptual gap between democracy, as it was introduced, and the indigenous way of life. In other words, the democracy culture has been imposed on people's daily lives and their cultural values and way of living were ignored. There has been a failure to show how democracy and the local values, people's opinions and views and way of life share the same foundations. This study has further illustrated how the ideology of democracy has given individuals in society such as children and women freedom of status to exercise their rights and gender equality. Gender equality is revealed as a challenge, as far as Basotho culture is concerned, because it was not contextualised for citizens to find a way of integrating the concept in such a way that could be understood as a cultural dynamic. The latter information coincided with the advent of democracy in Lesotho and has contributed to catapulting elements of democratic rights into the traditional arena with little time for changes to evolve organically.

The introduction of modern democracy seems to have killed the communitarian aspect of *ubuntu* that was always used by traditional leaders where it was an acceptable practice to make collective decisions that were reached through consensus by adult males (Waghid, 2014). Waghid asserts that this notion of *ubuntu* was prevailing in those historical times where respect was associated with accepting truth and the trust of the elders as reliable because of their wisdom. This means that the elderly had an authority through their wisdom to provide judgment and guidance on all that people wanted to do. Nevertheless, according to Waghid (2014) in the traditional form of democracy the suggestions by the elderly were still open to scrutiny and were deliberated upon before the decisions were made, which in Lesotho, took place at the chiefs' courtyard commonly known as *khotla*. It can be noted therefore that traditional democracy had an embodiment of liberal deliberative and civic republican democracy. Therefore, there is at present a need to harmonise the transition from traditional to modern democratic life through the provision of effective civic education that can enable the republican democracy principle of solving disagreements and conflicts through discussions rather than violence. Engaging in such discussions are regarded as essential to cultivate humanity among people, a value needed in a democratic life as a way

of maintaining peace. This is particularly the case for the rural population which has experienced confusion and uncertainty in relation to integrating understandings of democracy and rights with traditional values.

The Need for a More Informed Understanding of the Historical Fragile Democracy and Peace

In terms of how Lesotho was democratised this research demonstrated clearly that the transition phase or preparations for self-governance or independence were limited, weak or inadequate, as the first political elites were not well prepared. Therefore, when put in power, they continued their inheritance of an undemocratic colonial system of ruling in a modern democratic society. Moreover, there remains a negative culture of persistent fragmentation over office and power where political parties regularly split every time the country approaches elections, further causing fragility in Lesotho's democracy. Furthermore, the introduction of democracy was not a homegrown initiative emerging from popular struggle but could be attributed to imposition, as a result of negotiations by political elites and colonialists before Lesotho achieved her independence. The prevailing tide of democracy is seen as an invasion over the communitarian lifestyle which has brought confusion and misinformation to citizens in terms of interpreting their rights and obligations under the framework of laws. Moreover, democracy has brought divisions that commonly occur within proliferations of political parties just before every election, showing that the quest for state power and office dominates.

Lesotho is currently practicing a representative, electoral type of democracy, which is considered as a minimal form of democracy. In this type, there is limited responsibility by citizens, whose roles focus on respect for laws, loyalty to the leaders and good citizen behaviour. Even in the latest political challenges that led Lesotho into its unstable situation where the coalition government collapsed for a week, its citizens, particularly civil society organisations, kept silent, remained patriotic, apathetically acting as good citizens who do not question controversial issues. These responses thus showed a fearful behaviour, although the response of being silent was hegemonically associated with maintaining peace. This is probably because of the past experiences that people went through regarding political issues of around the years of 1970 up to 1998, where attacks were made on several

people. Lesotho is continuing to experience an unstable fragile democracy in which the military and police fight against each other. In such situations lives are placed in danger.

In this fragile democracy, what is most evident is the fear of questioning the status quo. The African perspective of *ubuntu* emphasises that 'a person is a person through other persons'; that notion in itself implies that an individual cannot act alone but only collectively with others. This notion of *ubuntu* has the potential of inhibiting the capacity of individuals for independent critical thinking. It can promote too much dependence by an individual person upon others, where they act in concert even in activities that may need one individual to take a responsible stand alone. This reduces *ubuntu* to a potential source of manipulation by dishonest politicians who may use that to their advantage in order to be elected into parliament. This suggests that the concept of *ubuntu* – a communitarian tradition in small village contexts - needs re-visiting in the more complex contexts of urban and modern living.

The Need to Address Corruption, the Patronage System and Domesticated Citizenry

The study has demonstrated that democracy is manipulated to the advantage of the political leaders. Citizens do not engage those representative leaders in terms of participating in policy and decision making. This behaviour reflects the way electoral democracy is practiced in Lesotho. The state of marginalisation of the citizenry in the entire policy process, corruption, a prevalent patronage system and nepotism, among others, is disturbing, indicating a political domination of decisions. The culture of silence is also deeply rooted among the citizenry, especially in rural areas, but also in urban areas, even with civil society organisations, which seem unable to question controversial issues that involve the government and the policy makers. This is illustrated in the abuse of governance where leaders seem to personalise offices and thereby provide services to their own patronage instead of addressing the interests of the general population. These findings also support the view expressed by Abdi (2008), that citizens do not have much say in either the governance structure or economic interactions that most determine their lives, hence the abuse of governance. This is attributed to the way adult citizens were socialised into an authoritarian post-colonial system that oppressed them. Furthermore, citizens are now made to pay allegiance to political parties by buying the party membership cards so that they can get jobs and other benefits. In the same vein, corruption and patronage systems by

politicians are rife because the latter take advantage of passive, obedient citizens who succumb to whatever is said and done by their leaders.

Most people in Lesotho suppress their views and opinions and look upon the wisdom of the advisors who usually communicate issues on behalf of the populace or make decisions for them. On the same note, Maathai (2009) claims that African people have trusted their leaders, while only a few of those leaders have honoured that trust. Maathai supports this claim by arguing that most African leaders hold back their countries because they do not offer better services for their citizens; they do not practice good governance and do not create better opportunities for people to prosper (Maathai, 2009). Lesotho is not an exception. In its case, corruption has even led to instability in the country resulting in snap elections that are to be held in February 2015, following only a two year term by the coalition government.

The civic education system that was introduced seems to have exacerbated the whole situation because of weak, shallow content that reinforced the silences of citizens, while nurturing them to be patriotic and loyal. Citizens, too, seem to continue with the colonial legacy of devaluing their self capacity and responsibility to take action, probably due to their disadvantaged economic and educational context in which they are unable to hold their leaders accountable.

The study makes a key contribution to show that the type of civic education for adults in Lesotho is highly likely to produce a passive and naïve citizenship by which citizens are simply encouraged to abide by the constitution and other legal frameworks. They are not encouraged to think critically about the status quo or to question controversial issues of government, which was evidenced in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. This is mirrored in the type of content that appears in the training materials and the nature of civic education that is provided for adults. As a domesticating citizenship education, it mainly focuses on representative democracy rather than encouraging participatory and direct democracy, thus limiting the democratic disposition within citizens. Civic education in Lesotho is delivered mostly informally as a oneway communication process and is very shallow on democracy content, in other words, it is scanty in nature.

The study shows how community leaders, citizens and educators understandings of democracy in Chapter Five, and their understandings of citizenship in Chapter Six revealed several insights which can serve as guidance for future civic education programmes for adults in Lesotho. It has been two decades since Lesotho became a democratic society, but its citizenry is characterised by apathy, passiveness and confusion about rights and responsibilities. This reflects the situation in which politicians have worked hard to nurture citizens according to) the notion of African political elites keeping the masses of people ignorant about their roles and rights regarding political participation (Abdi, 2008; Maathai, 2009. As a consequence, corruption and patronage systems are rife. Nevertheless, the study has given a voice to at least some sections of the populace to reveal that they are not totally ignorant, but are aware of the prevalent undemocratic behaviour. Now, they need an opportunity to learn how to harness that awareness.

The Role of Ubuntu in Nurturing Democracy

Although *ubuntu*, as an ideology, has been criticised as contributing to some of the democratic deficits in Lesotho, there are aspects of this ideology that could contribute to fostering a more positive and active citizenry. One role of *ubuntu*, as an African ideology, is to emphasise the importance of the I/We perspective in a way that can reaffirm the strong connections among people (Lekoko & Modise, 2011). Life has traditionally been understood as a shared entity among Africans such that people felt empathetic for each other. Waghid (2014) argues that Africans have to return to exercising their collective responsibility so that their communities become strong, which is possible through caring and being considerate of others. Politicians and leaders in a democratic society should build on those communal sharing values through which the weak are looked after by the strong, as is the case of the elderly or aged, orphans, or the poor being taken care of by their families and within their communities (Waghid, 2014). The responsible policymaking officials, through civic education, also have to take their responsibilities seriously by demonstrating a political will that promotes and advances peace through the positive aspects of *ubuntu* such as the ethics of caring and consideration for the masses in a democratic society.

Furthermore, *ubuntu*, through its ethics of caring, should play a role of empowering all citizens (Waghid, 2014) to adjust and adapt to different situations by acting responsibly and enlarging human choices through acting upon accurate information. Democratic leaders

should allow for frequent channels of communication and participation so that citizens can influence the government's policy decisions at all levels.

8.3 Recommendation for Civic Education for Adults in Lesotho

Recommendations for civic education are made based on the implications of the findings from Chapters Five, Six and Seven. The following are recommendations on how civic education for adults can be provided in Lesotho, in relation to the target audience and timing of civic education, revising the civic education curriculum and the need for multiple and skilled civic education providers.

It is recommended that, as conversations about democratisation continue, efforts to promote good and effective governance in African countries, particularly Lesotho, would have to look for a synergy between the modern notions of democratic governance and traditional African forms of political and social organisation. These systems are not mutually exclusive.

8.3.1 Target Audience and Timing of Civic Education

The study found that the training materials that are used for civic education are of a non-specific and all encompassing format, because they are provided to all people irrespective of ages, interests and contextual background. It is recommended that civic education programmes should be tailored for both rural and urban communities and target specific social groups, according to different age groups to cover adults and young people who are in and out of school respectively. All forms of education - informal, non-formal and formal - should be used where and when relevant according to the target groups. Stimulating, interactive and participatory methods of providing civic education should be used and be context specific when disseminating information to the people.

Chapter Seven has demonstrated that civic education is provided as a once off activity, as voter education just before elections. Civic education should be a continuous ongoing process that is provided to all communities in the rural and urban areas alike and should be provided irrespective of whether there are elections or not. Training that is conducted closer to the elections, such as voter education, should be taken as refresher training rather than the first time training to the new electorates.

8.3.2 Revising the Civic Education Curriculum

From the findings regarding the nature of civic education for adults, it is recommended that civic education cover more topics and will have to include an African perspective in the curriculum provided. This is because the training manuals that are used for civic education did not build on the traditional civic education methods and values of promoting communalism and connectedness by citizens as provided for in the literature by different authors (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Octti, 1994; Okafor, 2004; Pacho, 2013; Preece, 2009). A concerted effort is needed from all stakeholders who provide civic education to deal with issues of the civic education curriculum so that it includes an African perspective that comprises traditional and cultural values of the Basotho. Traditionally, citizenship education was exercised through collective efforts of 'matsema' (translated as work parties); and through membership in various organisations such as NGOs, FBOs, CBOs, which disappeared in the aftermath of colonialism during authoritarian rule. Currently, Basotho are struggling to integrate those African values that united them with modern day contexts, due to national challenges that are political and economic in nature. Similarly, the concept of *ubuntu* or *botho* needs to be discussed openly so that the notion of respect is revisited in the context of a dynamic and modern society.

The concepts that appear in the manuals that are used for civic education in Lesotho are not contextualised but taught as abstract concepts. This, too, leads to a recommendation to make materials and training sessions that are relevant, practical and contextualised. Concepts of individualism, equality, ability to participate in the public sphere and political freedoms, tend to exist on shaky ground because they are viewed as Western in origin and are, therefore, seen as unsuitable to African societies like Lesotho. For example, issues of rights and gender equality should be addressed in a manner that is culturally relevant and with opportunity for dialogue so that people make meaning through the constructivist notion of building on previous knowledge (Jarvis, 2004). The civic education providers should review the current training materials that are used by different organisations, and adopt more deliberative conceptions (Delanty, 2000) of democracy in the materials. In other words, democracy should be promoted in Lesotho, while at the same time there should be the promotion of active democratic citizenship values and skills. Civic education programmes should encourage critical analysis of how the populace can use democratic

processes of lobbying politicians to make them accountable for their actions and behaviour and also make them work for the people. It is recommended that civic education be provided in a manner which enlightens citizens that Western and African indigenous knowledge can mutually reinforce one another. This could be done through more frank and open discussions about traditional communitarian values and why they originally served their purpose, and to what extent these values could play a part in a modern democracy (Ngozwana, 2014a).

Civic education should also go beyond just catering for the practical needs of elections. It should, for example, focus on how democracy functions as participatory decision making, and teach the relationship between citizenship rights and responsibilities. Civic education content should cover issues that include how political systems work and do not work and how citizens can act for change and influence decisions, including key issues of development, in a democratic society. Civic education curricula should include reference to international interdependence and global responsibilities, be provided in stages and be age specific. This is because cosmopolitan citizenship was barely referred to in the interviews or even mentioned in the civic education documents. In view of Lesotho's position, landlocked within another country, an understanding of cosmopolitan citizenship education is necessary.

Recommendations that are made based on the implications for the findings from the previous chapters include that: civic education providers should help Basotho to deal with notions of equality and inclusiveness in relation to traditional values; and civic education should help people to view modern democracy as building on traditional ways of life rather than destroying their cultural values.

8.3.3 The Need for Multiple and Skilled Civic Education Providers

It was found that the IEC mandate regarding civic education is ambiguous. Smiddy (2009) has shown that civic education in Lesotho is broad and that there is a lack of clarity on how IEC should provide civic education.

It is recommended that civic education should be provided by different stakeholders such as the IEC, government line ministries, civil society organisations, media houses, faith based organisations and political parties. The civil society organisations should provide civic

education that is independent and that can counter and supplement what is provided by the IEC and politicians as voter education. Furthermore, civil society should ensure that it reaches not only the urban, but also the rural areas of Lesotho.

It is recommended that providers of civic education should adopt adult education skills of assessing participants' level before any intervention. In other words they should assess the participants' level of knowledge prior to providing training (refer to Appendix G and Chapter Seven for details). Educators should use participatory, stimulating methods such as discussions, debates, and dialogues.

All the proposed civic education providers should help Basotho deal with notions of equivalence or equality and inclusiveness in relation to traditional values. Civic education should help people to view modern democracy as building on traditional ways of life rather than destroying their cultural values. This will require a more synergistic transition from traditional to modern practices, enabling people to see the advantages of more informed and inclusive citizenry participation in public decision making within the traditional ethical context. In other words, civic education needs to accommodate the African perspective of the collective and the role of interconnectedness and respect as a means to strengthen civic understandings. This could contribute to active civic republican and communitarian living.

Finally, civic education providers, to address the current political challenges that are taking place in Lesotho, could adopt some of the following strategies: develop a workshop kit, hold sustained awareness and political consciousness raising conferences and forums regarding democracy and the political system.

8.4 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The strength of this study is that it was an in-depth qualitative study which revealed detailed understandings about citizenship and democracy from the perspectives of a range of citizens (young and old, male and female, urban and rural). The development of the three conceptual frameworks in respect of the concepts of democracy, citizenship and civic education from literature reviewed is another strength. All these conceptual frameworks served as analysis tools that helped in interpreting the data as used in the three findings chapters five, six and seven. The fact that the study was conducted by a Mosotho in the

local language enabled the participants to speak fluently about their concerns without the inhibition of speaking through their second language of English.

This enabled respondents to freely express their views and opinions, which strengthened the genuineness of the findings. However, the study also acknowledges the limitations that were encountered and are therefore discussed below.

The scope of this study was limited to cover only two districts: Qacha's Nek, which represented responses regarding a rural population of Lesotho; and Maseru, representing an urban population. At the beginning of the study funding was a challenge and as a result the study was limited to two districts instead of the ten districts of Lesotho. Another limitation was the time constraint to complete the study, which did not allow for the incorporation of all the districts. However, the conclusion is illustrative rather than generalisable and the patterns of the results can be applicable to other areas and parts of the country. Furthermore, the qualitative approach and the design used in this study were fit for purpose in terms of the phenomena under investigation.

There was the difficulty in organising people to form the focus group discussions in Maseru District. It was also not easy to contact people like ministers and other members of parliament as potential participants of the study, and there were challenges in trying to document their understandings of these concepts of democracy and citizenship (refer to chapter Four). Therefore, the researcher conducted individual interviews instead of organising people into focus groups.

In some instances the applied conceptual framework could not adequately assist me to interrogate the data, particularly in relation to issues of citizenship as identity and citizenship as maintaining good relationships. The Western literature failed to capture some of these nuances; therefore, I also drew on African perspectives, particularly the concept of ubuntu and the collective notion of "I/We", to help me understand the data and advance my arguments. This combination of perspectives has created an opportunity to provide and create a more informed knowledge base about democracy and citizenship in African contexts.

There are two further limitations. I referred to an observation of only one civic education session that was conducted by a TRC member when analysing the manner in which civic education is provided, under chapter seven that dealt with the nature of civic education for adults in Lesotho. It is difficult, from one observation, to generalise that all sessions would have been conducted in a similar manner. Finally a quantitative component might have enabled me to make comparisons across a wider group of people.

8.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The respondents of this study see children of today as 'children of democracy' because they have rights. Therefore, there is an expression that 'today's children are no longer punished like children of the past'. This is because today the punishment of children is associated with abuse of children and has resulted in the disengagement by parents and schools from issues of disciplining children. There is a need for more research into how young people and schools understand their rights and responsibilities in the current context.

Kymlicka (2002) highlighted that democracy depends on the quality and attitudes of its citizens, therefore deliberative democracy that emphasises discussion is important to encourage responsible citizenship and thereby counteract blind patriotic sentiments in people. Therefore, there is need to emphasise the roles of care and compassion for others, drawing on the African values of *ubuntu* (Waghid, 2014). At the same time, civic education has to enable people to understand the transition from traditional to modern practices and revisit the African interpretation of respect as obedience. Can this ethics of care and compassion supersede or overcome the culture of conflict and corruption?

The methodological observation is that there were silences among some members in the focus groups where it became evident that they were not free to speak their minds openly in a group (refer to Chapters Four and Five). In other words, the environment was constraining for them. People may bear similar characteristics that enable them to be categorised as members of a focus group, but that does not guarantee that they can freely express themselves if they are not friends or comfortable to speak their minds in front of one another. It may be a consideration to establish focus groups of people who are close to each other and who can freely express their views and opinions with ease. Alternatively, in African contexts such as Lesotho I suggest that focus groups be segregated according to

gender to enable freedom of expression because of the nature of patriarchy that is deep-rooted and where women are shy to speak in front of men.

This thesis has revealed some ethical challenges in methodology that do not take account of African contexts such as Lesotho. For instance, research participants do not always comply with what is proposed in the Western literature regarding issues of confidentiality (refer to Chapter Four). It is, therefore, recommended that the ethical demands should be more flexible when dealing with traditional communities where the authorities operate in a different manner in the context of prevailing African values and practices, while still honouring the principles of autonomy, beneficence and non-maleficence.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the major contributions of this thesis by revealing that traditionally, Basotho participated democratically in the chief's courtyard, known as *khotla*, where collective decisions were made through consensus. This is where all adult males freely expressed their views and opinions without fear of any form of revenge. This was an African traditional democracy that had an embodiment of republican and deliberative democracies. However, the study described that the intervention of Europeans in Lesotho brought a drastic alteration where these traditional cultural values and practices changed to modern systems, a transition that is now shown to be less understood than what is outlined in theory.

This study has highlighted that democratisation, which because it was not a homegrown effort, but a topdown approach, disturbed the prevailing African authorities. They were replaced with flexible elected leaders with a specified term of office. In this new system of democracy, people's ability to speak their minds without fear, as was the case with traditional democracy, has diminished. Moreover, this study has unearthed that there is a negative culture of continuous fragmentation over power where political parties regularly split whenever the country approaches elections, further causing fragility in Lesotho's democracy. Instead the prevalent practice by political leaders is the inability to deliver material benefits broadly and equally to the citizenry, thus reducing democratisation to a mere political game amongst the winning elites.

The type of education currently offered radically fails to equip citizens to fight against social ills, which further allows for the deliberate division and control of citizens by political leaders who do not want active citizens but prefer domesticated citizens. The acts of corruption and patronage networks are rife where the elite leaders work hard to control and develop good, loyal, obedient and patriotic citizens who are made to pay political party allegiance in return for the promised employment, educational scholarships, food parcels amongst other incentives.

However, the study has made recommendations for civic education programmes for adults where it is suggested that there is a need for the harmonising of the two systems: traditional and modern democratic rule that are mutually not exclusive. Alongside this, the traditional communitarian notion of respect needs revisiting in a modern and dynamic culture. Moreover, *ubuntu*, with its focus on an ethics of connections and caring, should be included in civic education provision to enable people to understand how democracy should work for their country in achieving Lesotho's vision 2020, with special focus on promoting a peaceful and a stable democracy.

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Appendix A: Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF **KWAZULU-NATAL** ™

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

14 February 2013

Ms Nomazulu Ngozwana 212558023
School of Education
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0080/013D
Project title: Understandings of Democracy and Citizenship in Lesotho: Implications for Civic Education.

Dear Ms Ngozwana

Expedited Approval

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
/px

cc Supervisor Professor Julia Preece
cc Co supervisor Dr Vaughn John
cc Academic leader Dr MN Davids and Dr R Mudaly
cc School Administrator Ms Bongekile Bhengu

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix B: Request for Using a Community Council Hall for Venue

RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMATION LETTER

REQUEST FOR USING A COMMUNITY COUNCIL HALL

1. Study title and Researcher Details

- **Department**: Adult Education
- **Project title**:
  - **Understandings of Democracy and Citizenship in Lesotho: Implications for Civic Education**

  Principal investigators: Nomazulu Ngozwana

  Supervisors: Prof. Preece and Dr. John

  Ethical approval number

2. A Request

A request is made for using a Community Council Hall at your institution, in respect of conducting a study with the above mentioned project title. The hall will be used for conducting individual interviews and focus group discussions with several groups, starting from January to September 2013. The study is an educational not a commercial study, therefore there is no funding provided.

3. What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Basotho people understand concepts of democracy and citizenship, where they have learnt about them as well as how they have developed such knowledge.

4. Contact(s) for Further Information

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project please contact:

Professor Julia Preece: Professor of Adult Education at the Centre for Adult Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Education Building, Pietermaritzburg, Email: preecej@ukzn.ac.za

Dr Vaughn John, Email: johnv@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you!

Name : Nomazulu Ngozwana – contact number : 63725400

Date ……….

Appendix C: Plain Language Statement/Consent Form

RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMATION LETTER

1. Study title and Researcher Details

- **Department**: Adult Education

- **Project title**:

  o **Understandings of Democracy and Citizenship in Lesotho: Implications for Civic education**

  Principal investigators: Nomazulu Ngozwana

  Supervisors: Professor Preece and Dr. John

  Ethical approval number

2. Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in this educational study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and discuss it with other community members if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

3. What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Basotho people understand concepts of democracy and citizenship, where they have learnt about them as well as how they have developed such knowledge.

4. Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because your experiences in working with the communities are relevant and important for this study. I am proposing to interview people who are involved in working with the community. Some interviews will be in groups, others will be individual.

5. Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, I will give you this information sheet to keep and I will ask you to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part 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.

Founding Campuses: █ Edgewood █ Howard College █ Medical School █ Pietermaritzburg █ Westville

6. What will happen to me if I take part?

The study will take place in Qacha's Nek and Maseru Districts respectively.

I will mostly ask questions to individuals and groups. The meetings with you will last between one to two hours. I will tape record the discussions with your permission. I will also jot down some notes.

The study will take place between January 2013 and September 2013,

7. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

I will not include your name or your address in this study. I will do this so that nobody can recognise you from the information that you will give.

8. 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. I will not write your name or address in any report or book.

9. Who is organising and funding the research?

It is an educational not commercial study; therefore there is no direct funding. However transport costs and meals will be refunded or made available for the participants.

10. Who has reviewed the study?

My supervisors at the University of KwaZulu-Natal have reviewed the study.

11. Contact(s) for Further Information

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project please contact:

Professor Julia Preece: Professor of Adult Education at the Centre for Adult Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Education Building, Pietermaritzburg, Email: preecej@ukzn.ac.za

Dr Vaughn John, Email: johnv@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you!

Name : Nomazulu Ngozwana

Date ……….

N.B. Please sign the attached slip if you consent to being interviewed.

I ……………………………………. Consent to being interviewed in relation to research project

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**

APPENDIX D: Plain Language Statement/Consent Form – Sesotho Version

LENGOLO LA LIPATLISISO

1. Sehloho sa litaba le lintlha tsa lipatlisiso

- **Lefapha** : Thuto Boholo

  - **Lipatlisiso ho eng?** :

    - **Kutloisiso ea Basotho ka Puso ea Sechaba ka Sechaba le Bojaki : Lintlha-Kemo tsa Thuto ea Sechaba.**

    Mofuputsi : Nomazulu Ngozwana

    Mokoetlisi: Prof. Preece and Dr. John

    Lengolo la bopaki la tumello

2. Memo

Ka boikokobetso u mengoa ho nka karolo lipatlisisong tsena tsa boithuto. Pele u nka karolo, u lokela ho utliosisa hore na ke lipatlisiso malebana le eng. Ke kopa u bale lintlha tse latelang ka hloko, 'me u ka li arolelana le batho bao o phelang le bona motseng kapa mosebetsing. Ke boetse kea ipiletsa ka hore u na le bolokolohi ba ho nka karolo kapa ho se enke.

Kea leboha.

3. Sepheo sa Lipatlisiso ke sefe?

Sepheo sa lipatlisiso tsena ke hore na sechaba sa Basotho se na le kutloisiso ea hore na Puso ea sechaba ka sechaba le bojaki ke eng , le hore na tsebo kappa kutloisiso eo ba e fumane joang ka mokhoa o feng.

4. U khethiloe hobaneng hore u nke karolo lipatlisisong?

U khethiloe hobane o na le boiphihlelo litabeng tsa ho sebetsa le sechaba, e leng tsona litaba tse amanang le lipatlisiso tsa boithuto bona.

5. Na ke lokela ho nka karolo?

Ho nka karolo ke boikhethelo ba hao, 'me ho k eke ha sitisa nts'etsopele ea lipatlisiso tsena. Empa ke nahana hore molemong oa ntlafatso ea naha ena, ho Kenya letsoho la hao lipatlisisong tsena, ho tla nthusa ke le moithuti, ho be ho tsoele naha molemo hoba sepheo sa lipatlisiso tsena ke ho matlafatsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba le bojaki.

6. Ho nka karolo ho tla ntlhoka eng?

Ho nka karolo ho tla hloka nako ea hao kaha lipotso tse ke tlang ho li botsa litla hloka hore u fane ka likarabo tse nepahetseng, tse hlokang hore u be len kutloisiso e ntle e hlokoang.

7. Na ho nka karolo hoaka e tla ba lekunutu?

Ha u nka karolo lipatlisisong mona ha ho moo lebitso la hao le tlang ho phatlalatsoa, le litaba tseo o faneng ka tsona li pakeng tsaka le uena.

8. Sephetho sa lipatlisiso tsee ho tla etsahalang ka tsona?

Lipatlisiso tsena qetellong ea tsona lit la isoa mafapheng ohle a amehang, ele hore a tle a nke malebela.

9. Mohlophisi le mofani oa lipatlisiso ke mang?

Mohlophisi ke moithutoana, 'me kaha ke lipatlisiso tse amanang le boithuto ha ho mofani.

10. Lipatlisiso tsee li hlahlobiloe ke mamg?

Ke bakoetlisi baka sekolong se seholo sa KwaZulu-Natal

11. Moo mohlophisi a fumanehang

Mohlophisi o fumaneha Thifa, tlatsa lebala la Melele.

Nomoro ea mohala oa letsoho ke : 63725400.

Kea Leboha!

Lebitso: (Nomazulu Ngozwana)

Letsatsi ……….

Tlhokomeliso: Tekena tokomane e ka tlase haeba o nka karolo

'Na ……………………………………. Ke lumela ho nka karolo ka ho araba lipotso tsohle

…………………………………………….　　　　　　　　**…………………………….**
Tekeno　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Letsatsi**

Appendix E: Research Instrument for Interviews – Focus Groups – Concept of Democracy

Interview Schedule for ordinary voters
What does the word democracy mean to you?
Where did you learn about democracy?
What did you learn about democracy?
Who provided you with knowledge about democracy?
How did you learn about democracy?
Which education methods were used to deliver information?
Which forms of education were used to teach you about democracy?
What was involved as content for democracy?
How regularly did you receive information about democracy?
Who were the other participants during learning?
Why did you learn about democracy?
How does democracy relate to your everyday life?
In your opinion, why is democracy important?
What are the democracy challenges in Lesotho?
What can you provide as recommendations for making other people learn about democracy?
(in terms of who to teach, what to teach, how to teach, where to teach about democracy).

Interview schedule for education providers
What do you understand about democracy?
Where did you learn about democracy?
What did you learn about democracy?
Who provided you with knowledge about democracy?
How did you learn about democracy?
Which education methods were used to deliver information?
Why did you learn about democracy?
How regularly did you receive information about democracy?
Which forms of learning do you use when providing education about democracy?
What methods of education have you used to disseminate knowledge about democracy?
Where did you get the curriculum to use when proving knowledge about democracy?
What content was involved? Give examples.
What did you expect your participants to learn about democracy?
How does democracy relate to your everyday life?
What in your opinion is the importance of democracy?
What are the democracy challenges in Lesotho?
What can you provide as recommendations for making other people learn about democracy?
(in terms of who to teach, what to teach, how to teach, where to teach about democracy).

NOTE: Additional question to leaders
What did you expect your followers/ community to learn about democracy?
What do you do to ensure that democracy is promoted within your area/ community?

Interview Schedule for ordinary voters- concept of citizenship
What does the word citizenship mean to you?
Where did you learn about citizenship?
What did you learn about citizenship?
Who provided you with knowledge about citizenship?
How did you learn about citizenship?

Which education methods were used to deliver information?
Which forms of education were used to teach you about citizenship?
What was involved as content for citizenship?
How regularly did you receive information about citizenship?
Who were the other participants during learning?
Why did you learn about citizenship?
How does citizenship relate to your everyday life?
In your opinion, why is citizenship important?
What are the citizenship challenges in Lesotho?
What can you provide as recommendations for making other people learn about citizenship?
(in terms of who to teach, what to teach, how to teach, where to teach about citizenship).
What do think a citizen is?
What is a good citizen?
What is a bad citizen?
What is an active citizen?

Interview schedule for education providers
What do you understand about citizenship?
Where did you learn about citizenship?
What did you learn about citizenship?
Who provided you with knowledge about citizenship?
How did you learn about citizenship?
Which education methods were used to deliver information?
Why did you learn about citizenship?
How regularly did you receive information about citizenship?
Which forms of learning do you use when providing education about citizenship?
What methods of education have you used to disseminate knowledge about citizenship?
Where did you get the curriculum to use when proving knowledge about citizenship?
What content was involved? Give examples.
What did you expect your participants to learn about citizenship?
How does citizenship relate to your everyday life?
What in your opinion is the importance of citizenship?
What are the citizenship challenges in Lesotho?
What can you provide as recommendations for making other people learn about citizenship?
(in terms of who to teach, what to teach, how to teach, where to teach about citizenship).
What do think a citizen is?
What is a good citizen?
What is a bad citizen?
What is an active citizen?

NOTE: Additional question to leaders
What did you expect your followers/ community to learn about citizenship?
What do you do to ensure that citizenship is promoted within your area/ community?
What do think a citizen is? What is a good citizen? What is a bad citizen?
What is an active citizen?

Appendix F: Translated Sesotho Version of Research Instrument for Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

BOJAKI (lipotso ho bakhethi) - CITIZENSHIP

Ke litokelo life tseo o nang le tsona? Maikarabello/ boikarabello ba hao bona ke bofe joalo ka moahi oa Lesotho?

Na o nahana hore banna le basali ba na le litokelo le maikarabello a ts'oanang?

Ke lifeng? Maikarabello oona ke a feng?

Lentsoe bojaki le bolelang?

U ithutile lona hokae? (Libakeng life)

U ithutile eng ka bojaki?

U rutiloe bojaki ke mang?

U ithutile bojaki ka tsela (methods) life? (Joang)

Ke lintlha/ 'moko-taba (content) life tsa bohlokoa tse neng li ameha? Fana ka mehlala.

U ithutile litaba tsa bojaki le bo mang?

Le ne le rutoa litaba tsa bojaki hobaneng?

Bojaki bo amana joang le bophelo ba hao ba letsatsi le letsatsi?

Ho latela kutloisisa ea hao, hobaneng bojaki bo le bohlokoa?

Ke liqholotso life tse amanang le bojaki ka hara ea Lesotho?

Ke likhothaletso life tseo o ka li fanang molemong oa hore batho ba ithute ka bojaki? (ntlheng tsa batho ba rupeloang, se rupeloang, tsela le mokhoa tsa ho rupela, moo ho rupeloang ka bojaki teng)

U nahana hore mojaki ke mang?

Mojaki ea nepahetseng ke ea joang?

Mojaki ea fosahetseng ke ea joang?

Mojaki ea hloahloa ke ea joang?

PUSO EA SECHABA KA SECHABA - DEMOCRACY

Lipotso bakeng sa bakhethi (citizens)

Kholong ea hao, ke lintlha-kholo (values) life tseo u li rutiloeng malebana le puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ha nako e ntse e-ea, na lintlha-kholo tsee li fetohile?

Haeba li fetohile, li fetohile joang? Hobaneng?

Lentsoe puso ea sechaba ka sechaba le bolelang?

U ithutile ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba kae?

Ke eng eo u ithutileng eona ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

U ithutile puso ea sechaba ka sechaba joang?

Ke mang ea u rutileng ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ke tsela (methods) efe e sebelisitsoeng ho fana ka thuto/litaba tsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ke lintlha/ 'moko-taba (content) life tseo u ithutileng tsona ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba? Fan aka mehlala.

Ke khafetsa hakae u fumanang thuto ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

U ithutile le bo mang ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

U ithutile ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba hobaneng?

Puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e amana joang le bophelo ba hao ba letsatsi le letsatsi?

Ho ea ka maikutlo a hao, puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e bohlokoa hobaneng?

Ke liphephetso life tsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba tse naha ea Lesotho e kopaneng le tsona?

Ke likhothaletso life tseo o ka li fanang molemong oa hore batho ba ithute ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba? (ntlheng tsa batho ba rutepeloang, se rupeloang, tsela le mokhoa tsa ho rupela, moo ho rupeloang ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba).

Lipotso tsa barupeli (Education providers) – BOJAKI/ CITIZENSHIP

Ke litokelo life tseo o nang le tsona? Maikarabello/ boikarabello ba hao bona ke bofe joalo ka moahi oa Lesotho?

Na o nahana hore banna le basali ba na le litokelo le maikarabello a ts'oanang?

Ke lifeng? Maikarabello oona ke a feng?

Lentsoe bojaki le bolelang?

U ithutile lona hokae?

U ithutile eng ka bojaki?

U rutile bojaki ke mang? U ithutile bojaki joang?

U ithutile bojaki ka tsela (methods) life?

Ke mekhoa (forms) e fee a thuto e sebelisitsoeng ho fana ka litaba tsa bojaki?

Ke lintlha/ 'moko-taba (content) life tsa bohlokoa tse neng li ameha? Fana ka mehlala.

U ithutile litaba tsa bojaki le bo mang?

Le ne le rutoa litaba tsa bojaki hobaneng?

Bojaki bo amana joang le bophelo ba hao ba letsatsi le letsatsi?

Ke liqholotso life tse amanang le bojaki ka hara ea Lesotho?

Ho latela kutloisiso ea hao, hobaneng bojaki bo le bohlokoa?

Ke likhothaletso life tseo o ka li fanang molemong oa hore batho ba ithute ka bojaki? (ntlheng tsa batho ba rupeloang, se rupeloang, tsela le mokhoa tsa ho rupela, moo ho rupeloang ka bojaki teng)

U nahana hore mojaki ke mang?

Mojaki ea nepahetseng ke ea joang?

Mojaki ea fosahetseng ke ea joang?

Mojaki ea hloahloa ke ea joang?

Lipotso tse ekelitsoeng ho baetapele

U lebeletse hore sechaba se ithute eng ka bojaki?

Ke eng eo u e etsang ho bona hore thuto ka bojaki e nts'etsoa pele moo u phelang teng?

Lipotso ho barupeli (Education providers) PUSO EA SECHABA KA SECHABA / DEMOCRACY

Kholong ea hao, ke lintlha-kholo (values) life tseo u li rutiloeng malebana le puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ha nako e ntse e-ea, na lintlha-kholo tsee li fetohile?

Haeba li fetohile, li fetohile joang? Hobaneng?

Lentsoe puso ea sechaba ka sechaba le bolelang?

U ithutile ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba kae?

Ke eng eo u ithutileng eona ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

U ithutile puso ea sechaba ka sechaba joang?

Ke mang ea u rutileng ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ke tsela (methods) efe e sebelisitsoeng ho fana ka thuto/litaba tsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ke ka mokhoa (forms) efe u rutiloeng puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ke lintlha/ 'moko-taba (content) life tseo u ithutileng tsona ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba? Fana ka mehlala.

Ke khafetsa hakae u fumanang thuto ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

U ithutile le bo mang ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

U ithutile ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba hobaneng?

Ke eng e neng e u tataisa hore u fane ka thuto e lokelang ho sechaba ka litaba tsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e amana joang le bophelo ba hao ba letsatsi le letsatsi?

Ho ea ka maikutlo a hao, puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e bohlokoa hobaneng?

Ke liphephetso life tsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba tse naha ea Lesotho e kopaneng le tsona?

Ke likhothaletso life tseo o ka li fanang molemong oa hore batho ba ithute ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba? (ntlheng tsa batho ba rutepeloang, se rupeloang, tsela le mokhoa tsa ho rupela, moo ho rupeloang ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba).

Lipotso tse ekelitsoeng ho baetapele

U lebeletse hore sechaba se ithute eng ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba?

Ke eng eo u e etsang ho bona hore puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e nts'etsoa pele moo u phelang teng?

Appendix G: Observation of Civic Education Training by TRC

A Vignette of Workshop Training

On Wednesday the 26 June 2013, I went to Life High School where I attended a democracy / civic education offered by a Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) member to the youths from different schools of tertiary institutions, high schools and out of school youths. I had asked the TRC educator to arrange a group of youths on my behalf, telling him that I would like to hold a focus group discussion as a method of collecting data pertaining to my study. He, however, invited me to arrive early so that I could alsoobserve his presentation of civic education before I held the focus group. I took this as an advantage and therefore attended the workshop. I went there with an intention to observe the interaction between the facilitator and the participants, to listen to the content that was delivered and observe the pedagogy used, but most importantly to determine the participants' understanding of democracy and citizenship through their participation and what they discussed.

Content

There was no prepared programme for the workshop. The facilitator had prepared a presentation that was projected through a projector to the white board. The Lesotho national government structure was displayed on the white board as the topic with a down arrow leading to the constitution. From the constitution were the three arrows each pointing at the executive, parliament and judiciary. Under parliament was senate with 33 as their total number, followed by members of parliament totalling 120 in number. Under the judiciary was a list including: Chief Justice, Appeal court, High court, Magistrate's court, Local court, Central court, Labour court and DDPR. All were shown to be equal. At the bottom left were the watch dogs and oversight institutions. They were listed as follows: Ombudsman, Human Rights Commission, IEC, DCO Corruption, PCA Police Authority, Auditor General, and Security Forces. Below the structure was a quote by the author John Locke, and a representation of democracy with three arms spreading across the globe.

The facilitator read the headings for sections 86 to 94 of the constitution and also advised the participants to go and read those sections on their own so that they can learn and

understand more. He further elaborated on the functions of the executive, the parliament and the judiciary and how they interrelated.

The workshop started at about 11h45. At 12h20 one participant started a chorus, which the group sang as an energiser. At that time the majority of participants were feeling sleepy, some went out regularly while others were standing next to the windows.

Pedagogy

The facilitator projected a diagram of the government structure onto the white board forall participants could see. He began to tell the participants about the three arms as the composition of the Lesotho government. He further mentioned the oversight institutions and told the groups that the civil society organisations that are independent, like an NGO where he worked, also perform the function of oversight because they serve as government watchdogs.

During his facilitation, the majority of participants were busy writing. He, however, stopped them by telling them that those interested in the notes could approach him after the session so that he can take their list of names and he would go to the office to print the notes for them.

The facilitator used a lecture method where for about twenty minutes, he did a presentation that was formal and there were no discussions. After that he asked the participants to ask him questions about anything they did not understand. Of the 45 participants, only four boys were active by raising their hands and asking questions. Of the 45, there were only ten girls and two asked questions while the rest were silent. At about 13h10 the session ended and the participants were divided into three groups. They were given the task to each show the challenges of the executive, parliament and the judiciary. They were also required to provide solutions to those challenges that they had identified. During the break session, about eight participants were selected from the larger groupand were told to come to me where I held a focus group discussion with them.

Lessons Learnt

The facilitator did not encourage active listening because participants were not allowed to take notes but to listen passively. He kept repeating that those who were interested in notes could go to him afterwards so that he could arrange to print the presentation for them.

The facilitator did not encourage participation from all the youths because only a few, about six, were actively speaking and asking questions. The same people were dominating and the facilitator could not stop them and try to give chance to the others who were silent.

There was no consistency from the facilitator when answering questions because he answered some, while others were not answered; instead he said they will be dealt with during their group discussion session, which he told participants that they will break for discussing and tackling some questions.

Some participants showed lack of confidence because their level of literacy differed- some were tertiary learners, while others were high school students and a few were out of school participants. Among the participants, some came from urban schools while others were from the rural schools.

The workshop was not participatory because a few dominated by asking and responding to the facilitators' questions.

There was gender imbalance because there were many boys and too few girls. The girls spoke softly in low pitches of voice and could not be heard; they looked very shy and lacking in confidence.

The facilitator gave a lot of information in a speedy manner as he was quoting sections from the constitution, which all the participants did not have at that time.

Not all the questions were answered. For instance one girl asked: where does the King fall in that government structure? Are students who are in the faculty of law doing different laws that will suit different courts of law- like labour law, constitutional law etc? Who is a signatory for the global agreement that Lesotho engages in? The facilitator did not answer these questions; instead he said that all will become clear as they moved on.

There was lack of clearly defined and shared understanding of what democracy is and how it operates. The facilitator showed intimidating behaviour to the youths by not allowing them to take notes, also by not answering some of the questions and not allowing time for discussions.

The facilitator did not ask the youths to reflect on what they already know, or even to reflect on their experiences. He lectured and gave information without assessing the learners' prior level of knowledge before he could display the Lesotho government structure. He did not use the adult education principles of starting where learners are in terms of knowledge.

Most learners were silent; some seemed not to understand about the two houses forming parliament, as well as the position of the King in the structure.