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EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE IN LESOTHO 1974-1990

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A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Education

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DECLARATION

I declare that this Research Report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Mbabane

(Name of candidate)

25 day of August, 1992

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ABSTRACT

Education for self-reliance in Lesotho is bound up with the educational developments in independent Africa that sought a more practical and relevant type of education as a solution to an overtly academic and western inclined education. This study examines Lesotho's experiences with education for self-reliance in the context of underdevelopment and dependence on the west and South Africa. The main argument of this study is that inadequate implementation procedures and methods tended to discredit the concept of education for self-reliance in Lesotho. However, the study demonstrates that with more appropriate principles and procedures, education for self-reliance could be an effective and viable option for minimising underdevelopment and dependence in Lesotho. In addition, this study argues that particular aspects of education for self-reliance such as development studies could encourage broad-based and collective development. For this purpose, lessons from Tanzania and Botswana are of crucial importance.

The study draws on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include reports, official policy documents, oral evidence and official pamphlets on educational development in Lesotho. Secondary sources are a combination of books, journals and newspapers which cover topical issues on education and developments in Africa.

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THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The study grows out of the need to examine the significance of the concept of self-reliance in education in Lesotho. This is crucial because, although this alternative was adopted in the 1970s against the background of growing unpopularity of the western academic type of education, to date the idea has not been subjected to much critical analysis.

In order for the study to establish the significance of the notion of self-reliance in Lesotho it is crucial to examine the specificity of Lesotho's socio-economic conditions so as to highlight how best the practice of education for self-reliance can address the problems and limits inherent in dependent development. In addition to this, the relevance of the notion of education for self-reliance will be discussed with reference to current debates on educational issues and development priorities of third world countries in general and the SADCC region in particular.

The above issues are created in the five chapters of this report. Chapter One is a theoretical review of educational developments in third world countries, which clarifies the context and origins of the notions of education for self-reliance. On the basis of this review, the chapter suggests that an eclectic strategy in the educational field is best to solve the problems of underdevelopment in the third world - especially in Lesotho because of its classic case of dependence. This implies that

Lesotho does not necessarily have to follow the inherited established strategies but should add on other ideas relevant to the country from other perspectives such as the radical perspective which illustrates that the state serves the interests of one dominant group, an alliance between local and international capital.

Chapter Two examines the political economy of dependent development from the radical perspective. The study considers the illumination of the state's role by this radical perspective as crucial because the state comprises institutions that have a lot of bearing on the advancement of the country and what path of development should be followed. In relation to this, the study demonstrates that some aspects of engagement with South Africa and the west, such as the import of raw materials and technology are beneficial to Lesotho and, so should not be discarded but used to promote the ideal of independent development.

Chapter Three focuses on the notion of education for self-reliance as presented by the case of Tanzania and Botswana. It illustrates the underpinnings of education for self-reliance and their significance to the African context.

Chapter Four explores Lesotho's experiences with education for self-reliance and critically analyses them on the basis of the experiences of Botswana and Tanzania. This chapter argues that while the strategy has not been easy to implement, it is a viable project that needs to be promoted on a larger scale. In addition

some innovations such as the introduction of development studies on a broader scale are needed to make the project more effective for Lesotho.

In this interdependent world, Lesotho is an enclave and most vulnerable to South African economic and political sabotage. It is therefore essential to describe Lesotho's role in the larger context of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to further highlight attempts by the country to counteract its dependence. This is the focus of the fifth and last chapter, which argues that the promotion of education for self-reliance in Lesotho could facilitate collective self-reliance as explained by the development priorities of SADCC.

METHODOLOGY

Use was made of both secondary sources and primary sources. The secondary sources were used to explore issues such as current debates on educational developments in Africa, social, political and economic dynamics, dependence, problems encountered and the suggestions to be followed to promote genuine independent African development. The primary sources were interviews conducted at the following places: the Training for Self-Reliance Project Centre, the National Teachers' Training College and the Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation. Other primary sources consist of government official documents and publications such as the 1984 Educational Manifesto.

The interviewees were selected as follows. In the case of officials, duration in their particular field and occupation was seen as important. Graduates of the project schools were chosen to represent the grassroots level.

Oral interviews focused on various issues in the experiences of Lesotho and education for self-reliance. The government officials treated issues such as the implication of the notion of education for self-reliance in Lesotho, the implementation process, the effectiveness of the project, the problems encountered and suggestions for future development. The graduates of the schools treated issues such as their appreciation of the notion of education for self-reliance, the relevance of the skills learned at school to the world of work or their present occupation, their

preferred place of work if they had a choice, and suggestions for future improvements of the project schools.

On the basis of these oral interviews and other sources of empirical data, the study illustrates various underpinnings of education for self-reliance in the African context, such as the move to collective non-dependent African development. The study sees this option as a significant advance and reiterates that it needs to be strengthened.

In exploring the issues mentioned above, empirical data were collected in both Lesotho and South Africa. In South Africa data concerning education in the third world in general were gathered from the various resources centres and from publications such as journals and government publications. These included, for example, articles on the World Bank and official government publications from the Government Publications section of the Africana library. In Lesotho data concerning educational developments in general and education for self-reliance were also obtained from various resources centres such as the Resource and Transformation Centre in Maseru, the Training for Self-Reliance Centre and Ministry of Education, Lesotho.

CHAPTER ONE

FROM MODERNISATION TO DEPENDENCY TO THE REFORMIST PERSPECTIVE

This chapter is a theoretical review to explain the origins of the concept self-reliance. Focus is put on the theoretical perspectives from modernisation to dependency and the reformist perspective. It discusses the historical specificity of each perspective, and challenges attempts to apply these perspectives mechanistically as is done by some African countries.

The chapter suggests that an eclectic strategy in the educational arena, one that adopts the best of various strategies, is the most appropriate to solve the problems of underdevelopment in the third world - especially Lesotho because of its classic case of dependence. Lesotho does not necessarily have to follow any of the inherited established strategies but should adopt ideas relevant to the country from all perspectives particularly the radical perspective, which is more in line with its historical specificity.

Most writings on the economics of education quote Schultz (1960), an American economist who suggested that among other things such as physical capital and land, human capital contributes to increased production. "Basically human capital is formed by education and training and renders its productive capacity through the labour market" (Psacharopoulos 1987:1). Harbison also holds the view that "education and training create assets in the

form of knowledge and skills which increase the productive capacity of manpower in the same way as investment in new stock of machinery raises the productive capacity of stock of physical capital" (Harbison, 1973:338).

The concept human capital, particularly its aspect of promoting increased productivity, is universally accepted by most societies regardless of their social formations. The state and the people support investment in human resources because of the common benefits that accrue to them. The benefits are seen in trained manpower, and increased skills and knowledge, which in turn lead to increased productivity and economic development (Cornwell, 1986:6; Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1987:1). Further, investment in education may be instrumental in attaining the creation of a literate society which may also help build nations by promoting awareness and fostering alternative non-dependant forms of consciousness (Walters, 1983:32). In connection with this, other sources illustrate that investment in human capital would promote equality, and lay social and regional foundations for improving the standard of the living of the poor, thus enhancing their participation in the economy (Buda, 1984:200).

So during the African independence era of the 1960s and 1970s countries which were seen as late developers were advised to acquire capital and trained personnel to enable them to explore their own natural resources and therefore eliminate poverty. Education was the ideal tool to do this (Cornwell, 1988:7).

Studies show that in the developing countries such as Lesotho, popular slogans in the 1960s and early 1970s implied that investment in education was the key to economic development and growth (Blaugh, 1985:185). In Lesotho this notion is reflected in the First Five Year Development Plan, 1970-1975, which was the first official plan since the country achieved independence in 1966. The plan's main target was to improve the general infrastructure of the country. With reference to the educational infrastructure, the focal point of the plan is education for rapid economic and social development, with the realisation that Lesotho, being poorly endowed with natural resources, has to rely heavily on human resources and the formation of human capital (Lesotho Government, 1970:29).

As a result of the widely proclaimed benefits of investment in human capital, considerable efforts were made in the 1970s and 1980s to develop educational resources at all levels, primary, secondary and tertiary. Table 1 illustrates school expansion in the 1980s.

TABLE 1: EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION IN LESOTHO

Years	1979	1981	1983	1985	1987
Total Schools	1191	1194	1252	1294	1349
Total Students	260020	288472	324406	352732	376644
Total Teachers	6016	6943	7590	7706	8086

(Source: Statistical Bulletin, 1988)

The educational expansion illustrated in Table 1 has its origin in the modernisation strategies followed by Lesotho particularly the human capital path of development which is seen as a panacea for lack of development in Africa.

Development was seen as a continuum from the traditional to modernity. African countries were seen as traditional, a factor which held them back from developing. European countries especially America and Britain were seen as modern and progressing with ideal socio-economic and political infrastructures. In order for the African countries to develop, they had to follow the same path as Britain and America (Fargerlind & Saha, 1983:63).

Around the 1950s Rostow, another modernisation economist, suggested five stages of development, the traditional, the pre-condition for take off, the take off to maturity, the drive to maturity, and the stage of high mass consumption (Rostow, cited in Fargerlind & Saha 1983:63). According to the modernisation theory, for societies to reach any of the stages of Rostow, they have to hold modern values and these values would contribute to economic growth. These values include competitive industry, an entrepreneurial spirit and receptiveness to international aid. All these will help the country to reach the critical stage of "take off". This view is postulated by Inkeles, an American sociologist who is of the opinion that there is a direct causal link between the five variables of modernisation. Modernising institutions lead to modern values, which in turn leads to modern

behaviour, and consequently modern society and economic growth (Inkeles, cited in Fargerlind & Saha, 1983:16). African countries, being newly independent and with the hope of being genuinely developed, accepted this strategy. In Lesotho for instance the tone of the first five year development plan reflected Lesotho's move to modernity.

However, the notion of striving for modernity as defined in western terms was problematic for Africa. These problems showed that what was applicable in the west cannot be applied to Africa without considering the contrasts between the two societies. One of the contrasts or problems was that around the 1960s most African countries had just gained their independence and had no capital to engage in large scale projects similar to those in the west, such as the establishment of advanced and efficient social and economic infrastructures. However the problem of lack of capital or finance was soon solved by aid agencies of the west, which provided funds for development endeavour such as educational development and expansion. In the case of Lesotho, various donor conferences were held which had representatives from the major western countries, in particular America and Britain, and organisations such as the World Bank and the United Nations. Throughout these conferences, the donor agencies expressed their willingness to contribute to Lesotho development and particularly human resources development (Lesotho Donor Conference, 1979:115).

Since independence, progress towards the realisation of Lesotho's

development aims and those of most African countries has been less than expected. The educational developments referred to earlier proved to be negative to the expectations of the modernisation perspective and those of the national development policy of third world countries.

A number of critics have looked at the modernisation perspective and attempted to explain why despite its propositions there continued to be negative economic growth in Africa. These critics point to the inadequacies of the modernisation and human capital perspectives and how they all contributed to the dashing of high hopes in the 1970s (Fyfe, 1976:77). For instance, increased expansion carry with it problems such as unemployed primary and secondary school leavers (Blaug , 1985:346), the famous phenomenon of the diploma disease (Dore, 1979), and the irrelevancy of the type of education to the African needs and setting, which is a cry expressed by most state policy documents on education (Task Force, 182:32)

The ramifications of the above contradictions are exhibited in many countries, where the over supply of high level manpower has contributed to the problem of unemployment and the dashing of people's hopes of education leading to a brighter future (Blaug, 1987:340). Some studies show that the purely quantitative extension of educational institutions does not necessarily lead to greater wealth for the individual and the entire country. It appears to have reproduced and consolidated inequalities that were inherited from the colonial times (Carnoy, 1974:13; Bude,

1984:201). This poses one of the contradictions of educational expansion based on modernist lines.

Observers commenting on this situation say that on the basis of the Addis Ababa conference of 1960, by the 1970s African countries were supposed to have achieved universal primary education. Yet by that time fewer than half the countries had achieved universal primary education (Blaug, 1985). Lesotho is among those that are still striving for universal primary education. Another reason for the failure of the neo-classical expectation is the dependence on the western system of education, represented in Lesotho by the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC). This system has been criticised as preparing students for the next level of education, not for employment. It is also blamed for raising white-collar job expectations which cannot be filled by the economic structure, hence the diploma disease (Cornwell, 1988:8).

In addition to the failure to reach universal primary education by the 1970s, studies show that African education was irrelevant to the needs of the African socio-economic conditions. Studies are replete with the view that African education was largely bookish and emulated the educational systems of the west (Watson, 1985:5). The unexpected outcomes of the educational developments and the irrelevancy of the education offered compounded the African socio-economic crisis of the 1970s. Studies show that Africa was in a state of economic stagnation and most of the developments were just negative (Maclean, 1981:158). Even in the

political arena some African countries were experiencing problems that the west had never anticipated, such as political repression, coups and counter-coups. Most of these developments were contrary to the expectations of the Western countries and the classical economic and development theory (Onimode, 1985:5).

Further contradictions were the unequal distribution of income, the gap between urban and rural areas, and the lack of a national economy, the overriding problems of Africa being dependence and underdevelopment (Onimode, 1985:5). For those who were educated it may be said that this negates the commonly held belief that formal education is a one way ticket out of poverty, rural depression and manual labour (Cornwell, 1988:6).

In the context of the crisis, studies emerged which show that the crisis is not only educational but a consequence of the economics that African countries came to adopt in the 1960s (Onimode, 1985:3). These studies question the development strategies, economics and politics adopted by African countries after independence.

The major critique of the modernisation school of thought is provided by the dependency school of thought or what may also be referred to as the radical school of thought. Scholars of radical persuasion show that modernisation due to the colonial legacy had a lot of bearing on what counts as valid knowledge and therefore on what counts as schooling. This has constituted a major barrier to vocational education and has been hard to break. The concept

of education held by the target population is restricted to academic activities, and this creates a built-in resistance to vocationalisation of education (Lillis, 1984:176).

In contrast with the modernists who claim that the development strategies failed because of lack of modernity, the dependency perspective, a component of the radical school, maintains that these strategies failed because of the defects of the capitalist system and the unequal and subordinate integration of Africa into the world capitalist system (Walters, 1981:98). In most cases African countries are producers of raw materials which are exported to the west to be processed and then sold back to Africa as finished products at very high prices. In this way African countries are denied the experience of the production process and made to be exporters of primary goods and consumers of finished processed goods.

The dependency approach notes that modernist strategies are geared to foreign and not national interests and this promotes the dependent status of African countries (Walters, 1981:98). According to the dependency approach, the west because of its dominance determines which areas of the world ought not to develcp and which ones ought to (Wallerstein, 1976, cited in Walters, 1982:96; Rodney,1972). For instance, it suits the west to support an expansion of academically educated people who would continue holding on to western aspirations similar to the west and so maintain the status quo. In this way the west has exploited Africa to support the status quo of "the development

of underdevelopment" manifested in the African crisis and other negations of development referred to earlier.

Walters further observes that the west could not have succeeded in maintaining the status quo unaided. She states that the west was and still is aided by the peripheral or African bourgeois which has its origins in the colonial era. The bourgeois in Africa achieved their status through monopoly and political constraints aided by the west. They are therefore elements of the west and are dependent on continued foreign domination and rather hesitant to pursue autonomous national development (Walters, 1981:96). She points out that:

> The congruence between the peripheral bourgeoisie interests and the interests of core capitalism prevent the bourgeoisie from playing a dynamic role in promoting national industrial and intellectual development that modernization theorists expect of it. (Ibid)

Thus, modernisation simply strengthens ties of dependence if it is defined not in terms of the peripheral countries but those of the west. This also influences education, which becomes unable to break up the dependent ties even if it is in abundance.

On the above note, Collins comments that:

> the contemporary phenomenon (educational expansion) in the periphery simply supports the view that skills provided by the modernized educational system are not only unnecessary for economic development, but in fact conflict with the requirement. (Collins, cited in Walters 1981:99)

When taking into consideration the role the bourgeois play in Africa and how they protect their common interests with capital, then it follows that they would not in any way implement strategies that would endanger their interests.

Radical scholars also accuse the modernists of applying bourgeois economics to the problems of Africa. The position of bourgeois economics is that the problems of poor countries are "insufficient modernization or spread of capitalism and the solution to poverty ... is in the more thorough penetration of capital" (MacEwan, 1983:13). From a radical perspective, MacEwan sees this as an apology which came to be used by the World Bank and western governments. On the question of the penetration of capital to promote development, other radical scholars further argue that western capital promotes imperialism, that is, it promotes the system which makes it necessary (Heyter, cited in Browett, 1985:185).

The emphasis on modernity presupposes development of the urban sector on the grounds that it will spearhead development and the benefits will trickle down to the rest of the society, including the rural masses. However, the African experience is contrary to the "trickle down theory" because what has happened is urban bias, with the elite emerging as sponges which absorb all the benefits at the expense of the rural masses (Miller, 1987:236; Bacchus, 1981:93).

In this context of dilemma and disillusionment, the dependency

approach offers as a solution a major shift away from the capitalist strategies of development to a planned state with people controlling production, finance and the distribution of goods (Watson, 1984:2). The dependency approach may offer a positive solution but its notions are also infected with problems, to which we now turn.

One of the limitations of this approach is that it concentrates on the macro-level of the economic framework. This is seen in the fact that it blames the world economic system for lack of development. It does not explain how at the micro-level African countries also contribute to underdevelopment and how they can overthrow capitalism (Browett, 1985: 185).

Another criticism is that it undermines African initiative in solving the problems (Browett, 1985:185). Nowhere does the dependency approach make reference to the success stories of modernisation due to African initiative, even when African countries are following the modernisation path of development. This implies that the dependency approach reduces African development to insignificance if it is not along the suggested lines.

The inadequacies of this approach, however, do not render it irrelevant. Its strong point lies in the critique of uncritical acceptance of western strategies. Its strategies need to be adopted with caution and only those which apply to a particular country be adopted. In the case of Lesotho the existing system

needs to be employed to inculcate the right attitude for the development of Lesotho. This could even result in Lesotho developing like Japan, which is also a country poorly endowed with natural resources but is now one of the third top industrial powers in the world due to the skill of the people of Japan. In the case of Lesotho it has been indicated that it is not likely that socialism will be pursued. What Lesotho can learn from the dependency perspective is to be cautious toward unsupervised foreign aid and investment. Such aid, if left to operate unchecked in the context of a free market system, simply reinforces underdevelopment. But when it is controlled it can contribute to desired development that can improve the lives of the masses in Lesotho.

There is yet another perspective, the reformist perspective, which offers alternative strategies of development in the context of the African crisis. The reformist perspective involves the support of the New Economic International Order which was adopted in the 1970s. The perspective emphasises "basic needs, employment generation, national self-reliance ... and rural sector expansion and development" (Browett, 1985:186).

According to Browett, this perspective, unlike the dependency perspective, is very optimistic about the future role the African state and elites can play in alleviating poverty out of their own initiative, while using the existing order (1985:186). It suggests that it is possible to work under capitalism and use the system for the benefit of Africa. This is seen in some of its

suggestions such as the usage of modern technology, centralised authority, and professionally trained experts (Mercer, 1977, cited in Browett 1985:186). In relation to professionally trained experts, the reformists believe that these would initiate appropriate and well-conceived panaceas which seek to change those aspects which were left untouched before, such as class structures and class struggles, and ones response to the internal and external forces that inhibit development (Browett, 1985:186). These aspects when revealed will give African government some sense of direction so that limiting factors such as unequal distribution and repression of wealth are addressed and eradicated.

Although the reformist perspective suggests the above changes, it is also faced with the dilemma of the choice between integration with or separation from the capitalist world. Studies show that integration implies destruction of the indigenous society and the imposition of a Euro-centric value system. In order to avoid this African countries must choose partial integration, not total and complete integration. Separation implies "denial of access to most benefits of western civilization and permanent ossification, through the imposition from above of structures of inequality" (Browett, 1985:187). Separation appears to be an impossible option in the context of an interdependent world. African countries had rather opt for selective separation. So it appears that Lesotho has to attack these problems by either dropping the modernisation perspective and adopting a new one or building on it to make it relevant to the development needs of

the country.

In the case of Lesotho it appears that the crisis in the world capitalist system and Africa at large has caused a major break in development, and in most instances the development strategies have been responsible for the African crisis. On the basis of the above account this study further stresses that for Lesotho to develop, it needs to adopt an eclectic approach. This includes development along modernist lines but genuinely taking into consideration the needs of the majority of the people. In this way their potential would be developed. In addition, the state needs to check the unrestricted moves of foreign and international capital so that it can be controlled and put to good use internally. To sum up, this study supports the reformist suggestions that Lesotho should adapt the existing system, but not embrace separation. Separation from the world capitalist system would spell disaster for Lesotho because as an enclave of a capitalist country Lesotho would not survive.

CHAPTER TWO

LESOTHO: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

The role played by the state in a country's socio-economic and political development is crucial because the state constitutes institutions that have a lot of bearing on the advancement of the country and what path of development should be followed.

The main aim of this chapter is to show that the state as a central body for the development of the country seems to increase dependent development in Lesotho. It will be argued that some aspects of dependent development have worked to the advantage of Lesotho and therefore should not be discarded but reinforced, so that in the long run they can promote an ideal broad-based non-dependent development. Moreover, in the educational arena, aspects of state policy such as education for self-reliance should be improved so that they can be used as tools to inculcate in future generations the move to independent development which is an aspiration of most African countries.

An analysis of the Lesotho state follows to show the characteristics of dependent development in the post-independence era. Before dealing with the analysis of the Lesotho state it would be appropriate to look at two contrasting perspectives on the state so as to illustrate the point that the radical perspective seems to be a better presentation of the African social reality than the liberal modernist perspective.

According to the liberal perspective the state exists through the consensus of the people and should promote the common good for all (Fargerlind & Saha, 1983:242). This is seen in the aims of the state institutions, which are supposed to promote the welfare of all citizens rather than that of one interest group. This classification of the state is the one postulated by western democracy, which Lesotho as a former British colony came to adopt.

Experience in post-independence Africa has shown that the above perspective falls short of the truth. Its inadequacies are highlighted by the radical Marxist perspective, which sees the state as biased, looking after the interest of the dominant groups at the expense of other classes (Fargerlind & Saha, 1983:243). According to this perspective, state institutions such as schools are instruments of those in power and are used to maintain the status quo (ibid).

According to the radical perspective, the status quo is not radically different from that of the colonial state, its predecessor:

> ...the post colonial state is to all intents and purposes a neocolonial state - a politically independent structure with basically unchanged economic framework. Thus whether neo-colonial or revolutionary, or progressive, the class in charge cannot be expected to implement coherent development structures on the basis of institutional structures that were meant to serve the interests other than those of African workers and peasants. (Nzongola, 1987:84)

So it appears that according to this perspective, whatever strategy is introduced is for the benefit of the alliance between national and international capital. In this situation, the issue of promoting equality, as the liberal perspective suggests, is only round table rhetoric which is not pursued strongly.

In addition, radical scholars are of the opinion that given neo-colonialism, the state is concerned with maintaining law and order and the accumulation of wealth in the interests of the ruling class (Nzongola, 1987:84). The above description of the neocolonial state by Marxist scholars is applicable to Lesotho, though only to some extent. In the following pages an attempt will be made to present the manifestations of neocolonialism in the state apparatuses so as to illustrate the point that due to the extent of western dominance and dependence in Lesotho, most development strategies such as education for self-reliance cannot be said to cater for the needs of the masses, but the needs of capital both foreign and local. In order to cater for the needs of the masses, changes are needed in the conception and practical application of development.

The starting point of an analysis of the manifestation of neo-colonialism is Lesotho's politico-economic system and orientation. It is classified as "capitalist leaning". It is also referred to as "accomodationist with a dual economy" (Africa Insight, 1984:54). Lesotho has a dual economy because it has aspects of subsistence farming alongside capitalist development. It is accomodationist because it is inclined to strengthen ties

with the former colonial power, in this case Britain, and other capitalist countries especially South Africa (ibid).

According to this view, the colonial power, Britain, strongly influenced the nature of the state and the development strategies of Lesotho. History and the colonial legacy made Lesotho an enclave of South Africa and nowadays it is described as a classic case of dependence as it is land-locked, and poorly endowed in natural resources, and so has to rely heavily on imports (Hawes et al, 1984:6). The historical experience contributed to this because Britain did not have explicit intentions of developing Lesotho as an independent country with social and economic structures such as highly skilled and educated manpower. In the interests of Britain, the country was to be developed and incorporated into South Africa as a labour reserve. This is implicit in the statement made by the resident commissioner in 1899:

> Basotuland [Lesotho] has an industry of great economic value to South Africa, viz: the output of native labour... To those who argue high education of the natives, it may be pointed out that to educate them above labour would be a mistake. (cited in Bardill & Cobbe, 1984:27)

However, the Basotho expressed great antipathy to incorporation. Nevertheless, in the period leading to independence, due to the decolonisation move and pressure to develop the colonies, Britain imposed on Lesotho modernist development strategies which continued to develop Lesotho as a labour reserve. Studies show that the development of Lesotho as a labour reserve benefits Britain

greatly because of the contribution the Basotho miners make to the South African industries and mines, in which Britain has a large proportion of capital investments (Cardill & Cobbe, 1985:27). So during the 1960s with the popularity of the modernisation and human capital perspective, Britain and the post-independence government continued with the status quo. In addition, changes were made towards the full scale modernisation of the country, such as improving the socio-economic and political structures to develop along modernist lines and the establishment of western schooling and economic policies.

As is characteristic of independent Africa, the elite were in the forefront in the realisation of development, emulating the colonialist. So it is important to analyse the principal tools used to perpetuate the status quo. The ruling party is the one that pioneered the move to independence and laid down the first policy documents based on party policies. It is thus responsible for perpetuating the existing order.

The party that was ruling Lesotho during the period under study is the Basotho National Party (BNP). This party was founded in 1958, around the period when most African countries were moving to decolonisation. The BNP was established in reaction to the Basotho Congress Party (BCP), which was seen as too radical in its pro-socialist stance and anti-chieftainship stance (Winai-strom, 1986:46; Wallis & Van de Geer, 1982:50).

The stance of the BNP is rather more conservative. Winai-Strom

shows that the BNP is a highly religious political party and its aim is to promote christianity and freedom of religion. The party also supports hereditary chieftainship. In relation to other African countries, the party's aim is to promote cooperation between African governments on the basis of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). It is also opposed to communism. The most important objective is that the BNP strives to promote the development of Lesotho in all possible ways (Sefali, 1978:52; Winai-Strom, 1986:46).

In the political arena, the state has been attempting to maintain stability on the pretext that this is for the security of everybody, "in the interests of the masses". In practice this stability is for the benefit of one class - the dominant class. However, literature shows that the masses and the opposition are not just passive, they are actively opposed to this exploitation, and the state usually responds with authoritarianism (Onimode, 1988:241). One of the reasons advanced for this is the fact that the ruling party ultimately loses its legitimacy and support by not fulfilling the promises made at independence, such as open and free elections, and so has to resort to autocratic rule (Onimode, 1988:241; Mafeje, 1978:19).

This has been the case in Lesotho since the 1970s. The crises in legitimacy are reflected in authoritarianism by the ruling party. The party imposed a five-year holiday from politics which meant that no political campaigning was allowed. There were however some deviations from typical authoritarian regimes. Bardill and

Cobbe observe that political parties were not banned, there continued to be freedom of speech and there was no encroachment on academic freedom (1985:156).

During the period under study, the state also abandoned the liberal western system of multi-party democracy on the grounds that it accentuated divisions and was foreign to Lesotho's situation (Courier, 1989:23). This was a threat to basic freedom and democratic rights. It also meant no free elections. The ruling party became free from public accountability to the extent that the state became privatised. In such a situation more economic underdevelopment ensues due to the flight of capital, such as state officials investing in overseas banks (Nzongola, 1987:85).

One-party rule has had detrimental effects on Lesotho's economy. Studies indicate that under authoritarian regimes, those who are in opposition are more likely to leave their country of origin (Onimode, 1988:242). This applies to Lesotho, as Prah has shown, and it is one factor that drives Lesotho to dependence on South Africa (1991:178). This has been going on since independence and it is not getting any better because of the autocratic nature of the regimes that have ruled Lesotho since the 1970s. However, because the colonial power benefited from the arrangement, Britain endorsed the rule of the BNP even though it has been unpopular from the onset.

From 1986 another constraint on development was added as Lesotho

fell under military rule, with some members of the BNP occupying leading positions in the state. Since 1986, the military's role has changed. It is no longer an autonomous body used for preserving law and order. It leaders have taken up commanding roles within the state, becoming politicians and economic beneficiaries (Turok, 1988:76). In Lesotho, organised political activities have been banned on the grounds that they accentuated divisions among the nationals. Instead, the military has put emphasis on national reconciliation and economic development, with improved relations with South Africa (Williams, 1989:129-130). In spite of the professed reconciliation and economic development, inequalities and repressions continue.

Frank (1960) has described how this has worked elsewhere in the third world.

> Military rule is sometimes accompanied by the militarization of the economy. Military officers are appointed to cabinet and top executive positions in the state enterprises, banks, customs, services, etc. These officers use their positions to enter into corrupt deals with foreign and national interests, thereby making personal fortunes. Officers achieve bourgeoisie status due to their wealth and for ownership of positions and become part of a military-industrial complex which persists through changes between military and civilian and then back again. (Frank, cited in Turok, 1988:76)

There are debates as to whether the bourgeoisie in Africa under either military or civilian rule could really play a progressive role. Some Marxists are of the view that in Africa a national bourgeoisie exists which could play a progressive role, in

contrast to the conservative bourgeoisie, which is structurally linked to international capital and is subordinate to it (Turok, 1988:76).

Since the imposition of a military regime, there has been little or no change in the general development strategies and main government development policies. In the economic field, state policy manifests liberal capitalistic leanings. Sefali, one of the Basotho economists, characterises the state economic policy as a "concessional one". This policy has its origins in the manifesto of the Basotho National Party. Some characteristics of the state economic policy which reflect liberalism are the liberal foreign trade policy or the open door towards foreign capital (Sefali, 1978:52).

The policy of the BNP to support the continued ties of "inter-dependence" between Lesotho and South Africa and the free world has been criticised as relegating Lesotho to client status. As a client country, Lesotho is on the periphery of western capital because it lacks firm control of its national economy, which is tied to British and South African capital (Bardill & Cobbe, 1985:52).

On the issue of foreign investments and the operations of multi-nationals, the government puts emphasis on private investment and aid from as many international aid agencies in the west as possible. This is done so as to increase state revenue, which is used to promote conducive conditions for foreign private

enterprises (Winai-Strom, 1986:95). Given that Lesotho is an enclave and poorly endowed in natural resources, the country needs foreign aid in order to survive, despite the controversy of aid and international capital as instruments of development.

Furthermore, the state sees the multinational companies, both from South Africa and further afield, as motors for economic development which could contribute to the realisation of the main thrust of the economic policy - to modernise the economy and provide cash-wage jobs (Bardill & Cobbe, 1984:72). The government promotes their activities as long as they provide some modern jobs, regardless of their quality (ibid). The government therefore encourages multinational corporations to invest in Lesotho by providing incentives such as the five-year tax holiday (no tax for the first five years) and easy terms for the repatriation of money (Winai-Strom, 1986:102). These measures have resulted in expansion in areas such as the retail trade and tourism (ibid). This may be seen as an addition to the economy, but it also has a negative impact on some areas of the economy. It exacerbates problems such as migration to the urban areas as such enterprises are located in the cities. It also intensifies dependent development because some of these companies manufacture goods for export, not for Lesotho's consumption, while others are capital intensive instead of labour intensive and cannot offer adequate employment opportunities. Given the abundance of unskilled and semi-skilled labour in Lesotho the companies cannot provide job opportunities to all. So those remaining seek work in South Africa (Mabirizi, 1988:170). In addition to this, due

to the lack of capital and raw materials in Lesotho most of these companies have to import from South Africa and by so doing they reinforce Lesotho's dependence on South Africa (ibid).

So it appears that the activities of the multinational corporations result in Lesotho being export-orientated and dependent on South Africa. This dependence is seen in the custom and excise union agreement, the monetary union agreement, and migrant labour, which contribute to about 50% of the gross national product (Winai-Strom, 1986:102; Sefali, 1984). Bardill and Cobbe observe that this state of affairs is very insecure: "Insecurity arises from heavy concentration of national income especially foreign exchange on a single industry - the South African demand for Basotho Labour" (1984:80). This has put Lesotho in a very vulnerable situation in the event of South Africa deciding to end the recruitment of Basotho workers.

The issue of migration summons important considerations because Lesotho now reflects more qualities of a labour reserve than ever before (ibid). Some studies are of the opinion that the possession of a labour force which has some education and experience with industrial discipline is an advantage to Lesotho (Singh, 1983:19). Other studies show how devastating dependence on South Africa has been on the economy of Lesotho. Nkomo maintains that as a result of migrant labour, Lesotho loses the opportunity to use its labour force during its highest level of productivity, that is the 18-40 year old age group (1985: 145). This loss of opportunity also means deprivation of the benefits of the

educational investments which have been made in the migrants (ibid). Furthermore, Muller entertains the idea that "by migrating to South Africa, skilled workers alleviate skill shortages in South Africa, not in the workers' countries of origin, thereby strengthening the South African economy and reducing the pressure on the South African state to improve education and training opportunities for black South Africans" (1989:35).

Lesotho's dependence on South Africa, seen in the migrant earnings and in economic goods, has reduced the society to a consumer society which does not even have the prerequisite productive base (Bardill & Cobbe, 1984:81). What makes the situation even worse, according to Bardill and Cobbe, is that:

> the realities of the labour use in the country is frighteningly inappropriate, education has expanded enormously but there is little evidence of social return on the investment involved. Private return for males has been zero except at university level. (Ibid)

This situation nullifies Lesotho's prospects of reaching the age of high mass consumption as the modernists suggest. There have been calls for Lesotho to take stock and revise the dependent situation but the problem is that all the influential groups in Lesotho are better served by the continuation of the status quo (ibid: 82). One observer comments that dependence appears to be modernised in Lesotho (Wallman, 1980:106-107).

On the above note, a lot of criticism has been levelled by

radical writers against the ruling group - the bourgeois - as an obstacle to ideal development. According to Fanon, "a bourgeoisie of civil servants is infused with a sense of complacency derived from the security provided by the state" (1969, cited in Turok, 1988:73). This group has some conflicting interests and differences but these are minimised and so the members of the group appear unified. This unity is due to the benefits - salaried jobs, security and good finances - that accrue to them through their support of the ruling party, even when the economy is in bad shape (Turok, 1988:73). Fanon further critiques them as self-serving and acquisitive. And it is this behaviour that contributes to the diversion of potential capital investments and thus chokes economic development (ibid: 74).

In relation to this Bardill and Cobbe have the following to say:

> the most concentrated, vocal and articulate group in Lesotho are the wage- and salary-earning employees who depend on the government for their incomes - civil servants, teachers and the police and the military. These groups benefit from having unrestricted access to a full range of goods and services from South Africa at South African prices... (and) a high level of migration because they both boost the government revenue via the working of the Customs union and reduce pressure for alternative sources of income in rural areas. (1985:82)

This observation further highlights the point that the alliance between local capital, the bourgeoisie and international capital is a constraint to development as it deepens rural deprivation.

However, it would be wrong to denounce the role of the bourgeoisie as unconstructive. Turok observes that "the notion that the bourgeoisie, the state bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie are simply intermediaries for imperialism with no interests or agenda of their own is both inaccurate and unhelpful". He maintains that such notions belittle attempts such as nationalisation (1988:80).

Of the same view is Beckman, who points out that it is not adequate to characterise the state and the dominant groups in Africa as serving solely the interests of imperialism and as subordinate to it. In Africa there is a growing class of capitalists even though foreign capital may be leading. The state is also strengthening its hold on the economy since independence. It is now a major owner of the means of production, and of finance capital. According to Beckman, this is a "growing reflection of the strength and organizational capacity of the domestic bourgeoisie" (cited in Turok, 1988:80).

The other view which sees state capitalism as positive and progressive points to the fact that the state, by investing in the public sector, is withholding funds from the national bourgeoisie and using them for the benefit of the people. This perspective sees the state moves as anti-imperialist, because they uphold nationalist interests, including local control of the nation's economy. But at the same time such moves are seen as an extension of capitalism, with potential not intrinsic progressive content (Turok, 1988:101).

In Lesotho, good progress has been made in creating some of the elements necessary for a national economy. These include the expansion of the public sector - government ministries and departments, and parastatals such as the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC), the Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation (BEDCO), Lesotho Electricity Corporation (LEC), the Lesotho Telecommunications Corporation (LTC) and a national bank. Efforts have also been made to improve the infrastructures (Bardill and Cobbe, 1984:71). These developments could be seen as some aspects of the envisaged growth, but Lesotho continues to be dependent.

The main effect of targeting these organisations for development has been to create a national economy, or some aspects of it. These include the improvement of the people's standard of living through the availability of services and opportunities for the productive internal use of the country's resources. With the additions to the national economy, it can be said that the open economy policy has worked to the advantage of Lesotho in the aforementioned area.

So, on the basis of the above positive attributes of state capitalism, it can be argued that Lesotho can move along progressive steps towards decreased dependence and consumerism. However, several studies have been conducted criticising the government policy especially because it appears that the government is doing little to alter the system (Bardill & Cobbe, 1984; Winai-Strom, 1986). Bardill and Cobbe show that it is only

on the theoretical level that reference is made to reducing dependence on South Africa. But it is not pursued strongly (1984:70).

In the case of Lesotho, the state does not explicitly express that it hopes for a socialist path of development, due to its integration in the South African economy, but the socialist connotations are implicit in some state policies such as education for self-reliance.

The above analysis suggests that major policy changes need to be made for Lesotho to develop autonomous economic growth and an appropriate context for education for self-reliance. Although it may appear that Lesotho has limited options, this does not imply that the situation is beyond repair. Bardill and Cobbe suggest that what can help Lesotho is a "vast expansion of opportunities to use labour productively within the country" (1984:70).

Lesotho could make use of "the migrant earnings [and] divert them to productive investment in physical and human capital and institutions to transform the economy into one that could sustain itself without such massive export of labour" (ibid: 81). The state needs to implement measures that could arrest this migration for the benefit of domestic development (Singh, 1983:317). Long-term development of a self-sustaining nature would probably require "some disengagement and the imposition of barriers to the free flow of goods, services, labour and finance" (Bardill & Cobbe, 1984:70). Leistner suggests that African

leaders should apply the following: give priority to agriculture, create an efficient civil service, restrain greed and venality, gradually phase out financial aid and replace it with commercial loans and private investments, and encourage the traditional way of doing things instead of reliance on modern institutions (1984:235).

Bardill and Cobbe's options echo the move to socialist development suggested by radical writers such as Turok. Leistner's suggestions also offer a progressive step that needs to be seriously considered by Lesotho. Both are progressive long-term moves and this study wants to suggest that as a prerequisite to such a move, the state must establish an educated labour force that is able to sustain itself and appreciate the significance of self-reliant development. This could be promoted by education for self-reliance, which can inculcate self-confidence in the African initiative to solve its own problems.

In the political field, the state could create an atmosphere conducive to mass participation at all levels of society. One step to this is adopting a people-centred approach to development and a legitimately elected regime. This would provide a broad spectrum of ideas and views from grassroots level to leadership which will make the leaders accountable to the whole society. In the long run, this context will inculcate in the society a sense of belonging or patriotism, independence, and self-confidence in African initiative, which will ultimately pull Lesotho out of the dependency web, the realisation of which would be eventual

political stability and economic security. In such a situation, teachers would have an incentive to perform their tasks to the best of their ability, in promoting any educational strategy that would maintain and reinforce unconstrained independent development through education for self-reliance.

In this analysis, the reality of the African experience as reflected through Lesotho's dependency syndrome has been presented to show that the conception of the state as th people's state is an illusory one. It only perpetuates neo-colonialism and aggravates Lesotho's dependence. At the same time this analysis has attempted to illustrate some features of the state that have worked to the advantage of Lesotho. These include the creation of jobs, and the establishment of socio-economic infrastructures such as the educational infrastructure. For Lesotho to pursue the right development leaders need to exploit the established structures and use them to promote the broad-based development of a popularly elected state. To adopt socialism at this point would be premature and inappropriate for Lesotho.

CHAPTER THREE

IN DEFENCE OF EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

This chapter focuses on the notion of education for self-reliance in Africa, in support of the argument that it is a viable policy option. In order to provide a clear concept of this issue, the experience of African countries such as Tanzania and Botswana will be considered. Both Tanzania and Botswana have been in the forefront in experimenting with this alternative strategy of educational development. It is noted that despite the differences in their development ideologies and economic systems, these two countries adopted an educational strategy that has made a major impact as a viable strategy for developing African countries. In Tanzania this strategy is called education for self-reliance while in Botswana it is called education with production. The common features of these two strategies will be examined to provide an understanding of education for self-reliance. It is on the basis of this understanding that the notion of education for self-reliance in Lesotho will be critically analysed.

Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania

Nyerere's education for self-reliance has it origins in the post-independence disillusionment with capitalist development in the Africa of the 1960s. This disillusionment was created by the following major problems: elitism, dependent development, urban bias, and rural deprivation (Harber, 1989:57). Tanzania attempted

to solve its problems by adopting a socialist path of development, with education for self-reliance as the official government policy.

In 1967, under the Arusha declaration, Nyerere committed Tanzania to following a socialist path of development. In accordance with this strategy, the features of development would entail the following:

> ... cooperative agriculture in self-reliant communities in the rural areas. Development would also be largely internally generated, labour intensive and based on a social mode of production involving nationalisation of industrial and financial enterprises. Redistributive measures would be used in a direct attempt to decrease material inequalities between individuals and regions. The privileges of the elite will be reduced - the import of luxury items greatly decreased and leadership codes would forbid private money making activities. (Scott, 1983, cited in Harber, 1989: 19)

The above excerpt shows how different Tanzania's path of development is from that of other African countries especially Lesotho, and its attributes of nationalisation. The quotation also echoes studies that classify Tanzania as one of the transformist states with a radical government (Africa Insight, 1987: 54). It has a centrally planned economy with limited scope for free enterprise and less dependence on the world capitalist system (ibid). This contrasts with the capitalist, free-enterprise and open economy that Lesotho and Botswana follow.

Education in Tanzania was structured in line with this so as to achieve the socialist development strategy. Nyerere advocated that education should aim at the following:

> Self confidence, and an enquiring mind in order to enable every citizen to make a material and moral contribution to the development of society, to search for, accept and respect truth, to carry out scientific investigations, research and make new discoveries and inventions to try out new things and learn, adapt and adopt acceptable theories and practices for others without prejudice. (Tanzania Ministry of Education 1984:1, cited in Harber, 1989:60)

The above excerpt shows that, theoretically, education plays an important role in fashioning a self-reliant society. In addition to this, in 1967 Nyerere had this to say:

> our education must inculcate a sense of commitment to the local community and help the pupils to accept the values to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past. Education ... must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry, which relies upon itself for its own development and which knows the advantages and the problems of cooperation. (Nyerere, 1967, cited in Herrick et al, 1978:175)

Changes were made to promote the notion of education for self-reliance in schools so that they could effectively be of benefit to Tanzania. In this area Nyerere introduced an interesting and effective dimension to diversified education: schools in Tanzania are established as productive self-sustaining units. This implies that education is linked or integrated with production. The rationale behind this is for schools to meet part of their recurrent costs by using income raised from the productive

practices (Athumani, 1990:5). This also facilitates an ideological reorientation of the school system so as to build a socialist self-reliant society (Koma & Temu, 1988:115). In order to avoid the preparation of students for the next level of education, each level was made terminal (Crouch, 1987:3).

According to the education for self-reliance policy,

> the launching of economic activities in educational institutions was not only primarily meant to make them as institutions economically self reliant, but rather to inculcate in the learners socialist values and attitudes, to impart modern work-related knowledge and skills, to link the school to the local community and to inculcate a new definition of educational quality through their reflection in the national assessment procedures. (Koma & Temu, 1988:118)

With the above aims in mind Nyerere was aware of and appreciated the important role that teachers had to play in socialist Tanzania. "It is the teachers more than any other single group of people who determine the attitudes of the society and who shape the ideas and aspirations [of the students]" (Van der Muhll, 1971, cited in Harber, 1989:58). This implies that teachers as members of the educated class in socialist Tanzania have to practice self-reliance and strongly inculcate its underlying ideas in the students at all levels.

So, to facilitate the implementation of the reformed curriculum of self-reliance, the appropriate schooling environment especially in the dissemination of knowledge to the students was created. The teaching strategies and the relations within the school

hierarchy were changed. In the teaching strategies the following were emphasised: a non-didactic mode of learning, collective learning, problem solving, role playing, and student-led discussions (Harber, 1989:69). In the hierarchical structure of schooling, cooperation was encouraged and each member of staff, academic and non-academic, had equal relations with the students (ibid). These innovations were emphasised at all levels of the education system, especially at teacher training level, so that the teachers could easily facilitate the implementation of education for self-reliance in the schools.

Another important innovation geared to facilitate the appreciation of self-reliant development in a socialist state was the introduction of political education in 1967 (ibid:61). During the colonial period, political education was first known as civics. Civics served the purposes of the colonial authorities and so inculcated in students the love and admiration of colonial heroes, and also concentrated more on the political process and state institutions than on African development. Nyerere felt that it did not prepare students to be responsible voters in a post-colonial and independent society. So political education was introduced and made compulsory from primary through to university level (Harber, 1989:61).

In the words of Harber:

> political education is aimed at developing political consciousness among the pupils to enable them to understand and facilitate the implementation of the country's policy of socialism and self-reliance. Pupils are

> therefore required to understand and implement party resolutions and government policies in their environment. (Harber, 1989:61)

One aspect of the education system that was not drastically changed is the examination, which remained very traditional and formal (ibid:67). The only change was the added character assessment; even [illegible] this did not count much since marks allocated to character assessment did not contribute to the final examination mark (ibid).

Contemporary studies on Tanzanian socialism and self-reliance give credit to the move to a self-reliant society for attempting to establish an equitable and broad-based development, which is a progressive step given the stratification that Africa has inherited from the colonial legacy (Crouch, 1987:2). Another credit to this notion is the fact that Nyerere based his policy on the African form of socialism which was practised by Africans long before the advent of colonialism and the influence of western ideologies. This kind of African socialism stressed the African traditional way of life and was able to popularise Nyerere's vision at a time when most Tanzanians were united against colonialism and the negative impact of modernisation (ibid). Nyerere's strategical experimentation was impressive and of advantage to Africa. It was able to survive the crises of instability and discontent in Africa in the 1980s. Nyerere's vision appealed to the minds and hearts of the masses in Tanzania by putting them first, especially in the educational arena. This

can be seen in his attempts to distribute the benefits of socialism to the poorest in the nation.

One other important feature of the Tanzanian strategy of self-reliance is that it does not completely negate capitalism and foreign aid. Tanzania accepted foreign aid as long as it promoted self-reliance. The achievement of self-reliance is seen as an ultimate goal, which when reached would render foreign aid unnecessary. However, Tanzania's acceptance of foreign aid is conditional. As long as the donors acknowledge the autonomy of the state to realise its efforts and do not impose conditions to the aid, then Tanzania will accept the aid (Crouch, 1987:3).

Some aspects of the Tanzanian experience provide strong arguments for the adoption of such alternative strategies, for instance, its policy on foreign aid and on mass participation. The Tanzanian case may not be the ideal by the standards of the modernisation paradigm, but the stress on mass participation in development surely makes it the right one to follow or adopt.

The next section considers the case of Botswana, a country much closer to Lesotho because of their shared colonial legacy, socio-economic system and relations with South Africa.

Education with Production in Botswana

As in Tanzania the idea of introducing education with production in Botswana was bred by the dilemmas of the unemployed youth, due to the mismatch between education and the world of work. The other reason, common to all African countries, was the inadequacy of the modernisation paradigm to encourage values that would promote relevant African development, for example, community service, cooperation, and sacrifice (Graaff, 1980:25). Instead the modernisation paradigm promoted values such as materialism, elitism, and competitive individualism. All these were distractive and unconstructive because they also inculcated in students unrealistic aspirations for urban employment and contempt of the rural community (Graaff, 1980:25).

In Botswana the institutions which reflect education for self-reliance are the brigades. The brigades are Patrick Van Rensburg's brainchild and have been described as most relevant in counteracting the educational problems mentioned earlier, which are common to most African countries.

According to Van Rensburg, the brigades are concerned with the following:

> they provide the means of raising the cultural level of the poorer, little educated working people in the countryside and urban slums; of deepening and broadening their knowledge and understanding; of laying a basis for scientific thinking; of releasing creative energy; of teaching them to manage their own affairs; of improving their skills; of enabling them to improve their

> basic needs and of raising the level of their dealing with society and indeed the level of struggle. (Van Rensburg, cited in SADCC 1984:45)

Education with production as practised by the brigades is intended to cover all stages of production and all target groups. It is expected to develop science and technology with the local community in order to create a new order free from capitalist order and rationality. This implies consulting with locals and learning about their indigenous technology, modifying it, and using it locally. This is the long-term aim (ibid).

Schools are established as productive units. This aspect of the school is managed by the students so that they can acquire skills in management and set up their production units in the future and thus alleviate unemployment (Mudariki, 1987:59). This entails students being encouraged to experiment and be involved in production, linking academic subjects to productive activity and involving the community (Graaf, 1980:26). There are two streams in the brigade schools, the academic stream and the vocational stream. The academic stream comprises 80% class work and 20% manual work, while the vocational stream covers 80% manual work and 20% class work (ibid).

In the teaching arena, progressive methods of teaching are employed. In order for the students' attitudes to be changed effectively, a student-centred approach is encouraged and greater student participation emphasised (Harber, 1989:136). In addition to this, dialogue is encouraged between the student, the teachers

and the community. This is opposed to the banking method of learning which emphasised rote learning and cramming for the examination (Mudariki, 1987:60).

Another innovation was the introduction of development studies and cultural studies in brigade schools. These subjects have two major goals. The first is to give students an appreciation of and commitment to the economic, social and human problems facing their country. The second is to encourage them to accept and actively contribute towards the development of their country particularly the rural areas (Graaff, 1980:26).

Development studies is the main vehicle for changing students' attitudes. The syllabus includes economics, pre-industrial history, politics, economic, social and cultural change and a section on the student's own country (Harber, 1989:136). Commenting on this innovation Harber says:

> Development studies indicates a move away from concentration on legislative procedures, administrative structures, and national symbols, to an examination of economic, social and political problems that would provide the understanding and skills required for responsible citizens and leadership. (Ibid)

Development studies in African schools appears to be a very progressive step but it was not implemented without opposition. Most people in power positions felt threatened by it because it dealt with controversial material especially the issue of counteracting dependence on South Africa (ibid).

Teachers were put in tune with the changes through attending seminars that re-orientated them to implementing the innovations more effectively (Graaff, 1980:27). Changes were also encouraged in the organisation of the school authority and structure. There was a change from authoritarian relations to democratic relations (Graaff, 1980:28).

As a result of the critical awareness inculcated by the progressive teaching methods and content, the brigades have contributed immensely towards community development. The brigades of Botswana have succeeded in implementing some of the above areas of education with production. One example is the establishment of a small oil press for producing cooking oil and peanut butter (Mudariki, 1987:58). This was achieved by applying agriculture and science. Another example is the development of a process using local limestone to produce building cement. Studies show that all these efforts are aimed at assisting the community to extricate itself from the transnational companies which sell technological input and goods at exorbitant prices (Mudariki, 1987:58-59).

These operations of the brigades can be said to have social benefits as they improve the cooperation between the students and the community. In addition to this, these operations have pedagogical benefits. According to Van Rensburg, they enhance the cognitive, affective and psycho-motor skills of students (1980:280). For instance, the production experience in the school situation enhances cognitive skills by enabling the students to

observe the practical effects of production and by linking theory with practice. The production experience also enhances the affective domain as this is where students are exposed to real life situations and come to appreciate different behaviourial traits. In relation to the psycho-motor domain, the actual production experience enhances manual skill such as finger dexterity by providing a concrete situation (ibid:281).

In view of the above activities and benefits the brigades could be very important in facilitating the right kind of development for Africa. Their value lies in the formation of useful skills, in their launching of viable commercial enterprises, in their innovation and sensitivity to local opportunities and to a lesser extent in their provision of jobs (Graaff, 1980:26).

As with education for self-reliance in Tanzania, however, the brigades have encountered many problems. Studies show that the brigades have not succeeded in changing attitudes towards the rural areas and agriculture. Factors hampering the brigades' attempts include the continued bias towards traditional academic education in Botswana (Graaff, 1980:25). Van Rensburg himself, the founder of the brigades movement, also notes that "the values of the dominating, exploitative sector especially the urban modern sector prevail especially parasitism of the elites" (Van Rensburg, 1980:33).

However, the significance of the brigade movements lies in the fact that they have contributed to increased income through the

sales of goods and services. They limit internal consumption, as schools take part in the building of the infrastructure, and engage in employment creation as students are trained to establish their own enterprises in the future (Van Rensburg, 1980:278). Another value of the brigade movement is that it lessens divisions between manual and mental labour by reducing the division between privileged students and exploited workers (ibid: 280). So, the adoption of the features of education with production is worth arguing for in the case of Lesotho.

The Diversification Debate

The lessons from Tanzania and Botswana are very important for Lesotho, which is burdened with a classic case or phenomenon of dependence. These innovations are in line with the diversification thrust that has been high on the agenda of international aid agencies such as the World Bank. A short note on diversification is needed here to illustrate that in addition to facilitating the process of self-reliant development, it has political and economic benefits.

In the post-independence era educationists felt that in order for a system of education to be viable for developing countries diversification was a necessity. There is evidence that a system of academically oriented education predisposes students to enter white collar jobs and not ones that require manual skills, which are in short supply. Diversification provides students with skills not just for white collar jobs but also for blue collar

jobs. It equips students with the skills, attitudes and knowledge needed to enter specific work fields (Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985:9). Even scholars from the liberal perspective support the move to diversification.

Another argument cited by proponents of the diversification paradigm is that it promotes equality. Studies show that traditional academic education has been the major creator of social class distinctions and cleavages, resulting in the elite dominating the majority in most countries. It is hoped that a diversified curriculum will provide access to education for all students, the majority of whom cannot make it into the traditional academic education system (Psacharapouls & Loxely, 1988: 47).

Opponents such as Foster (19 5), on the other hand, feel that diversification is costly to African countries, which are already strained by attempting to provide education for an ever-increasing population (1975:385-387). But experience emanating from the two countries under study show that schools can cover their own running costs (Van Rensburg, 1980; Athumani, 1990).

Another argument against diversification is that it is difficult to get qualified manpower to teach in diversified schools in Africa. It is felt that if diversification is introduced in secondary schools, given the inadequacy of qualified manpower and teaching facilities, the overall quality of education may decline as students will be proficient in neither academic nor

specialised skills and will be even less able to acquire skills on the job (Foster, 1965, cited in Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985:9). The way out of the situation is seen as not provided by curriculum change but by placing more emphasis and importance on upgrading the calibre of teachers (ibid).

Furthermore studies are cited which show that ethnic and social cleavages in Africa have not been caused by types of curricula but by the scarcity of school places. In order to eliminate such cleavages, more schooling along the traditional academic and the diversified version needs to be provided. A study by Bowles however claims that education in third world countries does contribute to these divisions because education serves the purpose of reproducing a class society (Bowles, 1980:234). The education with production strategy can counteract this in the long run by inculcating in students the values of cooperation and development on a large scale, and not the development of a single dominant class.

From this it is evident that on the whole the move to diversified education is widely acclaimed. However, it must be borne in mind that education does not automatically lead to development. It is only when it promotes the goals of development that it truly leads to development. It is implicit from this analysis that the goal of development in the two case studies is to create a self-reliant society which can fight common African problems such as the urban bias and economic and political dependence on the west. The experiences of these countries can be said to have promoted

education for self-reliance. At the economic level, experience from the two countries demonstrates that the value of education lies in the establishment of schools as productive self-sustaining units, which may go on to dispute the allegation that diversified education is expensive.

In summary, the social benefits of education for self-reliance and education with production lie in the inculcation of mass participation and rural development at school level. This goes on to promote self-confidence and commitment to local community. In the political arena schools promote in students an awareness of the problems facing their countries through development studies. The general benefits of the movement are all properly facilitated by the employment of dynamic progressive teaching methods such as collective and student-centred learning. From this analysis the adoption and adaptation of education for self-reliance or with production can be confidently suggested as a viable strategy for African countries in general and Lesotho in particular.

CHAPTER FOUR

LESOTHO'S EXPERIENCE WITH EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

The aim of this chapter is to explore Lesotho's experience with education for self-reliance. It is argued that while the implementation of this project has not been a smooth process, it is a viable project that needs to be promoted. However some innovations need to be introduced to make the project more effective for Lesotho.

The main source of data was official documents and interviews which record actual experiences of the self-reliance schools. Informal interviews were conducted in Lesotho at Basotho Enterprise Develcpment Corporation (BEDCO), where most of the graduates of educational self-reliance schools are employed. Other sources of data in this chapter are government officials and officials of the main teacher training institution - the National Teachers' Training College (NTTC) - and the Training for Self-Reliance Project Centre.

The Policy and its Origins

As indicated in the previous chapters, the ideas came in the 1970s in the context of increasing suspicion and questioning of the colonial academic education and its inability to adapt and meet the developmental problems and needs of Africa. Against this background, it was felt technical and vocational education would

prepare the youth to face the world today with its socio-economic problems. In the case of Lesotho, it is geared particularly towards increasing self-sufficiency at home and decreasing dependency on South Africa. This is a very relevant move against the background of talks about improving the state of the national economy in Lesotho. International aid agencies and western governments came to be influenced by the recommendation that diversification of the curriculum would address the problems of African education. In Lesotho the World Bank is the main agency for financing education and development ventures (Himmelherber, 1983:83).

Implementation

Diversified education was implemented by the Training for Self-Reliance Project through the existing conventional secondary school system, under the banner of "training for self-reliance". The process involved the introduction of practical subjects such as agriculture, typewriting, brick-laying, basic hand-crafts, home economics, metalwork, needlework, technical drawing, and woodwork (ILO Mission, 1974; Himmelherber, 1983:83).

In the initial stages, several problems were experienced. Himmelherber's analysis points out that when the self-reliance schools were introduced in Lesotho, there was no clear outline of the implications of self-reliance (Himmelherber, 1983:83). When the World Bank was notified that Lesotho intended to diversify the secondary school curriculum, funds and experts poured

in to see to its implementation. "At the National Teachers' Training College, programmes were introduced for teaching woodwork and metal work; typing and agriculture were not possible due to the lack of typewriters and appropriate fields or gardens" (Himmelherber 1983: 85).

With regard to the syllabus for the new secondary schools, Himmelherber notes that the experts simply modified the syllabus used in the west and introduced it into the schools. To make the situation even worse, there was no discussion about the objectives. These programmes were under way. The World Bank was just content that something related to the suggestions of the period was being done in Lesotho (Himmelherber, 1983:86). These deficient or inadequate implementation procedures were due to the fact that Lesotho, being newly independent, had limited qualified manpower to see to the proper implementation of the project. However this handicap should not be used as an excuse to adopt western models blindly without relating them to Africa.

But there has been some improvement since as the following analysis of policy documents and the perceptions of government officials will indicate. The analysis will then go on to highlight the significance of the project in the context of Lesotho as a dependent country being poorly endowed with skilled manpower.

The Significance of the Project

Diversification was in vogue at the international level and consistent with development priorities of the World Bank. A study of the economy of Lesotho undertaken by the International Labour Office mission, in 1974, suggested diversification of the curriculum. It is worth noting that the suggestions of this mission are in line with the lending policy of the World Bank for a diversified curriculum. On this issue the 1974 World Bank education sector policy stipulated that:

> The principal aim in lending for education is to assist developing countries in the immense process of human development and educational change and expansion, and in achieving the technical capacity and experience to become genuinely self-reliant. (cited in World Bank, 1981:136)

On the basis of the above aim, the bank is seeking to promote the following broad principles: (a) basic education for all, (b) equality in provision, (c) internal efficiency (i.e. improving the quality and quantity of education using the resources available), and (d) education relevant to work and environment (Haddad, 1981:136). The concern of increasing the relevance of education to work and local conditions is of particular importance to Lesotho because the country is genuinely in need of appropriate skills to develop its economy and environment.

Various government documents also portray the significance of the project schools in the same light as the World Bank. The report of the first evaluative conference of 1981, which represented

most of the project schools, stresses the aims of the government regarding the schools. The report states that:

> The effort is to make the curriculum more practical, relevant, down to earth in Lesotho. The effort is to make standards more realistic to practical usefulness of the material being taught, to learn to think, to learn to reason, to learn to do ... to develop work skills ... and faith in oneself. (TFSR, 1981:17)

In a similar tone, the then minister of education, Mr T.heli, expressed the following as the anticipated achievements of the project:

> it would result in the development of a sound educational system related to the needs of the country. Such education would provide the country with much needed middle-level technical manpower. Lesotho is in dire need of qualified carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, motor mechanics, civil, mechanical and electrical engineers as well as pre-vocational teachers for secondary schools... To unlock the laden potentialities of the nation, provision should be made to train adults in various kinds of basic skills that would enhance their capacity to maintain their economic and political independence. (cited in TRSR, 1981:5)

From the foregoing, it appears that the state has attempted to modify the purpose of the project schools. So it can be said that since the 1980s attempts have been made at the official level to lay out clearly and properly the aims of project schools. The anticipated achievements clearly show the move from an academic type of education to a more practical one, which is an advance and a positive development compared to the earlier immediate post-independence era.

Subsequent government documents on education are consistant with the importance of education for development. The Task Force (1982) is the main policy document of the state on education. It makes reference to the importance of education as an instrument for economic growth and progress and lists two main objectives: the provision of basic education for all and sufficient skilled people to work in the modern sector of the economy:

> By basic education it is meant those skills and competencies required for individual development and social interaction... It also implies the opportunity for continuing education for youths and adults particularly those who have no access to formal training. The second general objective is the policy of providing sufficient numbers of people with appropriate qualifications and technical and managerial skills to ensure the development of the modern sector of the economy. (Southern Star, 1989:24)

This policy document shows that at the official level at least the objectives of the project schools are stipulated and they are geared to address the wider development issues in various sectors of the economy.

This appears to be an admirable policy but given the crisis situation in Africa it is questionable whether official theory corresponds to practice and whether it is wise to develop the modern sector and allow its negative impacts on the rural sector. For instance, as indicated in the previous chapters, experience has shown that development geared at the modern sector tends to create western-inclined high expectations and aspirations among the youth. These are of little relevance to the African context.

In 1984, the government produced yet another policy document - the Educational Manifesto. This describes in detail the purpose of secondary schools in Lesotho. On the role of the school in society, it states that every secondary school must assist students to be self-reliant, to have the ability to reason and have a sense of tolerance. It must also maintain a link with the community, and above all promote the broad educational aims stipulated in the Task Force (Manifesto, 1984:13).

The five main objectives of education in Lesotho are the generation of:

(a) a free and democratic society
(b) a just and democratic society
(c) a united, strong and self reliant nation
(d) an appropriate and dynamic economy
(e) a land bright and full of opportunities for all citizens (Manifesto, 1984:59).

These general objectives can be promoted within the ethos of self-reliance.

Secondary schools in Lesotho should prepare the youth for useful living in the society and for higher education. As these documents stipulate, secondary schools are targeted "... at the preparation of students for living effectively in our modern age of science and technology and the generation of students who can think for themselves, and respect dignity of labour" (Manifesto, 1984:60). This appears to be consistent with the Task Force and

is in line with a broader conception of educational development which asserts self-reliance and patriotism - conceptions current in the post-independence era. So from the inception of the project schools in the 1970s, it appears that the significance of education in general and diversified education in particular has changed or progressed to the awareness at official level of the importance of practical skills.

A most recent insight into the significance of the project schools is presented by the present director of the Training for Self-Reliance Project. According to him the aim of the project has been and continues to be to solve the problem of the lack of natural resources and to help develop the human resources of the country (TFSR Director, 1990)[Requested not to be named]. In addition, he stressed that emphasis is put on the following:

- improving the classroom ratio of pupils to teachers
- upgrading the physical status of the schools
- improving teacher training at pre-service and in-service levels (TFSR Director, 1991).

However, whilst improvements of this nature are important, they have no direct relevance to the appreciation of the notion of self-reliance.

Another government official and educationist involved with teacher training - Mr Ramaphiri, Director of the Secondary School Teachers Certificate (STTC) at the main National Teachers' Training College - speaks in similar vein. According to him, for

a country to develop it needs self-reliant people - people who can solve their own developmental needs, especially the problems caused by labour migration (Ramaphiri, 1991).

From government official to educationist it appears that there is a clear appreciation of education for self-reliance. However in most cases official theory or rhetoric does not express reality. This study is aware of this, but argues that these conceptions should be reinforced with more input in the form of enrichment workshops on recent developments in education for self-reliance so that they become practically applicable.

To highlight further the conception of self-reliance, general ideas of the importance of education in Lesotho will be considered. Focus will be on those ideas accentuated by various leaders supposedly in the forefront of the realisation of the policy statement, and graduates of the project schools as representatives of grassroots levels. Their appreciation of the notion of education for self-reliance is crucial because it could enhance the smooth implementation of the project schools on a broader scale to cover even the grassroots levels.

In 1984, the then Prime Minister Leabua also echoed some of the significance of education for self-reliance in his speech delivered at the inauguration of the Educational Manifesto:

> To us education should impress the students with the realization that even whilst they are at school, theirs is an inextricable involvement with the rest of the community in the actual development of their coun-

try... The students should realize that they cannot divorce their education from the needs of the country in general. (Manifesto, 1984)

The above reflects the implication of community involvement which is a very important aspect of self-reliance development as in the case of Tanzania and Botswana.

As has been mentioned in the previous chapters, Lesotho fell under military rule during the period under study. It is therefore appropriate to consider the perceptions of military officials on education. Colonel Letsie, member of the military council responsible for education, emphasised that:

> ... if the quality of education is to improve in the country, there should be more mobilisation of the teaching force, school managers, and the community at large. These elements are very crucial ... as they promote active involvement of teachers, managers and parents in the educational endeavour. (MOE, 1986: 1)

In the same annual report the minister of education, Mr Tiheli, further echoes the ideas of self-reliance by stating that "the essence of real education is that it should produce a self-reliant person who is able to fend for himself and others" (MOE, 1986:ii).

With Mr Tiheli's successor, Dr Machobane, an educationist and academician, the spirit of the improvement of education was not lost. In the same tone as the earlier policy document, Dr Machobane's ideas are however more realistic and progressive.

He stressed that:

> the government is now trying to redress the imbalance in the education system in favour of economic development and education for self-reliance or education with production. This move is aimed at attaining self-sufficiency in school feeding and reducing costs. At the same time students gain practical experience in production of income generation activities. (MOE, 1988:vi)

Another relevant conception of education for self-reliance is also held by Mr. Mputsoe, an educationist and lecturer of development studies. He is of the opinion that the notion of education for self-reliance is very relevant to the needs of the country, and should be encouraged so the people produce goods for their own needs not for the money market economy (Mputsoe,1991).

It is worth considering the conception of self-reliance at grassroots level. This is represented by graduates of the schools concerned who are already working and can be said to represent various classes in Lesotho. Most of these graduates seemed to have a clear understanding of what education for self-reliance should entail. According to them, it entails training others in the same skills that have been learned, enforcing the move to self-employment and thus curbing the problem of unemployment at home. Above all it means state involvement in enforcing these efforts so that the people can develop on a large scale. These sentiments were common to more than thirty out of the 50 graduates interviewed. (Graduates, 1991).

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have a growing sense of patriotism. They have realised that they need to serve their country and develop its economy. However, the patriotic outlook is not common to all. About 10 out of 50 mentioned that their future plans would be to work in South Africa, the dream of most Basotho folk particularly the youth (ibid). Thus illustrating the limited conception of self-reliant development. This idea shows that the colonial heritage is still influential on the perception of Basotho. Nevertheless, this study believes that with proper and attractive incentives locally, this labour drain and brain drain could be curbed.

From the above discourse it appears that since the inception of the project, there has been a growing understanding of what education for self-reliance in Lesotho entails and should entail. Data seem to show that the issues of mass participation, doing things for oneself and the promotion of patriotism seem to be consistent in most perceptions of self-reliant development.

Furthermore, studies have been done on how these schools could promote self-reliant development. In this regard, it is useful to consider Himmelherber's suggestions on what it could be like, based on his involvement and experience in one of the project schools. Himmelherber suggests that, individually, the students should be able to use simple tools to produce or repair objects for which they would otherwise have to pay. Collectively students would learn to work on a project with the people in their family, for example, calculating costs and decision making in building a small dam. On the collective level students should learn about

areas of production where their country is dependent on foreign expertise (Himmelherber, 1983:84). On the specific case of woodwork, Himmelherber states that woodwork would provide pre-vocational training for those who fail, and teach important aspects of craftsmanship such as accuracy, economy, self-reliance, creativity and cooperation (Himmelherber, 1983:83).

Himmelherber's analysis and suggestions have implications for the conception of education for self-reliance provided by various government officials considered earlier in the chapter. For instance the theme that seems to recur and run through most of the perceptions is that of students doing things for themselves instead of relying on specialists and experts. In most cases experts are expatriates and if they are relied on too much local expertise and skills are undermined. In this area, the schools could play a significant part in restoring the lost confidence in local creativity and initiative. In addition, this could go on to disprove the established misconception of some migrant labourers that Lesotho is a place neither of progress or of work.

Innovations in the Content and Teaching of Practical Subjects

Having considered the various conceptions of education for self-reliance it will be appropriate to look at the teaching field or arena. This is done so as to outline the shifts that have been made since the inception of the policy in 1974. In recent years, especially in the late 1980s, some alterations and improvements have been made to the teaching of practical subjects at all

levels.

In the field of teacher training, in addition to professional studies, courses were introduced at the main national teachers' training college geared at improving the teaching of practical subjects For instance the Secondary School Technical Teachers' Certificate (STTC) was introduced. This course is aimed at improving the performance of practical subject teachers both qualitatively and quantitatively (STTC, 1991).

Some of the STTC students are further aided by the introduction of the design course. This subject is important because it educates the students so that they are able to solve problems in their immediate environment and in most circumstances (Ramaphiri, 1991). Design entails the history of the particular material being studied, e.g. wood or metal, the science of the material and its relevance to other areas. For instance, student teachers are prepared to teach the following: drawing, handling of tools and safety rules. Then attempts are made at all levels by teachers to have students create things that are usable at home or even in their local community (Ramaphiri, 1991). In addition they are encouraged to be more imaginative, and for example create a wooden place mat for the kitchen in woodwork. In so doing, students enhance community development and participation (ibid).

Related to the enforcement of community development are the issues of individual and collective learning. During the learning

process teachers are encouraged to apply both individual and collective learning (Ramaphiri, 1991). Individual learning is encouraged so that the student can learn to work on his own when required. Collective learning is encouraged to promote the spirit of cooperation or team work (Ramaphiri, 1991). All these aspects are crucial for community development and the nurturing of the relevant outlook for a self-reliant approach.

Another important innovation aimed at the modification of attitudes is the course on development studies. This course addresses the following issues: the concept of development, production, socio-economic formations, the industrial revolution, imperialism, the post-colonial state, international trade and development, strategies of development, South Africa and regional development, population and development, women in development, practical and research projects, curriculum studies and development studies (adapted from the NTTC syllabus). According to Mr Mputsoe, the course is an eye opener, it enables the learner to master his or her environment (Mputsoe, 1991).

Development studies offers an all-embracing consideration of political economy with special reference to Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular. On the Southern Africa issue it puts emphasis on the problems of dependency Lesotho is facing and contrasts this with the notion of self-reliant development as in Tanzania.

In addition to the above, the course provides students with basic

economic and social theories both liberal and radical. It does not promote the ideological framework of either of the two dominant perspectives, namely capitalism and socialism. The course attempts to be objective, but it also attempts to encourage the students to be eclectic and take the best out of each ideological perspective. From what the course entails it can be seen that it attempts to promote a dynamic and wider conception of the African and local reality, which is a prerequisite for enforcing or disseminating self-reliant development.

In spite of its relevance and importance, sources show that development studies is not compulsory at all levels of education as political education is in Tanzania (Mpotsoe, 1991). It is hoped that in the future it will be made compulsory so that it can help promote the spirit of self-reliant development more effectively and constructively.

It appears that these new conceptions are far-reaching. From government officials to educators and grassroots people the shift is to more progressive moves of self-reliant development, for example the insistence on teaching students to do things for themselves. Moreover, the teaching process with its innovations attempts to address the needs of the community.

Constraints

The above account illustrates the importance and relevance of the shifts and changes in the country's experience with education for

self-reliance. However, there exist some obstacles to the proper teaching of practical subjects in Lesotho. One of the problems is the colonial legacy. For instance, even with the introduction of the design course and increasing moves to community development and participation, the performance of students in Forms D and E is impeded by the fact that the country still depends on the British syllabus and examination body (Ramaphiri, 1991). Teachers tend to emphasise learning for the examinations more than practical learning and application to the students' environment, as the British syllabus is more exam orientated. About 25 of the fifty graduates expressed examination-orientated learning as an obstacle to proper learning (Graduates,1991). This is a problem and Lesotho still has to develop its own examining body for this level.

A recent study of some aspects of secondary education shows that orthodox and inherited conceptions of education in Lesotho are hard to eliminate. In this study, Miller points out to the fact that in Africa, schools foster everything but the orientation to rural development and the appreciation of manual labour (Miller, 1987:233). This problem is common to most African countries. Of the same view as Miller (1987) are Dore (1982) and Foster (1979), who maintain that it is difficult for education in some African countries to foster an orientation to practical skills because when it was introduced, it was introduced with salaried jobs and the first bureaucracies. So most African societies were linked to a bureaucratic society and schooling from the beginning was about salaried jobs in the bureaucracies. As a results parents'

ambitions have always been for their children to be educated so that they can be part and parcel of the bureaucracy. Parents have always been convinced that the way to economic progress for their children lay in a western type of education. When the inadequacies of western education became evident and attempts were made to overcome them, these attempts did not have much success, especially in the fostering of attitudes towards the type of education relevant for Africa (Foster, 1979:129).

In the case of Lesotho, the above constraint is illustrated by the issue of conservatism, attributable in part to the church authorities. Some of them are apprehensive about introducing practical subjects especially development studies, in case teachers should challenge some of the churches' religious doctrines (Mputsoe, 1991). Another factor is the continued relegation of practical subjects as low status subjects. This is made even worse by some teachers who punish students with chores associated with practical subjects . A large number of graduates expressed this view. (Graduates, 1991).

Related to the issue of conservatism and the colonial heritage, is that of the duration of western schooling in Africa. Miller notes that most African countries have only experienced western type education for a few generations. In the case of Lesotho the duration is only just over a century as western schooling was introduced in 1833 with the arrival of the first French missionaries. Despite this the general attitude appears to be strongly in favour of western type education. To address this Lesotho

needs to strongly inculcate the desirable attitude through the introduction of development studies on a larger scale.

One shortcoming referred to in this report is related to inefficient organisation and administrative structures. This is manifested by the fact that the 1986 annual report comes after a silence of eleven successive years. This lack of statistical records and government records hampers follow-up and evaluation procedures, as illustrated by Turok (1988). This is characteristic of most post-colonial states. It may also be due to the declining public accountability of state employees, who are better served by the inefficiency of the status quo. This is typical of autocratic regimes as explained earlier. Although in the 1988 annual report the ministry pledged that it would constantly review educational policy to ensure its adequacy and continued relevance to national needs and objectives (MOE, 1988:iv), which is quite a progressive and advanced step, subsequent annual reports are not available.

In relation to the promotion of equity, which is the proclaimed priority of the World Bank and the state policy documents mentioned earlier, there appears to be little progress in this area, due to the fact that school seems to favour children of middle and higher income groups and not children of higher ability (TFRS, 1981:6; Cobbe, 1980:242).

Another major problem is the unexpected outcomes of educational expansion considered in earlier chapters. Educational expansion

appears as a mixed blessing but its disadvantages hamper the proper dissemination of self-reliance and diversified curriculum in Lesotho. In Lesotho the impacts are manifested in an increase of poorly staffed and equipped schools, over-stretched educational facilities and infrastructure culminating in poor performance (MOE, 1988:25). Another factor contributing to poor performance is manpower inadequately trained in the management, supervision and inspecting of schools (ibid).

Table 2 highlights the poor performance of high school students during the 1980-1988 period.

TABLE 2: COSC RESULTS 1980-1988

Years	SC	GCE	fail	total	SC %	GCE %	fail %
1980	415	1045	40	1500	27	70	3
1982	367	1390	140	1807	20	80	8
1984	677	1456	104	2237	30	70	5
1986	750	1745	172	2667	28	70	6
1988	812	2113	128	3053	27	70	4

Source: Lesotho Examination Council, cited in Southern Star, 1989.

Legend
SC: School Certificate. This refers to those who qualify for tertiary education (at least five O level passes).

GCE: General Certificate of Education. This refers to those who have passed at least one subject; most repeat a year at school, enter technical colleges or join the labour force.

The impression derived from Table 2 is that there is an increase of students joining the labour force, but given the inadequate

training received due to over-stretched facilities, they cannot contribute effectively to development. However the pass and fail rates show very little change during the period, with average rates of 30% School Certificate, 75% GCE, and 7% fail.

From this it can be concluded that attempts at improving the pass rate have not been effective. Of particular interest is the high and constant rate of students who only obtain GCE. This certificate in most cases does not guarantee entrance into tertiary education or even employment, given the high unemployment rate in Lesotho, even for those who have done practical subjects, unless they become self-employed. So those who cannot join Lesotho's labour force join the migrant labour force and perpetuate Lesotho's dependence.

Another constraint related to administration is the unstable position of the Permanent Secretary of Education. Educationists are of the opinion that this post is changed frequently and the occupants do not have adequate background to address the educational issues prevalent in Lesotho (TFSR Director, 1991). This is attributable to the fact that under military rule, in Lesotho favouritism has been dominant in the selection of state employees.

Suggestions for Improvement

Having considered some of the problems that are inhibiting the uniform and smooth implementation and progress of diversified

secondary schools, it is proper also to consider some suggestions for improvement.

On the question of attitudes, it is claimed that what is needed is more time. This study argues that this move is a delaying tactic, and that what is needed is the proper dissemination of the notion of self-reliance, involving society at large. This should be done with an appreciation of the importance of reaching the grassroots levels of society when deliberating on policy issues that affect them. They will then have first-hand information concerning the deliberations and will also have the chance to make their contribution.

In order to improve the day-to-day running of the schools and the teaching process, the government stressed that workshops will be organised for teachers and school authorities. These workshops will enhance the teaching personnel's management, administrative, and supervision skills (MOE, 1988:31).

Another important suggestion is that of the reeducation of the whole society particulary on the relevance of education for self-reliance (Mputsoe, 1991). It is crucial for the society to have a proper appreciation of what Lesotho needs. Related to this is King Moshoeshoe's suggestion at the launching of the Lesotho Foundation for Education with Production. He noted that there has also been a lot of rhetoric concerning the crisis situation. He therefore stressed that it was essential to translate the rhetoric to meaningful action (Moshoeshoe II, 1988:5). This can

only be achieved through mass participation.

In order to achieve this effective and reliable leaders are needed:

> we need leaders who can recognise that the real leadership quality relevant to our economic recovery and progress for self-reliance is the ability to activate, motivate and empower the people to work hard for such a strategy (Moshoeshoe II, 1988:11).

With a strong leadership, then the country can use education, which is seen as a powerful tool for collective security and a philosophy of self-reliance. The king suggested a new approach to education which includes in the curriculum all the basic principles of self-reliance: the emphasis that education is for collective development, respect for non-formal learning and manual work, mass education to liberate the latent potential of the masses, and attempts at achieving universal primary education for all (Moshoeshoe II, 1988:30).

The suggestions of promoting mass participation and collective self-reliance are relevant. But it is also important to consider strategies of development under which such suggestions can function well. Contemporary research on the Southern African context suggests that the countries of the sub-region should reconsider re-employing established strategies and then attempt to make them more effective. On this issue Miller pro[illegible] that technological transfers be monitored, and that aid be [illegible]ntinued but more in line with the needs of the individual country (1987:238). Related to this is the proposal made by proponents

of the positive action move. They state that "it is essential for progressives to work realistically within existing social formations ... and raise consciousness through activities based on the principles of education with production" (SADCC, 1986:44).

Impact on General Development and Conclusion

An assessment of the contribution made by the project schools to general development is a complicated endeavour to undertake. However, dwelling on its complexity would not be of much relevance to the country as it only leads to pessimism. On this note, the areas of accomplishment in educational development could be taken as those that have some positive and qualitative impact on the desired development in the country.

One positive step is the significant fact that a viable practical studies programme has been implemented and is producing some of the desired effects, given Lesotho's lack of a skilled labour force.

It is however not adequate to produce skilled labourers who just perpetuate the dependent status quo of Lesotho without challenging it. In this connection, courses such as development studies can be said to have inculcated in students the right attitudes for self-reliance and patriotism. This is seen in the desire of some graduates of the schools to work at home rather than in South Africa. At least 40 out of 50 graduates of the project schools interviewed expressed the desire to work locally in the

country because of the health risks and insecurity associated with migration workers (Graduates, 1991).

The increased sense of patriotism in some students further shows that in the long term, the appreciation of Basotho initiative and creativity will be enhanced. Ultimately the country will be seen as a place of work and progress and so its status will be elevated from a dependent consumerist labour reserve to a self-sufficient country.

Another long-term impact on development could be one that would emerge due to community development and collective learning. In this area, students would put their countries before their own needs. They would be less inclined to endorse unpopular regimes which have little concern for public accountability, and thus they would promote a people's state.

The above suggestions and assessment are relevant to Lesotho's problems. This study urges the government to take heed and try to engage in practical solutions of the problems, based on the above suggestions.

This chapter has attempted to illustrate Lesotho's experiences with education for self-reliance on the basis of the official government documents and the broader educational experiences in the country. It has been illustrated that since the inception of the project schools, there have been progressive and advanced conceptions of what the project should promote. These include the

promotion of self-reliance, mass participation through community development and patrictism. From these experiences the study has stressed that the introduction of a diversified curriculum in secondary school has been and continues to be a relevant and progressive move in the context of Lesotho.

CHAPTER FIVE

LESOTHO IN THE SADCC CONTEXT

Lesotho's future needs to be constructed on the basis of developments in the wider region of Southern Africa because of the permeating dominance of imperialism and international finance and capital of the region. In this context organisations such as SADCC constitute a better and more progressive alternative to the dominant figures in the region, namely South Africa and international finance capital. The humiliating dependence relation of the SADCC countries is best expressed by the 1980 Lusaka Declaration, which stated that:

> Southern Africa is dependent on the Republic of South Africa as a focus of transport and communication, as an exporter of goods and services and as an importer of goods and cheap labour. The dependence is not a natural phenomenon nor is it simply the result of a free market economy. The SADCC were in varying degrees, deliberately incorporated by metropolitan powers, colonial rulers and large corporations into the colonial and sub-colonial structures centring in general on the Republic of South Africa. The development of national economies as balanced units, let alone the welfare of the people of the Southern Africa, played no part in the economic integration strategy. Not surprisingly, therefore, Southern Africa is fragmented, grossly exploited and subject to economic manipulation by outsiders. Future developments must aim at the reduction of economic dependence not only on the Republic of South Africa, but also on any single external state or groups of states. (cited in Amin et al, 1987:9)

In spite of the features of dependence as presented by the above

excerpt, studies show that in the SADCC countries there exists a base for a balanced agricultural and industrial development. This is presented by the SADCC Industry and Trade mission feasibility study on the potential of the region. The study displays that:

> ...the SADCC region is rich in agricultural, mineral and energy resources. Rivers such as Zambezi, Linyanti, Okavango Rufiji and Kwando, as well as lakes such as Nyasa and Malawi, have enormous potential for hydro-electric power generation. These largely untapped water supplies could also be used for irrigation works and agricultural production to meet the demand of regional and export markets... Abundant reserves of diamonds, gold, coal, iron ore, copper, lead, bauxite, nickel and many others may give rise to much of the regions' employment and generate considerable foreign exchange earning. (SADCC, 1986:2)

Given the above economic potential, that can be harnessed and exploited to limit the humiliating dependence status, the SADCC countries' main priorities are the following:

- the reduction of economic dependence particularly (but not only) on South Africa,
- the forging of links to create a genuine equitable regional integration,
- the mobilisation of resources to promote the implementation of national, inter-state and regional policies, and
- concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework for economic liberation (SADCC, 1986:1).

Studies on the development priorities of the SADCC show that

collective self-reliance is of unmeasurable value as opposed to individual local self-reliance (Totstensens, 1982:25). Through collective self-reliance the Southern African region can become economically viable and thus reduce dependency and reverse the balkanisation of the economies that has been inherited from the colonial era (ibid).

The SADCC attitude to foreign investments is also perceived as a positive step by this study. The study counters the popular belief that foreign investment reinforces the vicious circle of dependence and is counter to the struggle against western domination (Amin et al, 1987:9; Mandaza, 1987:210). It is a disturbing fact that the SADCC region needs foreign investment but it is a necessity which can be used as a means to a progressive and dynamic goal because isolated development is an impossible venture in an interdependent world.

The need for foreign investment is made even more urgent by the continuing formidable South African dominance of the region, which hampers the development potential of the SADCC countries. For instance South Africa continues to produce 87% of the steel, 30% of the cement, and 40% of the manufactured goods produced in the whole African continent (Hanlon, 1989:147). In addition to this economic might Pretoria has military might and has everything in its power to reinforce and perpetuate the dependency relations of the SADDC countries. Studies show that "... there may be some degree of mutual dependency, but the relationships are highly asymmetrical and in favour of South Africa more than

the SADCC countries" (Totstensens, 1982:25). These are some of the complex and perplexing facts that the SADCC has to deal with. International aid and investments can facilitate in alleviating this complexity.

The issue of inviting western aid has been criticised by some studies. In one study Mandaza is of the opinion that:

> the struggle for genuine regional economic cooperation is real and many faceted and possibly very long. The challenge to imperialism and international capital requires more than the much desired collaboration on the part of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the region. There is the urgent need to draw up a political agenda that unites such regional organizations as the SADCC within the wider third world framework. (Mandaza, 1987:230)

This study does not totally reject Mandaza's analysis. It is relevant in the long term, but for the immediate future this study supports the activities of the SADCC as the right step which will ultimately contribute to the general struggle against South African exploitation of the masses. In the same light, Hanlon judges that:

> ... in any case, SADCC region is peaceful, and will remain so. SADCC has made it clear that development cannot wait for the end of apartheid in South Africa. It has rolled out the red carpet for foreign investors and is pressing its cooperating partners to use their aid money to stimulate trade and investment. Development and profit are possible, even under fire. (Hanlon, 1989:3)

So the SADCC's efforts need to be promoted while the liberation struggle in South Africa is being addressed.

The above discourse on the development priorities of the SADCC presents it as an organisation of a progressive nature. It appears that it has a great role to play in addition to the assigned tasks of tourism, and soil and water conservation (Hanlon, 1989:6). For Lesotho to contribute meaningfully to the development priorities of SADCC as a whole, the human resources of the countries, that is the people, must be equipped with strategies and the right attitudes for the ethos of collective self-reliance as proclaimed by the SADCC. This study suggests that education for self-reliance can play a role in inculcating the relevant attitudes so the masses can use the country's assets for the promotion of collective self-reliance.

CONCLUSION

In the post-independence era, educational developments in Lesotho experienced shifts and changes which ultimately led to the acceptance or adoption of education with production or education for self-reliance.

The decades immediately after independence were marked by the popularity of the modernisation perspective in most areas of development. In the educational arena this perspective had a great impact on what was seen as valid knowledge, as most African countries saw the western conception of knowledge and development as the right one to copy. In Lesotho this impact is seen in the development of an overly academic type of education system which has not done much to promote the developmental needs of the country and decrease dependence on South Africa.

This study has shown how radical scholars have attempted to criticise the modernist school for its inadequacies under the banner of the dependency perspective. This school advocates disengagement. This study argues against disengagement in the case of Lesotho as it would be suicidal or detrimental to the already established attempts at increasing self-sufficiency. In the educational arena, the study has examined educational developments that could be said to be an advance on the modernisation perspective, namely those in Tanzania and Botswana.

On the basis of these experiences a framework was established to

illustrate what education for self-reliance could entail in African countries. It was concluded that Lesotho could operate on the basis of these developments to promote a broad-based mass participatory type of development, which is very relevant for Lesotho. In addition, it is illustrated that to provide a conducive setting for this, a popularly elected government needs to be established so that there can be some accountability to the public.

In relation to the country's actual experiences with the theory of education for self-reliance, this study has shown that at top levels there appears to be a proper appreciation of what self-reliance should entail, while at grassroots level the appreciation is limited. Another important development in this area is the introduction of the STTC programme, which is geared at training practical subject teachers in the country and would go on to facilitate the appreciation of broad-based development on a wider scale. This study contends that these are progressive moves that need to be reinforced so that the notion can address the developmental needs of the country.

This study also notes the significance of considering Lesotho within the wider Southern Africa region of the SADCC because of the common problem of the struggle against South African domination. It is argued that Lesotho, being the most dependent and most vulnerable to South African threats, needs to develop a strategy that would decrease its vulnerability and dependence on South Africa; education for self-reliance is seen as such a

strategy. This is because the underpinnings of this strategy could promote and reinstate confidence in the Basotho initiative for development and inculcate in the youth the spirit of patriotism. The role that education can play in the wider SADCC context is a broad area for further research. In the meantime the country should concentrate on promoting education for self-reliance so that Lesotho can address its dependence and vulnerability dilemma.

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