

**EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
THE CASE OF LESOTHO**

By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to examine Lesotho's post-secondary educational reform policies and practices so as to understand the issues involved, to assess them in relation to those in other developing countries, and to make implications.

The data were official documents and records and interviews with 28 senior officials in government, educational institutions and other organisations. An analysis of the findings in terms of Brown's (1999) framework on the political economy of high skills was complemented by a further examination of major factors which did not fit well into the Brown framework.

The Kingdom of Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) is an enclave within the Republic of South Africa. Independent since 1966, it is relatively poor, having limited natural resources, no significant manufacturing capability and only two major exports, water and labour. In spite of the promulgation since 1970 of a series of national development plans, it seems that political unrest has acted as a brake on economic progress. A series of education reform policies aimed for universal primary education, large-scale development of secondary education, new institutions for post secondary education and training, and expansion of the National University.

Overall growth in education has been greater than the rate of population growth. However, most of it has been in primary and secondary education and at the national university. In other sectors growth is less. There are also claims that enrolment increases have not been matched by gains in quality and that facilities development has been poor. In spite of declared policy intents to accelerate economic growth through education, there

continues to be a lack of employment for graduates. Interview data showed respondents' concerns about the difficulty of developing post-secondary education and training in Lesotho's unfavourable economic circumstances, about the adverse effects of necessary foreign aid, and about the absence of planning and co-ordination.

It is clear great strides have been made in Lesotho education. The government has a commitment to the development of a skilled workforce and is providing support to the best of its ability, in spite of scarce resources. It is also clear, however, that there is a gap between what has been promised with respect to post-secondary education and training and what has been delivered. This gap has many elements, some international, some national and some institutional. Analysis leads to three conclusions. (1) Lesotho is not alone in facing the issues resulting from a poor resource base: its circumstances are comparable to those of other developing countries trying to ensure development and needing help from international agencies. (2) Lesotho's national development plans use the language of human capital theory. Development in a country like Lesotho, however, poses different challenges from those in developed countries, and in adopting the rhetoric of human capital theory, the government may have unintentionally set false expectations for what could be achieved. (3) Skill development may need to be differently conceived if Lesotho's development is to progress. Rethinking skill development may require an appraisal of a number of issues fundamental to Lesotho institutions, traditions, and society. The thesis concludes with a number of implications to policy makers and researchers.

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CHAPTER 1

THE BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In both industrialized and developing countries investment in human resources is said to be the critical determinant of the character and pace of economic and social development (Todaro, 1994). Formal education has become the largest industry and the greatest consumer of public revenues (Todaro, 1994). Developing countries in particular have experienced a rapid increase in the proportion of national income and national budgets spent on education. This is consistent with the argument by Harbison (1973) that human resources constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of the nation. Harbison further claims that a country which is not able to develop the skills and knowledge of its people, and to use them effectively in the national economy, will be unable to develop anything else (Harbison, 1973).

This study examines the way in which one developing country (The Kingdom of Lesotho) has attempted to address these issues with respect to its provision of tertiary education. In the following paragraphs, I describe first the general background for the study and the kinds of issues which it is designed to explore and illuminate. Second, I give a statement of the purpose of the study. In a final section, I provide an overview of the thesis.

The Background

Following independence in many developing states, in the 1950s and 1960s, the development of the education systems became one of the top priorities on the national agendas of developing nations (Graham-Brown, 1991; Scrase, 1996; Harber, 1997). The

assumption was that these societies could not meet the pressing need for development unless a greater proportion of their populations acquired appropriate knowledge, attitudes and skills (The World Bank, 1988; Verspoor, 1989). Global statistics on education since 1950 show three major trends, which resulted in actions taken (Graham-Brown, 1991). First, overall school enrolments, numbers of schools, and budgets spent on education increased rapidly over time. Second, a relatively large proportion of national budgets was allocated to education. Finally, spending on education among nations in the North and South could be compared in absolute terms (Verspoor, 1989; Graham-Brown, 1991; Todaro, 1994).

At the time of political independence of many states in Africa, 35% of eligible children were enrolled in schools in Africa, and the comparable figures for Asia and Latin America were 67% and 73% respectively (UNESCO, 1982; World Bank, 1988; Habte, 1992). Between 1960 and 1983, the total number of student enrollment in African education institutions at all levels more than quintupled from just 12 million to 64 million. Between 1970 and 1980, enrollment increased by 9% annually, which doubled the rate of increase in Asia and tripled that of Latin America (World Bank, 1988; Habte, 1992; Todaro, 1994).

Africa witnessed dramatic growth of its educational systems in the 1960s and 1970s. Many African countries also pronounced their intentions of reforming their educational systems. Proposed reforms included adjusting the length of education cycles, altering the terms of access to educational opportunity and changing the curriculum. Above all, they attempted to link the provision of education and training more closely to perceived requirements of national socio-economic development. The strong

performances of most African economies encouraged optimism in the ability of government to fulfill the educational aspirations, which they had set forth in educational policy pronouncements (Wyss, 1990).

After more than twenty years of independence, however, African governments realized that rapid population growth outstripped heavy financial investments made in all levels of their education systems (Yates, 1984; Habte, 1992). More importantly, the current education system seemed to be failing in terms of equipping its students with appropriate knowledge, skills and the attitudes conducive to productive work. African governments realized that alternative forms of education and training were required to ensure the availability of a capable workforce for both economic advancement and growth of their countries (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1987). Since economic growth and development were seen as driving forces toward achievement of national goals which included the reduction of poverty and improved quality of life, a national education system became a powerful tool toward attainment of these goals among developing nations (World Bank, 1995). In addition, it was assumed that a skilled workforce contributed to economic development, national unity and social cohesion, and in some countries popular participation in politics. Further, for individuals, education promised an escape from poverty, in both urban and rural areas (Graham-Brown, 1991). Many developing nations, therefore, began to concentrate upon restructuring and reformatting their educational systems. Educational reform policies were formulated and implemented with the objective of meeting the challenges in terms of access, equity, quality and pace of reform. At the same time as these challenges were guiding reform policies in a

number of developing nations, the World Bank was also calling for them to involve a wider range of stakeholders in their education reforms (World Bank, 1995).

The Kingdom of Lesotho was no exception to these trends. As among other developing countries, and in Africa in particular, the problems associated with the formal education system as well as its relationship with social and economic development and growth began to intensify in Lesotho in the early 1970s. From the 1970s to 1990s, many national and international studies dealing with various aspects of education and training emerged across Lesotho. These studies highlighted a bewildering variety of problems facing the education and training sector (Ministry of Education, 1978; 1982; 1992; 1997; World Bank, 1991; Ministry of Economic Planning, 1997; Marope and Samoff, 1998).

Recurring themes across the studies included:

- *The decline in educational quality* as manifested in unsatisfactory student performance, poor reading proficiency, writing and computational skills, problematic student personal behavior and conduct, lack of understanding and skills that could facilitate productive and gainful living and employment, poor performance of graduates in the labour market and shortage of eligible trainees;
- *The irrelevance of education* to Lesotho's needs as manifested in student failure to become productive citizens and especially the failure of graduates to contribute to the rural economy;
- *Poor management* of the schools and the education system;

- *Poor educational resource provision* as manifested in overcrowding, shortage and inadequate preparation of teachers, scarcity of instructional and curriculum materials, and high costs of education;
- *Lack of financial accountability* of school managers and administrators.

The studies recommended that the education system in Lesotho required restructuring to include vocationally oriented subjects, which would facilitate functional literacy. They also suggested that higher education and technical training institutions should strive toward attainment of quality and relevance in meeting the social and economic needs and demands of the country. The studies further suggested the need for greater cost effectiveness by promoting efficiency in the reallocation and the use of public funds for education. Finally, community or societal participation was recommended as a strategy to enhance effective partnerships in the management and financing of the education sector.

Because of these studies and the discussion they prompted, major reforms were proposed during the 1980s and 1990s. The government of Lesotho identified three objectives and suggested strategies for implementation. First, the government increased access to education to enable all "Basotho" (natives of Lesotho) children to participate in at least primary education. Second, the government tried to ensure that education programs were relevant to the country's social and economic development goals. Finally, the government tried to ensure that sufficient numbers of individuals were equipped with appropriate occupational, technical, and managerial skills to facilitate participation in the economy (Seitlheko, 1992; 1994; 1995; Constitution of Lesotho, 1993). The government also adopted two general priorities in reforming its education system in the early 1990s.

The first priority was to provide to everyone the skills and competencies required for individual development and social interaction (i.e., a basic education) by providing opportunities for continuing education and training. The second priority was to provide a sufficient number of people with the appropriate occupational technical and managerial skills required for the development of the modern sector of the economy. The government planned to achieve these objectives through formal, non-formal and informal learning approaches (Ministry of Education, 1992).

It was clear, therefore, that the government of Lesotho would need to increase its political and financial commitment to the provision of tertiary education and training. It would need to recognize the importance of investing in human resources believed to contribute to social and economic development. The studies conducted in Lesotho (Marope and Samoff, 1998) indicated that here, as in other places, access to education, quality, relevance, efficiency and finance in education were critical issues for consideration as priorities in educational reform policies.

Accordingly, human resource development received high priority in the fifth Development Plan (1991-1996). The sixth National Plan (1996-1999) focused on sustainable human resource development by improving the quality, efficiency and effectiveness of education. This plan further emphasized the right of learners to have access to education and training so that they might realize their full personal potential (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997). Laudable as these plans were, it is important to recognize that their implementation depended to a considerable extent on the state of the country's economy.

Generally, Lesotho possesses a very limited natural resources base. Its deposits of diamonds and gold are not economically exploitable at present (Lundahl and Petersson, 1991). About 11% of its land is not arable due to mountainous terrain and topsoil erosion. The amount of land available for agriculture decreased to 9% due to the installation of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, which claimed about 2% of arable land in the most rural areas in the mountain valleys. Agriculture accounts for about 12% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) although it remains the main occupation for about two-thirds of the labour force working in the country. Remittances from mining industry workers in South Africa constituted 21% of Gross National Product (GNP) in 1995. The construction sector accounted for 27% in 1995 (Ministry of Labour and Employment, 1996).

In 1995, the country registered about 785,000 workers in the labour force (Lesotho Ministry of Labour and Employment, 1996). About 38% of the male workers is in South Africa. This substantial level of migration was a response to the severe pressure from the lack of employment opportunities in the country. The internal economic sector, or domestic labour market, absorbed between 17 and 20% of the total labour force (Central Bank of Lesotho, 1995). In 1990, a nation-wide survey reported more than 100,000 small business enterprises operating in the country, which employed less than 50 people each (GEMINI Report, 1991) which underlines the importance of the informal sector. This Report also revealed a tremendous decrease among Lesotho migrant workers in the South African mining industries.

Such economic conditions may well cast some doubt on the feasibility of human resource development plans if they are cast in too ambitious a mould. More importantly,

however, the economic circumstances can also be seen in the light of a wider international perspective. The World Bank (1995), for example, notes the dramatic recent shift brought about by economic reforms, integration of the world economy, technological changes, and migration, all of which have important implications for education. The rate of accumulation of new knowledge and the pace of technological change raises the possibility of sustained growth and more frequent job changes during individual lives. This general trend can also be witnessed in Lesotho, affecting the country in a variety of ways. From a global perspective, work tasks are becoming more abstract and more removed from the actual physical processes of production which require less and less manual labour (World Bank, 1995). A similar situation affected Lesotho in the sense that work for Lesotho migrant workers in the South African mining industry decreased markedly each year.

Economic and labour market issues are seen as important in a variety of ways in any consideration of education, training and human resource development. The area is complex. LLamas (1994) for example, finds that in developing countries, dualism or segmentation characterizes labour markets. The formal sector is associated with high wages and the informal sector with self-employment. The formal and informal sectors also treat their workers differently depending on the level of education obtained (LLamas, 1994). LLamas contends that lack of capital accumulation limits the size of the formal modern sector because the dynamics of this sector depend upon capital investments. A capital-intensive economy is characterized by imported foreign technology, which means that economic growth does not necessarily result in job expansion within the countries concerned (LLamas, 1994). Doeringer (1994), on the

other hand, examines the relationship between internal labour markets and education with special focus on both industrialized and developing countries. Regarding developing nations - where education and training infrastructures are frequently inadequate - he notes that the internal labour market's ability to provide basic education and general skills is particularly important for human resource development.

Two implications for education and training systems became clear from these developments. First, education needed to be designed to produce adaptable workers competent to acquire new skills for changing economic demands rather than a fixed set of skills used through work life. This would increase the importance of the basic competencies learned in both primary and secondary education levels. Second, education and training systems - particularly at post-secondary education level - should be designed to support continued expansion of knowledge and technical skill among societies (World Bank, 1995).

Clearly, there are significant lessons to be learned that are relevant to the situation in Lesotho. First, a global economic perspective needs to be considered in dealing with national policies in the area of human resource planning and development. Second, the role of segmentation in the labour market needs to be taken into account in the formulation and implementation of education policies. Finally, the role of the internal labour market in skill development as well as investment in human resources needs to be coordinated for achievable results.

While these global analyses are illuminating, they need to be complemented by detailed studies of individual cases. Global generalizations notwithstanding, an individual country will present unique aspects (of demography, of its economic

circumstances, of its education plans and reforms) which will deserve detailed study. It is against this background that I present the purpose of the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the educational reform policies and practices with regard to the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho, so as to understand the issues involved, to assess them in relation to policies and practices in other developing countries, and to be able to suggest implications. The following are the specific objectives of the study:

- To describe the nation's educational reform policies and their effects regarding the provision of tertiary education and training.
- To identify factors, which directly or indirectly influence the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho.
- To assess the relevance of the broader international literature on the development of tertiary education and training to the Lesotho situation.

Overview of the Thesis

Chapter 1 has introduced the study, outlining its background, its purpose and its objectives. Chapter 2 presents a detailed examination of the relevant literature on human resources development through education and training in developing countries. In chapter 3 I present the study's conceptual framework and research design. Chapter 4 provides a description of the Kingdom of Lesotho and its development over the past century. Chapters 5 and 6 present two kinds of data: first the evidence contained in the official documents perused for the study and second the results of interviews conducted with 28 knowledgeable officials in the country. Chapter 7 brings together all the evidence and

itemizes the findings of the study. Chapter 8 concludes the study with a presentation of conclusions and implications both for further research and for consideration by policy makers.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

For over thirty years now, economists have understood that there is a connection between a country's economic development and its investment in human resources, notably, in education. So strong was the first statistical evidence of this connection that policy makers in the developed world accepted it unequivocally. Perhaps not surprisingly, agencies whose mandate is to help economic development in developing countries have also based many programmes on the premise that aid for education and human resource development is of direct benefit to economic growth, an argument accepted also by the politicians and policy-makers in those countries themselves. Whether the connection is as straightforward as it at first seemed is a question which scholars have begun increasingly to address. So also are questions concerning the effect both of developing countries' internal policy making and of the way external aid is given.

This chapter reviews selected literature on these issues. The chapter deals first with economics and development, describing first, what has come to be called human capital theory and second, some of the more recent caveats about that theory. A second section considers the relationships between education and development, and a third section examines the relationship between the state and education and related policymaking issues. The chapter ends with a summary and a set of conclusions from which the research design of the present study was developed.

Economics and Development: An Overview

Both theoretically and empirically the notion of economic growth has long been dominant in policy research at national and international levels. Historically, steady economic growth and an increase in productivity have been associated with increases in per capita income and a shift from the agricultural to the industrial and service sectors (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989). The literature contains a range of analytical perspectives on the contribution of education to social, political and economic systems in the advanced and industrialized world. From studies on transitional and developing nations conducted by international agencies a conventional wisdom has been identified, which assumes that better education or training leads to improved economic growth (World Bank, 1988; 1994; 1995; OECD, 1997). As a result of popular support from international publications and funding programs of the OECD and UNESCO, education began to be viewed unquestionably as an important and indeed crucial agent for the rapid economic growth of nations. The notion became more popular as a result of its high degree of theoretical robustness. Some have argued, however, that the level of empirical evidence was very limited, such that belief in the benefits of education was associated with fashionable tales of the time (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989). I examine first the origins of the conventional wisdom in human capital theory, and second, some more recent critiques, modifications and amplifications of these "fashionable tales of the time".

Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory originated with such economists as Schutz (1961), and Becker (1964) and Blaug (1976) later in the first period of the theory. The theory holds

that individuals and societies derive economic benefits from investment in human resources. As Harbison (1973) wrote:

Human resources - not capital, nor income, nor material resources - constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of productions: human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic, and political organisations, and carry forward national development. Clearly, a country, which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and to utilise them effectively in the national economy, will be unable to develop anything else (p.3).

Many authors have summarised and commented upon human capital theory (Blaug, 1985; Fagerlind and Saha, 1989; Torres, 1990; Nordhaug, 1991; Cohen, 1994; Saha and Fagerlind, 1994; Streetland, 1996; Ashton and Green, 1996). The human capital theorists argued, in short, that an educated population is a productive population. They contend that for any economic growth and development to occur two requirements are necessary; namely, (1) improvement and greater efficiency of technology, as higher technology results in greater production, and, (2) the utilisation of human resources in the employment of technology. These principles imply that the skills and the motivation for productive behaviour are imparted by means of formal education. As Fagerlind and Saha (1989, p.47) note, the human capital theorists believe that "investment in education is an investment in the productivity of the population" which they put simply as, "a well-fed, healthy and well-housed population is seen as more productive, both physically and psychologically".

Researchers, therefore, contend that mainstream economics provides both the techniques and theoretical framework with which to resolve the issue of the economic effectiveness of various skill formation programs and institutions (Ashton and Green,

1996). According to Ashton and Green, "the theory of human capital constitutes the economists' complement to the liberal educationalist approach" (p.14). Human capital theory proposes a link between the stock of skills and the outputs of a productive system, wherein the human capital inputs have equal status with the physical capital input. Human capital theory provides a theory of the individual's demand for education and training (Ashton and Green, 1996). In relation to the nation as a whole, the authors suggest an independent but similar framework from a sociological perspective that explains society's demand for increased education and training for both investment and consumption purposes (Ashton and Green, 1996).

Psacharopoulos (1988) also supports the relationship between education and economic benefits but notes economists have gone further to document a direct link between increases in the level of schooling in the population and distributional equity. Confirmation of this relationship, moreover, is not confined to economists. Sociologists have established the relationship between education and upward social mobility, while historians have documented the link between early rises in literacy and the economic take-off of nations. Other disciplines have established the relation between education and further developmental outcomes in areas like health, sanitation and fertility (Psacharopoulos, 1988). The message points to the fact that the phenomenon of benefits being derived from investment in education is multidimensional and needs to be looked at from different perspectives.

Ashton and Green support an argument that there is an inherent logic to the process of industrialization. Industrialization leads to the establishment of modern forms of production, which require a number of other structural changes. The authors suggest that

the changes of industrialization require the establishment of a workforce committed to basic industrial production. This type of production requires an enlightened workforce that is competent in dealing with new productive systems. These processes do not necessarily imply a uniform strategy, because they interact with the society's cultural background, economic constraints and the strategies selected by the people responsible for the industrialization process (Ashton and Green, 1996).

Education or training contributes to economic benefits for both individuals and society although some benefits like quality of life, democratic society and human rights are difficult to measure economically. The field of human capital theory provides an empirical framework that begins to measure specific economic relationships. With a complete understanding of the foundations of human capital theory, policymakers and educational planners can formulate their own evaluation of human capital studies from diverse disciplines. Educators and policymakers are then able to address public concerns that are based on economic trend cycles, and design educational programs that contribute to economic growth using human capital studies (Streetland, 1996; Ashton and Green, 1996). Whether this complete understanding is quite so easily derived from classical human capital theory is a question which a number of authors have begun to raise. We turn now to a consideration of some of the complexities and criticisms raised by later analysts.

Beyond Human Capital Theory

As human capital theory has become widely accepted, so critiques and alternatives have appeared. In the following paragraphs, I present first an overview of the

kinds of critique made and second a discussion of a related but different theoretical approach, the theory of labour market differentiation.

Critiques of human capital theory.

Human capital theory as applied to education created a powerful paradigm, which became embedded in public thinking. The paradigm gives the impression that pursuit of education leads to individual and national economic growth. This view, according to Streetland (1996), has placed local educators and policymakers under considerable pressure from the voting public and has led to an exaggeration of the economic purpose of education, in public opinion. Fagerlind and Saha (1989) contend, based on the outcomes in practice, that human capital theory has failed to perform up to the expectations held for it. The evidence of the failure is reflected in questionable assumptions and in the international occurrence of the "down turn" in the world economy of the middle 1970s and early 1980s. It is further reflected in the persistent inequalities among the world societies despite the rapid and massive educational expansion in many countries. In short, Fagerlind and Saha argue that education should be examined more critically in its relationship to development, an argument made earlier by Bowles and Gintis (1976). Among the ideas to be incorporated in such a more critical examination are the concerns that human capital theory is mainly concerned with analysing individual benefits of participation in labour markets. Further, because human capital theory is quantitatively oriented, it may leave out factors that are potentially important for analytical purposes.

Some of those factors arise from a consideration of how universally human capital theory can apply. It has been widely suggested (Torres, 1990) that human capital theory applies more easily to countries with advanced economies than to less developed countries. Education in general and adult and continuing education in particular is employed in economic systems for screening and job matching purposes. Such approaches tend to discriminate against those without qualifications and credentials in participating in the job markets. The human capital theorists argue that a more educated population is more productive and would have the attitudes and behaviours required for sustaining a modern industrialised economy – which is assumed the goal of most development strategies. However the basic assumption about education and its link with development strategies is embedded in the role of creating a skilled and viable workforce.

Torres (1996) discusses this issue. He analyzes human capital theory from the perspective of developing nations and contends that the theory does work, but within a framework of modernization, and even there it suggests some particular consequences not found in developed countries. The modernization approach considers education as a variable linked to the processes of socioeconomic development. Development, in turn, is conceived as growth of the social product, following the model of advanced Western societies. The underdevelopment of the developing countries is explained in terms of individual personality traits. In this respect, industrialization retains the position of achievement based on the notion of specialization and functional division of labour. In contrast, underdeveloped societies struggle helplessly towards achievement of statuses which reflect a particular perspective about the worldview emphasizing a non-specialized division of labour (Torres, 1996).

In an earlier work (Torres 1990), Torres suggests that the human capital approach indicates the necessity to identify the mechanisms by which people can proceed from economic backwardness to economic development within different contexts. Literacy and basic education count among the mechanisms for increasing contacts with modern societies and their products. In addition, literacy and basic education have the power to disrupt traditional cultures--often of oral origin--which are considered backward, as well as facilitating the development of a social heterogeneity in the adoption of innovations.

Labour market differentiation theory.

Some scholars have criticised the methodology underlying human capital theory and suggested other approaches, which have in common an analysis of the institutional context of education and training (Torres, 1990; Tuijnman, 1994; Ashton and Green, 1996). Of particular interest is the labour market segmentation that exists when workers of comparable productivity receive significantly different rewards (Ryan, 1981; DeFreitas, 1994). Labour market segmentation theory dates back to the late 1960s and, although it has since become a subject of some controversy (DeFreitas, 1994), it introduces elements of importance for the present study, especially in considering the situation of developing countries.

Studies from historical, sociological and economic perspectives conducted during the period 1960s to 1980s, show that workers with similar skills do receive significantly different opportunities and rewards (Ryan, 1980; De Freitas, 1994). Torres (1996), suggests that, "A decisive standpoint from which to study the relationships between adult education, income distribution, and capital accumulation is the theory of labour market

segmentation" (p.215). This theory suggests that labour market conditions can be understood as outcomes of four segmentation processes. The segmentation processes are (a) segmentation into primary and secondary markets, (b) segmentation within the primary sector, (c) segmentation by race and (d) segmentation by gender (Torres, 1996).

The labour market segmentation theory holds that there are system-level forces, which operate to limit the opportunities available to some groups in the labour, force (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989). Consequently, groups have different experiences of work settings that result in a pattern that conditions job structure and even the development of technology. Fagerlind and Saha identify three segments of behaviour associated with modern work structures. The first segment consists of well paid jobs requiring high levels of education. The second segment centres on 'unionised' segments characterised by internal hierarchies of job security and relatively high wages but not necessarily job satisfaction. Finally, the third segment, usually more 'competitive' in nature, is characterised by low wages, poor job security, poor working conditions and little opportunity for advancement. The third segment explains the situation found in pyramid labour market structures, whereby the bottom of the pyramid consists of people with low education and experience and who are willing to compete for anything that is available from the job market.

One implication of labour market segmentation for developed economies is that market systems may not be as free in the occupational structure as is generally believed. A second implication is that the extent to which labour market segmentation fluctuates is poorly understood. A third implication centres around difficulties associated with the definition and measurement of labour market segmentation, which precludes

generalisation about the process of segmentation in capitalist societies (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989).

Despite the fact that the theory of labour market segmentation has a particular relevance to advanced industrial societies, it can help to understand specific features of education and training in developing nations. The theory helps us understand the notion of tertiary education and training in particular. These are associated with the training of people in order to improve chances of entering the formal labour market. Labour market segmentation theory duly cautions against the notion that education and training automatically lead to higher income distribution by increasing per capita productivity which, in turn, leads to higher earnings (Torres, 1996).

A number of authors have considered labour market segmentation issues in relation to developing countries. Hinchliffe studies the relationship between educational characteristics of individuals and those of the jobs they enter or fail to enter from both developed and less developed countries. Linking age, educational background, and occupational status as factors influencing earnings from employment, he suggests that employers use the level and type of education as the main criterion to recruit new entrants into the occupational structure. For formal purposes, minimum educational requirements are generally set for each occupation. The formalisation of requirements based on educational attainment has been used in many developing countries for screening or purposes of education where there is an abundance of the workers entering the labour market every year. He also suggests that, while explanations vary widely, there is a close correlation between an individual's education attainment and his or her level of lifetime earnings. In addition, Hinchliffe points out that the labour market theories associated

with various views of the contribution of education are formulated primarily for analysing the labour markets of developed economies. The labour markets in many less developed countries are characterised by two major factors. Firstly, employment in the formal wage sector is proportionally small and within this, the public sector tends to have a more important place. This dominant role of the public sector has been used to argue that a job competition model is more appropriate for these countries than a wage competition model. Secondly, the majority of the population is engaged in the informal sector, which does not require certification or high skill for participation. Labour in this sector, is composed mostly of family or apprentice workers, who have less capital and no legal recognition (Tueros, 1994; Hinchliffe, 1994).

A different kind of distinction in thinking about labour markets in developing countries is the one noted by Cohen (1994) and endorsed by Torres (1996). Cohen contends that the bulk of available theories and associated policies on human resource processes deal primarily with the activity status generally identified as wage employment. There is little economic thought on non-wage employment. Cohen perceives this situation as not surprising because wage employment in industrialized countries counts for about 90 % of the active population with about 10 % left for non-wage employment. In contrast, wage employment in developing countries accounts for about 30 % and non-wage employment for about 70 % of active population, a situation which highlights the distinction between formal and informal economies. LLamas (1994) describes labour market structures and analyses how the market rewards educational investments by focusing on education and labour markets in developing nations. LLamas suggests developing countries are characterised by dualism in their labour markets which

constitute formal and informal sectors representing high and low wages, respectively.

The dual character of the markets in developing nations tends to segregate those who work in them according to their level of education (LLamas, 1994). This postulation of a direct link between labour market structure and education is one of a number of ways in which the linkage has been conceptualised. I turn now to an examination of material on the relationship between education, development and the economy.

Education, Development and the Economy

While the link between education and economic development, is strong in theory, literature in this area shows a dearth of empirical information regarding the direct contribution of tertiary education to economic development in both industrialized and developing nations (Nordhaug, 1991; Titmus, Knoll and Wittpoth, 1993; Tuijnman, 1994). This lack of empirical data means that most of the literature is valuable as a stimulus to thinking rather than as a set of translatable findings.

Torres (1996) suggests three analytical perspectives associated with the function of adult education in economic development apparent in tertiary education: critical, conservative and technocratic perspectives. The critical perspective perceives the principal function of adult education is to maintain social status, which does not promote equity and social justice among the society. Adult education, from the critical perspective, is oriented toward a knowledge-based society with growing diversification and specialisation. The conservative perspective views the function of adult education to contribute to transmission of knowledge. According to this view, adult education has the potential of reproducing a dominant culture rather than promoting social justice through

political strategies assumed to promote access and equity to education and training. Finally, the technocratic perspective considers adult education to be part of a social mechanism that guarantees individual advancement and selection. Adult education thus becomes a vehicle towards upward mobility of the labour force and plays an important role in the moral and technical socialisation of a society (Torres, 1996; Jarvis, 1996).

Carnoy (1994) examines education in relation to labour market theories from the point of view of the New International Division of Labour (NIDL). He describes the characteristics of the economic changes, and assesses the corresponding changes in the new international division of labour and its effects on the return to schooling in various countries. He further explores the potential of government intervention in shaping national development by responding to such changes through new educational investment strategies. The study notes that the world economy has undergone a radical transformation in the 1970s and 1980s. The transformation has affected long-term national growth possibilities, the actual and potential roles that countries play in the world economy, and the strategies that governments had to pursue to ensure growth. The use and production of information is vital to these changes, which in turn affects education.

Carnoy points to the experience of both the developed and newly industrialising countries, which suggests that the importance of education as a source of growth has increased. In this context, countries will require new approaches to educational policy in order to realise growth in the current era of greater resource constraints and changing demands for labour skills. He suggests the essential elements for successful educational policy reform under these new conditions are relevance, coherence, and participation. In

the new international division of labour based on information, national economic possibilities depend on the society's capacity to adapt to rapidly changing conditions, the innovative nature of the information, and its incorporation into the national economic project (Carnoy, 1994).

It is difficult at this point to say to what extent the elements operational in the context of the new conditions are realistic with respect to developing nations. The listing of strategies such as "essential elements" sounds prescriptive without mentioning any practical example of where they have been successful. Another example of implications whose practicality is doubtful is found in the World Development Report: 1988/99 (World Bank, 1999) which stipulates that "approaching development from a knowledge perspective - that is, adopting policies to increase both types of knowledge, know-how and knowledge attributes - can improve people's lives in myriad way besides higher incomes" (p.2). The report gives as an example that better knowledge about nutrition can mean better health, even for those with little to spend on food. The World Development Report 1988/99 identifies three critical steps that developing countries must take to narrow knowledge gaps. They are (1) acquiring knowledge which involves tapping and adapting knowledge available elsewhere in the world; (2) absorbing knowledge - this involves ensuring universal basic education, with special emphasis on extending education to girls and other traditionally disadvantaged groups; and (3) communicating knowledge which entails taking advantage of new information and communication technologies. As in the case of the instructive "essential elements" suggested by Carnoy, it is probably unrealistic to assume that developing nations can currently or in the near future be capable of achieving these expectations. Moreover, the steps outlined by the

World Bank Development Report fail to take account of even the most basic factors that might constrain developing nations.

An author who brings a fresh approach to the examination of education in relation to the realities of the new global economy is Brown (1999). Brown attempts to develop a methodology for a comparative study of what he calls the political economy of skill formation, with particular reference to a so-called high skill economy. He argues that advanced economies face a common series of pressure points, which can only be dealt with by making policy trade-offs. While the pressure points are the same for all the economies he studies, the kind of trade-offs which are designed are determined by the politics, culture and history of a nation's economic and social development.

The first pressure point is the relationship of the state to the market, and calls into focus the way in which the state, the employers and the trade unions respectively consider skill formation policies. The second pressure point deals with the way the state tries to manage skill development in ways that contribute to learning, innovation and productivity. Its examination can sometimes reveal a mismatch between "the rhetoric of high skills" (Brown, 1999, p.243) and the realities of policy implementation. The third pressure point focuses on the tension between competition among those with high skills and the need for some degree of social inclusion. The fourth pressure point seen in an examination of the way social and economic change has challenged the existing nature of the relationship between the individual and society (Brown, 1999; Green, 1999). These four pressure points, argues Brown, can be examined in different national contexts as a way of analysing the way the tensions they raise are dealt with in national skill formation policies. At each pressure point, there are possibilities and limitations. From negotiations

about these possibilities and limitations between and among the state and different interest groups, result the nation's skill formation policies.

Although Brown's thesis is developed for and illustrated by reference to advanced economies, there seems no good reason why the basic concepts of his argument should not be used more widely. They might permit useful analyses of the skill formation policies in developing as well as developed countries.

Policy Making and the State-Education Relationship

Meek (1994) defines the state as an agency of control, social order and cohesion, legitimacy, socialisation and economic intervention. The state is the sphere of directly enforceable social relationships that underlie markets and provide the basis for the construction of state organizations (Meek, 1994). Ball (1990) suggests the state is where the authoritative allocation of policies and practices is made as operational statements of values that reproduce prescriptive intent. Authoritative allocation of values draws attention to the centrality of power and control in the concept of policy. Policies project images of an ideal society. Education policies, for example, project a definition "of what counts as education in the operation of a specific society. Logically, policies cannot be divorced from interests, from conflict, from domination or from justice" (p.3).

Meek identifies two categories that emerge in the debates of whose interests the state-enforced social relationships serve. The first category includes those who see the state as serving the interests of the entire society. The second category regards the state as oriented to the interests of the ruling class in a structure of capitalist social and economic relations. He argues that the theoretical complexity in understanding the

relationship between the state and education can be conceptualised by placing theory on a continuum with a radical left interpretation on one end and a conservative new right theory on the other end.

Classical Marxist theory, which is associated with the radical left interpretation, views the state with its superstructure character, as an instrument of the capitalist ruling class. Here, ideology and socialisation functions of education are central factors. Meek quotes Althusser (1971) who argues that the state, through the instrument of education, socialises society into accepting the attitudes and values of class relationships and the inequalities they create. Schools do not only produce the skills necessary for an industrialised labour force, they also are agents of domination, repression, and exploitation through socialising the working class into accepting their role within a hierarchical class structure.

Moving along the continuum, we find the liberal democratic theorists who, in this analysis, view the state as a more or less neutral instrument for mediating and adjudicating between the competing demands of various interest groups within society. According to the liberal pluralists, education serves three primary functions: cognitive development and skill formation, training for citizenship and participation in the democratic process, and rewarding the meritocracy. According to the principle of meritocracy, education does not serve the interest of any one group or class. The principle allows every citizen to achieve according to his or her innate ability. The role of the state is to ensure equity in educational provision, though not necessarily in outcome.

The new right or conservative theorist for whom the dominant forces capable of shaping the society is economic relations. The state in this case, acts as an interventionist, protecting and promoting particular interests and values. Conservatives differ from Marxists by emphasising the inherent good of the private market. For conservatives, the state is a necessary 'evil'. It should practice a minimum influence in order to allow social relations to adjust through market competition (Meek, 1994). New right ideology calls for reduced state intervention and deregulation. The ideology encourages reduced public spending, particularly in the area of social welfare. It is an expression of basic bourgeois social values and transcends governments of particular political persuasion. Governments nearly everywhere have had to cope with rising costs in the areas of health, education, and welfare. On the other hand, they experience intense political pressure to reduce taxes. Governments have found new right beliefs attractive both for ideological and pragmatic reasons. According to the conservatives, education is not so much a public good to be subsidised by the state, but it is a commodity to be paid for by the individuals. Individuals should be allowed to pay for the best education that they can afford. Conservatives claim that under the market rules equity of educational provision is not an issue (Meek, 1994).

The debate about intervention is draped on a conventional left-right political axis with fixed parameters. These parameters limit the debate to a clash between two opposing sets of assumptions (Ashton and Green, 1996). From the point of view of the left, the origin of the problem of training in particular is seen as the behaviour of employers who will not invest in long term training unless subject to external constraint. The solution is for the state to design a means of intervention in order to enhance the level of training

undertaken. From the point of view of the right, the assumption is that only employers are in a position to define national training needs, as only they are in a position to know what training their staffs require. The solution is for the market to provide the answer to the problem of training by leaving employers and individual free to negotiate what is best for them. Within the same framework, an alternative approach has been for the state to leave the training of younger and older adults almost entirely up to the employers. The state tends to solve the problem by investing heavily in education of children and youth in order that those entering the workforce will have high level of achievement. It is assumed that employers will then build on them in enhancing the skill base of their labour force.

Torres (1990) analyses the state/education relationship from the point of view of developing nations by using a matrix of theoretical rationality organised into two broad visions termed incremental and structuralist visions. The incremental vision is associated with the liberal pluralist theory. In this perception, the state is conceived as representing the general interest of individuals. The state is seen as the neutral arbiter of the struggles between groups of social classes in civil society. The vision puts its greatest confidence in educational planning and administration. The vision is associated with a 'technocratic' approach because it puts more stress on the technical and technological aspects of education than on the social and political aspects. From this point of view, the principal role of educational planners and administrators is to improve the efficiency of the system by means of rational planning and administration as well as research. This perspective wants to see the formation of education policies by experts. The role must be performed in isolation from political and social pressures. The assumption is that the experts

possess autonomy and scientific legitimacy for the purpose. The approach argues that education reforms must contribute to the specialisation and structural differentiation of society, particularly for improving the skills of the labour force. The implications of the incremental perspective for educational policy include the claim that an increase in the level of education of a population will increase productivity as well as remuneration of the labour force and contribute ultimately to reducing social inequality. This is an idealist and pragmatic perspective which has been strengthened by those theoretical currents which consider education as an act of socializing individuals for social competence (Torres, 1990).

Torres' second vision (structuralism) is based on the historical-structural analysis of the process of economic, social and political development. From this perspective, education is considered a social phenomenon, which plays an important role in capitalist growth, very often regulating the flow of the labour force. The labour force becomes better qualified as well as being socialised in certain norms because of formal and systematic processes in education. Consequently the processing of the labour force through education contributes to the reinforcement of social control and existing hegemony even if in other cases it becomes a source of contradictions and conflict. From this perspective, the state is intimately linked with the constitution and reproduction of the capitalist system, protecting it from potential threats and guiding its transformation. The state is not understood as an autonomous political institution and operates beyond the system of production and the structure of production and the structure of social class. The state is the arena where contradictions of the production system and the contradictory

dynamics of conflicts between social classes are manifested in public policies (Torres, 1990).

Ziderman (1996) looks into the effective role of government in financing and provision of tertiary education and training, which he contends varies from country to country over time. Ziderman suggests governments should adopt a flexible role, reflecting the changing education and training needs of countries, which in turn differ according to their level of economic, social and institutional development. The role of government in tertiary education, training and skill formation, Ziderman contends, reflects three broad, but distinct activities, namely, (1) providing supportive services, (2) training, and (3) financing training. Concerning the provision of supportive services, the government creates a climate conducive to training, and encourages tripartite collaboration among employers, workers and government to enhance the appeal for industrial career and training. The state or specialised agency also performs a regulatory function through services that enhance the quality of training such as testing and certification, research or curriculum design. The state further plays a role of supportive services through promotion of the training enterprise by providing technical and training assistance as well as advisory services (Ziderman, 1996).

In relation to training and financing, Ziderman argues the state has a commitment executable through government intervention. The notion is that the government provides training directly through public sector training institutions, state vocational institutions and schools. However, the question regarding the role of government intervention is whether the role of providing and financing training can be justified in efficiency terms and what the case is for state intervention in training markets. In designing appropriate

policies for government intervention in training provision, Ziderman suggests there is no one strategy for all cases. Instead, the type and extent of the required intervention in training vary from case to case depending on a wide range of factors relating to a given country. Such factors include economic development, the quality of existing institutions, and any distortion in the economic environment that may militate against training development.

The World Bank points to two economic justifications for government support of education in the context of developing nations. First, higher education investments generate external benefits important for economic development. Such benefits reflect long-term returns from basic research and from technology development and transfer. It is obvious that individuals cannot capture these benefits through personal investment, and private investment alone may not be able to invest in higher education. Second, imperfections in capital markets constrain the ability of individuals to borrow adequately for education. This undermines the participation of meritorious but economically disadvantaged groups in higher education (World Bank, 1994).

There may be limits to the applicability of this new model of skill formation. In certain circumstances some of the developing countries are not yet in a position to generate the basic institutional prerequisites. The analysis of training should reflect the basic material difference between impoverished developing countries and the industrialised world. Nevertheless, education and training schemes constitute a major channel for international aid that flows to developing countries and attention has been devoted to determining the most effective policies for skill formation in developing countries (Ashton and Green, 1996).

It is clear that, in both industrialised and developing countries, education and training systems are viewed as strategic instruments for promoting national and international economic performance. Making policy about education and training, therefore, is an important strategic task. Analysing policy making, however, is not without its conceptual complexities. One set of complexity lies in determining what is the state's role in such policy making. This issue has been discussed above. Another set of complexities resides in examining what some see as the two basic aspects of policy—its generation and its implementation.

Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) give an account of what consequences follow from thinking about the generation of policy as separate from its implementation. The separation presents the two processes as distinct and separate moments and thus creates a distortion which yields accounts that view the entire policy process as linear in form. The policy making process in this form is characterized by top-down, bottom-up. Bowe, Ball and Gold suggest the state control theories portray policy generation as remote and detached from implementation. Policy in this perspective is first completed and then transferred to the people by a chain of implementers whose roles are clearly defined by legislation.

Bowe, Ball and Gold associate the linear conception of the policy process with the post-1979 Thatcher style of government in Great Britain. This represents an era of the dismantling of social democratic consensus, associated with a corporatist type of government. The lack of wide consultation before legislation governing trade unions, health services and education, according to the authors, portrays the evidence of a new non-corporatist style in action. They contend that research into the practical effect of the

education policy process should take into account issues of who becomes involved and how they become involved in the policy process. Knowing about those involved and how they came to be involved, is a product of a combination of administrative procedures, historical precedence, political maneuvering, state implications and state bureaucracy. The essential task for policy analysis, is the recognition of the significance of the policy as text, or series of texts, for the different contexts in which they are used (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992).

Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) propose a model of policy process they call "a continuous policy cycle", with three primary contexts, namely: (1) context of influence, (2) context of text production, and (3) context of practice. Ball (1994) introduces two additional contexts, (4) context of outcomes, and (5) context of political strategy. The continuous policy cycle model focuses on policy recontextualization taking place in schools but it can also apply in any education sub-sector.

The first context encompasses political influence which locates where public policy is normally initiated. It includes the construction of policy discourse where interested parties struggle to influence the definition of the social purpose of education related to the labour market. Private arenas of influence are based upon social networks in and around the political parties, government and legislative process. This political influence is embedded in policy processes that include market forces, national curriculum, budgetary devolution. It is in this arena that policy acquires popularity and acceptance, providing discourse and terminology for policy initiation. The kind of discourse that emerges is sometimes supported, and sometimes challenged by wider claims of influence in the public spheres of actions, particularly in the mass media. The

authors argue that it is essential that the influence be accompanied by a political strategy that involves identification of a set of political and social activities associated with inequalities. This component is used particularly in analyzing social situations and struggles. It focuses on critiquing the operation of institutions and organizations, which appear to be both neutral and independent from social struggles and injustice.

The second context of policy text is connected to the context of political influence. Even though it is normally articulated in the 'public good' language, political influence represents the articulation of narrow interests and dogmatic ideologies. Policy texts represent policy that embraces official legal texts, policy documents and formally or informally produced commentaries. Policies are textual interventions even though they also carry with them material constraints and possibilities.

The responses to policy texts are validated in the third context (the context of practice). The essential point is that policy is not simply received and implemented within the arena of practice. Rather it is subject to interpretation and goes through a process of re-creation. Practitioners in this context do not challenge policy text passively but bring different experiences, values, purposes and vested interests in their interpretation of a policy text. This means that the policy writers cannot control the meaning of their texts (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992). Finally, the model includes the context of effect or outcomes associated with the impact of the changes that might have been experienced in the context of practice regarding patterns of social access, opportunity and social justice. In this context, analytic concern addresses issues of justice, equality and individual freedom. Policies are analyzed in terms of their impact upon forms of injustice and interactions with existing inequalities.

Summary and Comments

This chapter has reviewed selected literature relevant to the present study. In the following paragraphs, I summarise what has emerged from the review and I conclude by noting a number of conclusions from which my research was designed. Human capital theory, developed about thirty years ago, holds that investment in human capital can contribute to economic development just as much as investment in physical capital. By this theory investment in education and training, as one form of human capital investment is an important contributor to the economic growth of a nation, as well as to the well-being of its individual citizens. Although the original empirical evidence for human capital theory came largely from the developed world, the theory created a powerful paradigm which quickly became embedded in public thinking and became the rationale for almost all attempts by international bodies such as the IMF and the World Bank to provide assistance to the economies of developing countries.

A number of scholars contend that human capital theory has failed to live up to the expectations held for it. Critics of the theory argue that it applies more to the developed world than to less developed countries and that it leaves out of account a number of factors which are potentially important in understanding the relationship between education and the economy. One such factor is the nature of the labour market. A theory of labour market segmentation argues that the labour market is characterised by segmentation of different kinds and that different relationships between education and the economy apply in different segments of the labour market. Labour markets in less developed countries are different from those in the developed world and the differences may well be important in understanding a number of features of the education-economy

relationship. There is a lack of empirical data about the extent to which tertiary education and training themselves contribute to economic development, although theoretically, they are important contributors. Socially, although individuals may increase their earning power, the overall effect is the support of status quo social structures.

Two opposing views exist on the proper relationship between the state and education. The left sees the state as necessary and beneficial instrument to ensure equity in educational provision, whereas the right sees the state as no more than a necessary evil whose influence must be minimised so as to allow market competition to make the necessary adjustments to social relations. The degree of state intervention of any government depends on a number of factors in addition to the government's left or right wing inclination. The processes by which education policy is made and implemented may be examined for the extent to which there is separation between the making of policy and its implementation. The examination should consider political influence, the agendas of interest groups, the interpretations placed on a policy by those affected and the outcomes of the policy.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this review:

1. The relationship between a nation's economy and its education system has been well demonstrated and any study of the development of an education system should consider this.
2. This education-economy relationship, however, is less straightforward than was originally thought and is probably mediated by a number of factors, which need to be taken into account in interpreting data.

3. The nature of the education-economy relationship in the industrialised world is almost certainly different from that in developing countries. In addition to differences in their history, their economies and the scope of their education provisions, these countries often have labour market characteristics, which are quite unlike those in the developed world. The design of research into the development of an education system needs to consider these differences.
4. What is seen as the appropriate role of the state in the provision and financing of tertiary education will vary from country to country. This variation may well affect the scope and process of educational policy making.
5. The involvement of people and institutions in the educational policy making of different countries may be done in different ways. Not only the official policy texts, but also the views of the actors in the policy process will be useful in understanding these differences.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

As noted in Chapter 1, the purpose of the study was to examine Lesotho's post-secondary educational reform policies and practices so as to understand the issues involved, to assess them in relation to issues and practices in other developing countries, and to be able to make appropriate implications. The study had three specific objectives: (a) to describe the nation's educational reform policies and their effects regarding the provision of post-secondary education, (b) to identify factors, which directly or indirectly influenced the provision of post-secondary education in Lesotho, (c) to assess the relevance of the broader international literature on the development of post-secondary education to the Lesotho situation.

In pursuit of these objectives, a number of conclusions from a review of the relevant literature were seen as important. These were described at the end of the preceding chapter and formed the basis of the research plan used for the study. In general, these conclusions indicated that the study of post-secondary education could not be pursued in isolation and that a variety of related factors must also be considered. In this chapter I first describe the study's general research orientation and context. In subsequent sections I describe the data sources used for the study, the method of data collection and the approach to the data analysis.

General Research Orientation and Context

Some researchers (Merriam, 1988) have argued that the kind of objectives pursued here require a qualitative research approach. It has also been observed that such

qualitative approaches have been rare in developing countries (Davis, 1992, Bockarie, 1995). Indeed, Davis (1992) contends that several researchers in developing nations have embraced quantitative research strategies even in those circumstances where either qualitative strategy or a combination of qualitative and quantitative research strategies could be appropriate and relevant to the phenomenon under investigation.

Studies that used mixed-methods strategies were viewed as controversial before the end of what was termed "the paradigm wars or debate" (Smith and Heshusius 1986; Fetterman, 1992; Hammersley, 1992; Lancy, 1993; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

Historically, the idea of combining qualitative and quantitative approaches owed much to the past discussions about mixing methods, linking paradigms to methods, and combining research designs in a single study (Patton, 1990; Miles and Harbaman, 1994; Creswell, 1994). Denzin (1978) has used the term "triangulation" to argue for the combination of different data collection methods in the study of the same phenomenon (Creswell, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). The concept of triangulation was associated with the assumption that any bias inherent in particular data sources would be neutralized when used in conjunction with other data sources, investigators and methods.

Multi-method studies have been viewed as appropriate in research efforts designed to analyze the extent of existing discrepancy between educational policies and the practices (Creswell, 1994; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Accordingly, given the objectives of the present study, it seemed highly appropriate to use such a multi-method strategy. Two basic kinds of data were used: (a) statistical and historical records and

policy documents and (b) the results of interviews with key actors in Lesotho's educational planning and policy making.

A full account of the Lesotho context is given in Chapter 4, but a brief description of relevant features of the provision of tertiary educational system is useful for an understanding of the research design. At the government level, the work of three ministries is especially important for educational planning and policy formation. These are the Ministry of Education and Training, the Ministry of Economic Planning and the Ministry of Labour and Employment. The Ministers of these portfolios report to the Prime Minister and act in accordance with the policy directions established by the Cabinet. Within each ministry, the work of certain units is particularly important for the issues addressed by the study. In the Ministry of Education and Training, these would include the Education Planning Unit and the Technical and Vocational Division. In the Ministry of Economic Planning they are the Population and Manpower Development Secretariat (PMDS) and the National Manpower Development Secretariat (NMDS). In the Ministry of Labour and Employment the Department of Labour and the National Employment Service Unit are of particular relevance.

There are ten post-secondary institutions in the country—one university and nine other institutions (colleges, institutes, polytechnics.) The National University of Lesotho offers undergraduate and graduate level courses in humanities, social sciences, science, education, agriculture and law. It was established in 1945 as the Catholic University College and, through a series of changes over the years, eventually became the non-denominational institution which it now is operating under the management of its own University Council and Senate. Of the other post-secondary institutions, the oldest is the

Lerotholi Polytechnic, established in 1905. Two others were established under the British colonial administration and the rest have been developed since independence. These institutions tend to be specialized (agriculture, business administration, engineering and technical trades), although some offer a wider range of courses. Most institutions require students to pass English Language, and require also that adult and youth learners have the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate O-level or its equivalent for admission. One unique feature of the Lesotho tertiary educational scene is that many post-secondary students attend the universities and technikons in South Africa. These students receive financial support through the NMDS referred to above.

A final element of the relevant educational policy and planning context is that of corporations, labour unions and non-governmental organizations. In addition to the several unions and associations, there are a number of organizations which play a role in central co-ordination within this sector and exercise a good deal of influence. Among these are the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN), the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA), and the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC). There are other organizations which are also influential in the country like Lesotho Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI), Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation (BEDCO), Lesotho Council of Churches (LCC).

Data Sources

Three categories of data were used for the study: (a) published literature on the history and development of Lesotho, its economy, and the origins and development of its education system, (b) official governmental and institutional records and policy

documents, and (c) interviews with knowledgeable people involved in the educational policy process. Material in the first of these categories was identified through my own professional work over many years in Lesotho and updated during the reading done throughout my doctoral program. These sources are identified in Chapter 4 and listed in the bibliography. The second and third categories of data are described in the following paragraphs.

The Selection of Documentary Sources.

Official governmental and institutional records and policy documents were obtained (see Appendix I) from three kinds of sources: government ministries and departments, selected post-secondary institutions, and selected corporations, unions and NGO sources. Following these criteria I acquired a set of records and documents from units of the three ministries whose work encompassed the area of the study: the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Economic Planning and the Ministry of Labour and Employment. In each ministry I ascertained from Principal Secretaries through a letter of consent which units were the ones relevant to the development and implementation of policy in the area of tertiary education and training planning and I collected documents from those units. In the Ministry of Education, the documents were those from the Education Planning Unit and the Technical and Vocational Education Division. In the Ministry of Economic Planning I gathered material from two departments: the Population and Manpower Development Secretariat and the National Manpower Development Secretariat. In the Ministry of Labour and Employment I collected documents in the National Employment Service Unit.

For documents at the institutional level I selected as my sources six institutions. I made no claim that the institutions selected were representative of the complete tertiary education sector in Lesotho, rather the institutions were selected because of their established history of providing tertiary education and training related to the labour market in Lesotho. The set included institutions which had operated before independence as well as those which opened afterwards. They were: The National University of Lesotho (NUL), the Lerotholi Polytechnic (LP), the Lesotho Public Administration and Management (LIPAM), the Lesotho Agricultural College (LAC), the Institute of Development Management (IDM) and the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies (IEMS).

For corporations, unions and local NGO sources I sought documents associated with the education and training of workers either within the organizations or outside them. Such documents were obtained from the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC), Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA) and Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN). Associations and unions did not produce any written documents about their organizations' training policies. However, in each case, the representatives provided verbal information about how they operated, estimated number of memberships, and activities associated with training. One union that compiled materials for training was affected during the political turmoil, which took place during my field research in Lesotho. The union rented an office in one of the buildings that happened to be burned down during this incident. Despite my interest in their operation, which mainly focused on the training of women working in large and small manufacturing industries, I was therefore unable to obtain any documents from this source. These data sources for the study are summarized in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Sources of Documentary Data

Category	Unit
Government	Ministry of Education Head Office Education Planning Unit Technical and Vocational Education Division. Ministry of Economic Planning Population and Manpower Development Secretariat National Manpower Development Secretariat. Ministry of Labour and Employment National Employment Service Unit Department of Labour
Institutions	The National University of Lesotho (NUL) Lerotholi Polytechnic (LP) Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management (LIPAM) Lesotho Agricultural College (LAC) Institute of Development Management (IDM) Institute of Extra-Mural Studies (IEMS)
Corporations, Unions, & NGOs	Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC) Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA) Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (LCN)

The Selection of Interview Respondents.

Twenty-eight respondents participated in the study. All were in positions of authority and were chosen based on their direct or indirect participation in policy formulation, and in the implementation and evaluation processes associated with the

provision of post-secondary education and training in Lesotho. My intent was to gain an understanding and insights which would complement the official picture obtained from documents and records. This meant that I needed to select a sample from which the richest possible variety of informed views could be obtained. Consequently, the sampling selection was designed to assure variety, but was not necessarily representative. Thus, the selection was purposive and weighted by considerations of access and the opportunity to learn most about the area of study.

I selected respondents from the same ministries, institutions and other organizations as provided the documentary data. The list of interviewees is given in Table 3.2. Seven senior officials (Assistant Director and above) were chosen from the Ministry of Education and Training, two from the Ministry of Labour and Employment and three from the Ministry of Economic Planning. From the institutions the sample included the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the National University of Lesotho, the Directors of the Lesotho Agricultural College and the Institute of Management Development, and the Directors and Deputy Directors of the Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management, the Lerotholi Polytechnic and Institute of Extra-Mural Studies. From the other organizations, the respondents were three union leaders, the Lesotho Highlands Development Corporation Staff Development Director and two senior members of the Lesotho Council of NGOs.

Data Collection

The collection of documentary data presented few problems. Once relevant documents and records had been identified, I sought permission to take copies or to read

Table 3.2 Interviewees for the Study

Category	Organization	Interviewees
Government	Ministry of Education (7 interviewees)	Principal Secretary Deputy Principal Secretary Chief Education Officers (2) Directors (2) Assistant Director
	Ministry of Labour and Employment (2 interviewees)	Deputy Principal Secretary Labour Commissioner
	Ministry of Economic Planning (3 interviewees)	Deputy Principal Secretary Commissioner (PMP) Deputy Director (NMDS)
Institutions	Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management (2 interviewees)	Director Acting Deputy Director
	Lesotho Agricultural College (1 interviewee)	Director
	Institute of Management Development (1 interviewee)	Director
	Lerotholi Technical Institute (2 interviewees)	Director Assistant Director
	Institute of Extra Mural Studies (2 interviewees)	Director Deputy Director
	The National University of Lesotho (2 interviewees)	Vice Chancellor Pro-Vice Chancellor
	Labour Unions (3 interviewees)	LUTARU President LTTU Secretary-General LECAWU President
Corporation s, Unions, & NGOs	Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (1 interviewee)	Staff Development Director
	Lesotho Council of Non Governmental Organizations (2 interviewees)	Board Member Human Resources Commissioner
TOTAL	28 interviewees	

them and make notes. With the exception noted above of the union records destroyed in the political unrest, all the records and documents which I had identified as relevant proved to be available to me.

For the interview with respondents I first sought consent by means of a letter giving details about the study (Appendix II). The letter included a description of the procedures for ensuring respondents' anonymity and the confidentiality of data. It assured them of their right to withdraw at any time without prejudice and asked for the completion of a consent form as an indication of their willingness to participate in the study. For the interviews themselves my objective was to gain a deep understanding of participants' perceptions about education policy and issues of practice in the provision of post-secondary education and training and their relation to the labour market in Lesotho. I used a semi-structured interview guide involving open-ended questions. In this interview guide, topics were selected in advance but the sequence and wording of the questions during the interview were adapted to encourage a more relaxed atmosphere. Both the informal conversation and the interview guide approach were what MacMillan and Schumacher (1993) call conversational and situational. I tape recorded all interviews to ensure I had a complete record of the verbal interaction and also so that I had material available for reliability checks. I also took notes as the interview progressed. On a number of occasions I experienced mechanical problems with the tape recording, resulting in very low sound levels. In all these cases, the written supplementary notes enabled me to reconstruct a full record of the substance of the interview.

For interviews with government ministry officials (Appendix III), questions centered on respondents' perceptions regarding the provision of tertiary education and

training related to the labour market. Questions asked about what factors the respondents saw as enhancing or constraining this provision, what relevant policy changes they would like to see, their suggestions for the implementation of change, and the outcomes they would expect to see as a result.

At the institutional level, the interview guide (Appendix IV) focused on what respondents perceived as the role of educational institutions in meeting the economic demands of a nation. The authorities further described what they perceived as issues that constrained and enabled the provision of tertiary education and training related to labour market in Lesotho. From their established perspective on the attitude and culture of institutions of higher learning, they commented on issues such as relevance, access to higher education, and quality. Respondents were also asked to comment on who decided what programs were included in their offerings; what change the authorities aspired to see within institutions of higher education; whether the changes were in response to economic demands; under what constraints educational institutions operated; what enhanced the institutional operation; what linkages were in place between educational institutions and the world of work in Lesotho; and what strategies were in place as guideposts toward the future.

The interview guide used to interview representatives of various organizations (Appendix V). This focused on their involvement in the provision of tertiary education and training related to the labour market. Questions concerned the educational role of corporations, unions and local non-governmental organizations, the degree to which these organizations participated in educational policy reform, and the extent of their involvement in the governance and management of educational institutions. Respondents

were also asked about what they saw as constraints, if any, in realising their organization's involvement in tertiary education and training

The credibility and trustworthiness of the interview data were checked using interactive questions in the three sets of interview guides. Other sources used to check credibility and trustworthiness included official statistics and personal notes taken during interviews. For example, official and institutional statistics data were used to check the credibility of the interview data regarding political commitment in terms of financial support of tertiary education and training.

The Approach to Data Analysis

Recent years have seen a great many works dealing with the analysis of qualitative data (e.g., Tesch, 1990; Dey, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Wolcott, 1994; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In spite of the differences in approach and language, the general emphasis among these authors is on the importance of categorising data and establishing connections within and between categories to provide meaningful interpretation and understanding of the data. This was the approach used in the present study.

As already discussed above, the documentary data were carefully annotated. Key ideas were abstracted as were any changes in emphasis and note taken of the source and chronology of ideas and changes. The presentation of the interview data started with the transcription. Thereafter, relevant portions of data transcripts for each of the twenty-eight respondents were isolated using the interview guide for the study. The objective was to search for patterns, common themes or issues. The themes (pieces of data) identified

were then assigned to categories developed in part from the ideas found in the literature review and in part from the data themselves.

Data units were also analysed by the frequency of their mention and by their source to determine whether they were mentioned by people in each of the three groups of respondents (government, institutions and other organizations). Some items seemed to merit the description of “issues”.—a label which I assigned only when the item was mentioned by respondents in each group. Issues were then analyzed in terms of whether they were seen as constraining or enhancing the provision of post-secondary education and training. Further analyses were carried out using the factors identified in the literature review as being important in the development of post-secondary education and training for given labour market and other conditions.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the research design and procedures used in the study. In general a “mixed methods” approach was used to deal with three kinds of data: (a) the literature on Lesotho’s history and its economic and educational development, (b) official documents and records concerning policy and practice in the area of post-secondary education and training, and (c) the results of interviews with 28 senior officials in government, educational institutions and other kinds of organization with an interest in the area. Appropriate means were found to check the credibility and trustworthiness of the interview data. The approach to data analysis drew upon the work of the so-called qualitative analysts. The data were examined for patterns and themes which were assigned to categories derived in part from the literature and in part from the data

themselves. The analysis of data units by frequency of mention and by source was also undertaken, as were a number of analyses based on the factors identified in the literature as being important for tertiary education and training in relation to labour market and other conditions.

CHAPTER 4

THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO: THE DEMOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Smallness in terms of geographic area and population, lack of natural and other resources and unfavorable location, with access only to a single dynamic market, but not to the outside world at large, are all likely to create dependence for an open economy. In the specific case of Southern Africa, and notably that of Lesotho, the implications of these restrictions can be seen in their clearest forms (Lundahl and Petersson, 1991 p.374).

Lesotho is a small landlocked country, about the size of Belgium (Lundahl and Petersson, 1991), or slightly larger than the state of Maryland in the United States (Bardill and Cobbe, 1985). It came into being as a result of a combination of historical, geographic and ethnic circumstances that dictated the site, the composition, the economy, and the political realities of the people within the original territory.

In the early nineteenth century, Basotho people recognized Moshoeshe I as their leader. He united the remnants of the Sotho tribe and formed the Basotho nation during the difficult period of "*lifaqane*" (famine resulting from wars) (Bardill and Cobbe, 1985; Seithleko, 1994, 1995). Lesotho continued as the Basutoland Protectorate, under British colonial rule from 1884, until 1966 when she obtained independence. Little effort was made in those years to shape the economy for independence as it was assumed that the territory would eventually be absorbed into South Africa. Infrastructure was developed to facilitate communication with the South African economy and the proper role for Lesotho was assumed to be that of a labour reserve for the mines and other industries of South Africa. Education, supported by missionary groups, was designed to produce a

degree of literacy conducive to Christianization and to provide a modest number of middle level bureaucrats for the colonial administration.

In this chapter I present an account of the key features of Lesotho relevant to the study. I begin with a description of the country's geography and demographic characteristics. This is followed by notes on her political and administrative structures. Third, I give an overview of the economic and market systems, and include details of each of a series of development plans enacted from 1970 to 1999. The chapter concludes with a summary and the identification of what seem to emerge as key issues in relation to the development of tertiary education and training. A number of key general sources have been used in preparing this account. Chief among these are Bardill and Cobbe (1985), Burman (1976), Butterfield, 1988, Cobbe (1983), Ferguson (1990), Halpern (1965), Harris, 1993; Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, 1979; Lundahl and Petersson (1991), Morse (1960), Southall (1998), and Stevens (1967). Other sources (e.g., government reports, publications of international agencies) are referenced as they are used.

Geographic and Demographic Characteristics

An enclave within the Republic of South Africa, the Kingdom of Lesotho has a land area of 30,350 square kilometers. Most of the country is mountainous with elevations above sea level from 1,500 to 3,300 meters. The population of Lesotho is approximately 2.1 million. Females constitute 51 % of the total population (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics, 1994). Fifty-five per cent of the population is considered literate. Lesotho is culturally and linguistically very homogeneous. Although the population is predominantly rural, with only 10 % living in towns, the country is not well suited for arable agriculture.

Two-thirds of the country is covered by mountains where only limited livestock production is possible. About 13 % of the country is unsuitable for cultivation, due to the steep terrain and soil erosion caused by persistent periods of drought.

The population of Lesotho has grown steadily over the past century. A unique feature of the population is the number of people temporarily resident in South Africa. By 1911 this had become evident enough for the census authorities to create a new kind of census. In 1875, 1891 and 1904 the census takings were what has come to be called "*de facto*". The *de facto* census counts the number of people present in the country at the time of the census. From 1911, what is called the *de jure* type of census came into operation, whereby both those present and those temporarily absent are counted (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics, 1994). Since independence in 1966, three population censuses have been undertaken; in 1976, 1986 and 1996. The most recent (1996) census results were not available at the time of the study's data collection. Table 4.1 shows the results of the eight *de jure* censuses held between 1911 and 1986.

After approximately a century of colonial administration, Basutoland obtained its political independence in 1966 and assumed the new name of the Kingdom of Lesotho under the government of Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan's Basotho National Party (BNP). The BNP was built on the notion of a realistic policy of maintaining a friendly relationship with the then Republic of South Africa. The following section details the political and government evolution of Lesotho during the second half of the twentieth century.

Table 4.1 Population Censuses: 1911-1986

Year	(a) Locals Present at Census Taking	(b) Locals Absent at Census Taking	(c) Total Basotho Population	(d) Those Absent as Proportion Total Population (%)	(e) Geometric Intercensal Rate of Growth per annum (%)
1911	403,000	24,500	427,500	5.7	0
1921	497,000	47,100	544,100	8.6	2.7
1936	561,000	101,300	661,800	15.3	2.2
1946	562,000	125,000	687,000	18.2	0.4
1956	640,000	154,800	794,300	19.5	1.6
1966	851,000	129,000	970,000	13.3	2.1
1976	1,064,00	153,000	1,217,000	12.6	2.6
1986	1,448,000	166,000	1,606,000	10.3	3.2

Note: Column (d) figures calculated from census data; column (e) figures based on raw data.

Source: World Bank (1975). Lesotho Bureau of Statistics, (1994).

Political and Administrative Structures

Lesotho's political evolution, from 1965 to the beginning of the 1970s, encouraged even closer contacts with South Africa. South Africa had endorsed this strategy in the early 1960s through development of better relations with Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland as these countries moved towards political independence. One

of the effects of this policy was the successful renegotiation of the 1910 Customs Union Agreement in 1969.

On assuming the office of Prime Minister in 1966, Chief Leabua Jonathan knew that the BNP government's retention of power, under the country's Westminster-style constitution, depended on its ability to satisfy the popular aspirations raised during the pre-independence struggle. Based on the difficulties confronting the newly elected government in terms of the political and economic conditions of the country at independence, it was clear from the beginning that this task was going to be complex.

Lesotho's first post-independence general election took place on Tuesday, 27 January 1970, five years after the pre-independence general elections of 1965. The opposition party, Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) won 36 seats, the BNP attained 23, while the other opposition Marema-Tlou Freedom Party (MFP) got 1 seat. The turnout was 81.9%, reflecting a significant increase of the people's participation in the electoral process. Table 4.2 illustrates the results for the general election in Lesotho.

The BCP victory was short-lived, as Chief Jonathan announced that his government had been forced to suspend the constitution. He announced that his government had assumed emergency powers until a new constitution could be framed in line with a Lesotho rather than a Westminster tradition of democracy. The post-coup government encountered several immediate problems. First, was the need to eliminate all forms of resistance. This goal was achieved partly by detaining and restricting all major opposition leaders, inhibiting the development of any organized defiance. The leaders of opposition parties, including the BCP's minimized the resistance to this appealing to their

Table 4.2 General election results, 1970

Name of Party	No. of Votes	% of Votes	No. of Seats
Basutoland Congress Party	152,907	49.8	36
Basutoland National Party	129,434	42.2	23
Marema-Tlou Freedom Party	22,279	7.3	1
Other Parties	1,909	0.7	0
Total	306,529	100	60

Source: Bardill and Cobbe, 1985, p.160

followers for calm. The second problem was Britain's decision to withhold diplomatic recognition and aid. The decision had drastic consequences, especially as most other donors appeared to be waiting for a lead from Britain before committing further funds to the country (Bardill and Cobbe, 1985).

Chief Jonathan sought to establish some kind of dialogue with the opposition. In 1971, political prisoners were released and two years later, the then government established the Interim National Assembly and 93 members were drawn from different parties. The purpose of the revived parliament was to draft a new constitution, compatible with "traditional institutions". However, Chief Jonathan's proposition was not accepted by the opposition and, consequently, the violent repression continued. It was during this period of tension in Lesotho that the position of the BNP government towards South Africa became rigid. Realizing that political survival was at stake, Chief Jonathan adopted a policy of support for the South African liberation movements in 1976. He

actively condemned the apartheid policy and granted political asylum to South African refugees and in particular to members of the African National Congress (ANC). During the same period, Lesotho refused to recognize the Transkei (one of the South African homelands) as a sovereign state. This new stance toward South Africa created a difficult situation for Lesotho in the sense that South Africa responded by introducing restrictions and fees on the locals who crossed the border into South African territory. Two years later, travel regulations became even tighter to the point that the southern border to Lesotho with the Transkei was more or less closed (Jobs and Skills Program for Africa, 1979).

The United Nations and the European Economic Community (EEC) helped Lesotho survive the ensuing political crisis by allocating substantial loans and grants. The assistance was meant to improve infrastructure in the southern region of the country. The international position towards South Africa had hardened relative to its policy of apartheid, which came under strong fire. As a consequence, Lesotho was able to take advantage of this in the form of technical and financial aid from international community. Thus, British aid, which was cut drastically after the 1970 elections, could in part be replaced by grants from other donors. In the 1980s, such grants came from Canada, the European Economic Community, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Nordic countries, the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, several OPEC-related sources and other minor donors. Since 1984, on average, approximately seven per cent of the central government budget, or about three per cent of GDP, originated from international aid. In addition, both private and public sectors received grants in kind and technical expertise from overseas. A substantial share of the total grants and development aid to Lesotho

was given in the form of directly funded projects, which were not recorded in the central government budget.

In the meantime, the clashes between Chief Jonathan's government and the opposition continued. In the 1980s the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), the military wing of the BCP, resorted to a series of bombings and armed attacks. Despite repeated accusations that South Africa was responsible for training of the LLA, South Africa denied any association with the attacks. Lesotho was important for South Africa however. Because of the location of the country inside South Africa, it made a natural choice as a base for the ANC guerillas supported by the Chief Jonathan regime. In 1982, South Africa carried out a raid on Maseru, the capital city of Lesotho, in an attempt to force Lesotho to expel the ANC from its territory. The Lesotho government was put under strong pressure to sign a non-aggression pact modeled on the "*Nkomati Accord*" signed between South Africa and Mozambique.

By 1986 Lesotho's relations with South Africa had deteriorated seriously. In that year Chief Jonathan refused to comply with a South African request to close the embassies of a number of socialist countries and to repatriate ANC members from Lesotho. Consequently, South Africa imposed very stringent controls on the passage in and out of Lesotho. This situation led to a military coup in which Major General Justin Lekhanya, took over the government as the head of a military council, deposing Chief Jonathan. Southall (1998) contends that this military government proved little more than an extension of South African authority and an opportunity for the military authority to promote itself. Immediately after the coup, a non-political government was formed,

whereby legislative and executive authority were placed in the hands of the King, Moshoeshoe II.

The relationship between Lesotho and South Africa was restored by the signing of a security pact on March 26, 1986. Each country agreed to avoid planning or executing acts of terrorism against each other. Yielding to longstanding South African demands, the new regime deported a number of ANC members. Lundahl and Petersson (1991) argue that this demonstrated clearly the limitations under which Lesotho operated, in the sense that no political maneuvers could be undertaken as a "politically independent" country.

The non-political government of Lesotho under the military regime was affected by the global developments including transformation of the Southern Africa region in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The end of the Cold War, Western imposition of aid that favored democracy and market reforms, and most notably, South Africa's transition away from apartheid policy were felt strongly in Lesotho. These external factors, as well as emergent civil society groupings from within the country, forced the military to call for national elections. After a period of 22 years without party politics in Lesotho, elections took place in 1993. The major competitors were again the BNP and BCP with MFP participating as usual. The elections resulted in a 75% popular vote in the favor of the BCP, under the leadership of Ntsu Mokhehle, which delivered all 65 parliamentary seats. In 1994, King Letsie II dismissed the BCP Government and installed an interim government of appointees supposedly drawn largely from the minority parties. Bardill and Cobbe (1985) note that politics had been a strong influence on specific aspects of economic policy throughout the post-independence period of the country. It is widely

believed that political unrest, which continued to affect Lesotho even in the late 1990s, has acted as a brake on economic progress.

Economic and Labour Market Systems

Geographic isolation has been the main problem facing Lesotho from the inception of the British territory of Basutoland in 1868. The absence of direct access to the sea in combination with the smallness of the area creates serious difficulties in trade strategies and economic development. Economic integration in the region tends to make Lesotho vulnerable through a high trade concentration, with exports less diversified than imports, virtually, all of which come from the large and powerful neighbor of South Africa. In the following paragraphs, I present first an overview of the country's economic development and then a description of the six national plans devised from 1970 to the present.

An Overview of the Economy

Although Chief Jonathan's government made efforts in national development from 1966 to 1986, it did little to overcome the low levels of agricultural productivity, industrial growth, or domestic employment. His government was not able to offset the continuing reliance on migrant labour and the economic dependence on South Africa, or alleviate many of the social problems associated with Lesotho as an underdeveloped labour reserve. In order to understand recent developments, it is important to provide a historical overview of the social and economic problems faced by Lesotho.

During the British period, Basutoland turned into a stagnant economy whose main activity consisted of deploying cheap labour to South Africa. Basutoland also became

dependent on South Africa for goods and services. Commerce was largely in the hands of South African traders. Manufacturing industries were virtually non-existent and, at the time of independence, the hope of creating an indigenous base for industrial development was limited. The Colonial regime concentrated more on administering the country and less on development-oriented activities.

External and internal factors propelled migrant workers from Basutoland into the South African labour market. Externally they were attracted by the relatively high wages that resulted from chronic shortages of labour outside the country. Internal forces, among them the hut tax, also stimulated migrant labour and commodity production. From 1872, the tax was paid entirely in cash rather than in kind. To obtain cash, the Basotho could either sell produce in the market or sell their labour. Cash was also required to buy imported commodities.

The period 1884 to 1966 witnessed the country declining from a prosperous granary in the region to an impoverished and underdeveloped labour reserve. Three related trends were visible in this process: (a) declining self-sufficiency; (b) increasing reliance upon labour migration; and (c) growing dependence on the South African economy. Bardill and Cobbe (1985) argue that the transformation of Lesotho from a net exporter of grain at the beginning of the twentieth century to a major net importer at the close of the century is illustrative of the loss of the country's agricultural self-sufficiency.

At independence in 1966, there was no infrastructure in Lesotho. Transport and communication systems necessary for providing access to resources and markets was poor. The country, with limited financial resources, had to rely on South African air and telecommunication services for its outward communications. The Lesotho government

adopted an ad hoc policy to attract foreign investment and aid for social and economic development. Under the auspices of the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC), the government of Lesotho offered private investors an abundant supply of cheap labour and generous tax concessions. Despite the effort, the level of capital investment attracted from South Africa and elsewhere proved very disappointing. The industrial and commercial sectors established succeeded in creating 600 new jobs between 1966 and 1970. Foreign aid received from Britain was used to balance the budget of the new elected government. The little surplus from aid was used mainly for infrastructure and agricultural projects in the lowlands, the already-disadvantaged mountain regions could not get anything (Jobs and Skills Program for Africa, 1979). Many economic analysts have described Lesotho as possessing a very limited natural resources base. Its deposits of diamonds and coal are not economically exploitable at present. Agriculture accounts for about 12 % of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) although it remains the main occupation of about two-thirds of the labour force working within the country. Remittances from Mining Industries workers in the RSA constituted 21 % of Gross National Product (GNP) in 1995. By 1995 The tertiary sector was the largest in the domestic economy, especially government services, wholesale, and retail, accounting for 45% of GDP. The construction sector has grown rapidly in recent years owing to a large degree to activities related to the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. The construction sector accounted for about 22% of GDP in 1993, increasing to 26% in 1994 and 27% in 1995 (Lesotho Ministry of Labour and Employment, 1996). By the end of the 1960s, it was clear that ad hoc economic policy making was inadequate, and the

government drew up the first of what were to be a series of five-year plans for economic development.

The first five-year development plan: 1970-75.

The first national development plan 1970/71-1974/75 (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970) had as a target the attainment of an average annual rate of growth of GDP of not less than 5 per cent. This target could not be attained because of a number of factors. First, the idea of a national development plan was new to the country and therefore used as an experiment for the later plans. Second, the plan was dominated by agricultural projects which required long lead-times for preparation. Third, Lesotho experienced disappointments in attracting foreign industrial and mining enterprises. This can be attributed to its geographical position within the already industrialized country of South Africa.

The second five-year development plan: 1975-80.

The second plan of 1975/76-1979/80 (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1975) was formulated to direct the country toward economic growth, social justice, creation of domestic employment and economic independence. The plan aimed for a 46 % increase in real Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and the employment within the country of about 30,000 workers. Another 30,000 were projected to be employed in the external labour market as migrant workers. Public investment was expected to be M80 million (local currency) and a capital program totalling M111.6 million was set forth to achieve the targets set.

The third five-year development plan: 1980-85.

The third development plan (1980/81-1984/85) (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1980) differed sharply from the previous years in that severe domestic financial constraints operated for the first time. The Government was forced to make difficult choices between competing claims on limited resources. This also restrained Lesotho's ability to implement aid-financed projects that involved domestic recurrent costs or counterpart capital contribution. The third development plan focused on reducing the country's vulnerability to external economic and political pressures by increasing domestic employment. The plan further concentrated on increasing social welfare and promoting social justice. During the plan period, the government intended to protect the land and water resources base. The government planned to ensure involvement and full participation by the community in national development.

During the second and third plans the Lesotho government received a substantial amount in foreign aid as reflected by the fact that over the second plan period donor aid increased from 13 million to 29 million local currency. International support contributed 59 % of the funding towards the development of the country whilst Government revenues provided 31 % and commercial loans 10 % (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1980).

The fourth five-year development plan: 1987-91.

During the fourth plan period of 1986/87-1990/91 (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1987) Lesotho participated in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and an adjustment program was put in place in 1988. The purpose of the adjustment program was to reduce Lesotho's macroeconomic vulnerability to exogenous shocks (World Bank, 1991).

The fifth five-year Plan: 1991-96.

The fifth Plan focused on poverty reduction, and it advocated policies to improve living standards through increased income, generated by growth and expansion of services. The Plan's target for growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 7% per year. Priority was given to agriculture and industry, the two economic sectors with the potential to increase the productive base of the economy. During the plan period, the real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth averaged 5.5%. Gross National Product (GNP) growth averaged only 2.1%. Poorer performance in leaner years was attributed to adverse weather conditions, whereas years that were more prosperous were a result of robust growth of real value-added in manufacturing, building and construction industries. Prosperity also was attributed to a turn-around in crop output, due to improved weather conditions during the Plan period (Ministry of Economic Planning, 1997). The rate of inflation moved into single digits in 1993/94, although it has increased to 9.5% recently, reflecting monetary pressures in the South African economy and the effects of recent drought in Lesotho. Gross domestic investment rose from roughly 2.9% of Gross National Product (GNP) in 1988/89 to around 5.1% in 1993/94. The increase is owed to the Lesotho Highland Water Project, and the expansion in manufacturing industry (Labour Market Information Report, 1996). The Lesotho Highland Water Project involves an agreement between the Republic of South Africa and Lesotho to export water from Lesotho's highlands to the interior of South Africa.

The plan's priorities well reflect significant changes taking place during this period. Broad political changes in Lesotho and South Africa in the early 1990s changed the political landscape of the southern Africa region. As noted above, Lesotho returned to

democratic government in 1993 after a period of 22 years. In 1994 South Africa saw the end of the apartheid government which was replaced by the democratically elected African National Congress (ANC) government. As King Letsie III observed later in the Ministry of Economic Planning documents in 1997:

The . . . newly found democracy in Lesotho and in its neighbour, the Republic of South Africa, offers new and expanding opportunities of healthy bilateral relations, which could lead to greater economic intergration. Maintenance of the rule of law, peace, stability, the observation of human rights and good governance provide a firm platform and a conducive environment for social and economic progress and for improvement of the quality of life of all Basotho (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997, p.vi).

It was in this spirit that the new democratic government set forth its policy direction:

The Government will continue to provide an appropriate and enabling environment, an essential condition for socio-economic development. Efforts will be made to maintain the current record of good governance, accountability and transparency. Transformation of the national economy compels the Government to continue its efforts to broaden participation of the private sector, individuals, communities and the rest of the civil society in economic development (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997, p.viii).

In relation to the achievement of the national goal of poverty reduction the Prime Minister stated:

Poverty reduction, sustainable human development and economic integration are accorded the highest priority. These principal themes provide the framework for policy direction in the development of national strategies. The plan seeks to address the national goals of poverty reduction, employment creation, equitable income distribution and managed population growth within a sustainable and growing economy. The ultimate aim is to improve the quality of life of all Basotho (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997, p.viii).

The fifth plan focused attention on the need for (a) institutional development to enhance production of goods and services and (2) improved management, especially in the public sector. Restructuring of the public service and quasi-governmental organizations was laid out in the plan. The plan also emphasized human capacity development, to enhance the technical and management capability of the public and private sector entrepreneurs and managers, who are responsible for the development and performance of the economy.

The sixth three-year development plan: 1997-99.

This three-year period of 1996/97-1998/99 (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997) is a departure from the previous five national development plans which covered five-year periods. It is the plan which was current at the time of data collections for the study. The theme of Sustainable Human Development (SHD) was adopted for this plan, and this is the focus of its policies, strategies and programmes. Projections of macro-economic variables that frame the sectoral programmes are compatible with the objectives underlying the plan (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997). The first strategy was sound macro-economic management achievable through a stable predictable macro environment as a basis for a strong and vibrant economy. The second strategy was commercialisation, privatisation and private sector development. The third strategy involved regional economic integration. Lesotho and other neighbouring states in Southern Africa, would benefit from economic cooperation and interaction.

The main feature of the sixth plan is its call for improvement in the effectiveness of public service as a key strategy. The plan's authors argue that lack of effectiveness in this sector had manifested itself in several ways:

- The lack of a coordinated approach to formulating and implementing sectoral programmes resulting in duplication and fragmentation;
- Excessive centralisation of political and administrative authority, such that even simple community programmes are administered by the central government;
- Insufficient use of committed donor funds. The government promises to put measures in place to improve public service by focusing on co-ordination, monitoring and supervision of assistance programmes. The civil service, through policy reforms, will shift from an administrative/procedural orientation towards an achievement/service orientation.
- Creating an enabling environment for the development of the semi-formal and informal sector which will lead to a reduction of unemployment is another strategy for the plan under consideration (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997).

This urging of improvements in the public service clearly implicates the education and training sector especially the effective provision of post-secondary education and training.

Summary and Comments

This chapter has laid out background information about the geography, demographics, politics and economy of Lesotho against which the findings of the study are eventually to be understood.

Lesotho, the former Basutoland, is a small, landlocked country situated entirely within South Africa. Since the country obtained independence in 1966, the population has grown steadily and now stands at about 2.2 million, of whom more than 10% at any given time work out of the country in South Africa. Political unrest over almost the entire period since independence has sometimes been exacerbated by violence and consequent reactionary measures and, according to some commentators, has acted as a brake on economic progress. Lesotho has limited natural resources and, although in the 1880 it was a net exporter of grain, by the time of independence it had lost much of its agricultural self-sufficiency and was little more than an impoverished labour reserve for the South African economy. Over the past thirty years, the Lesotho government has attempted to deal with economic issues through a series of five-year national development plans. At the present time agriculture accounts for about 12% of GDP and remittances from mining workers in South Africa for about twice that. The tertiary sector accounts for just under half of GDP and the construction sector contributes more than a quarter, largely thanks to the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, built to supply water to the interior of South Africa. Recent government analyses have pointed to the need for a more effective public service if improvements in Lesotho's economy are to be realised.

A number of key features emerge from this account which are relevant to any examination of the development of the country's post-secondary education and training development. These include at least the following:

- political unrest and the absence of a regularly elected administration,
- a history of colonial administration in which the development of economic self-sufficiency was seen as less important than smooth administration,

- an economy with limited natural resources and consequent lack of significant manufacturing capability,
- a fairly heavy dependence economically on two exports: water and labour
- public service which, by the government's analysis is over centralized and less effective than it needs to be.

In circumstances like these, the development of human resources is crucial if improvements are to be made. It is against this background that the next chapter examines in detail the development of the country's education and training system and the policies governing post-secondary education and training.

CHAPTER 5

LESOTHO'S EDUCATION POLICY: THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

In this chapter, I present a picture of Lesotho's policies on education and their effects as revealed through an examination of official policy documents. Each of the National Development Plans, as we have seen in Chapter 4, carried, more or less explicitly, implications for education. Flowing from these plans came a series of documents, some originating from Cabinet, some from the Ministry of Education, whose purpose was to analyse and propose policy for the education sector. It is largely on these documents that the chapter is based.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the origins of the present system and a description of its somewhat unusual demographics. The second section deals with the first two decades following independence. In a third section I discuss the period from 1987 to the present. Section four discusses the documentary evidence about the degree to which practice changed in accordance with policy pronouncements and the chapter concludes with a summary and comments about what emerge as key findings.

The Background: Educational History and Demography

Historically, formal education in Lesotho was a result of the undertaking of Christian missions, which came into the country as early as 1833. The great part of its history is the history of the three missionary bodies; namely, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) that arrived in Lesotho in 1833, the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) in 1862, and the Anglican Church Mission in 1876.

Lesotho has a much longer record of formal education than most African countries, though there is a concern that many countries in Africa are now overtaking the country in its record (Halpern 1965; Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, 1979).

More than a century ago missionary societies started formal education and continued to run most of primary and secondary education today. The 1976 Population Census in Lesotho reports that about 60 % of the population had attended school and about 57 % of the Basotho aged 10 and over had passed standard three or more of primary education (Jobs and Skills Program for Africa, 1979).

Female enrollment levels have always been impressive with over 94 % of girls aged 7-14 enrolled in schools. Generally, more female students than male students enrolled at all levels of the education system in Lesotho (The World Bank, 1991). With respect to post-secondary education, Rathgeber (1998, p. 1429) notes "in most of the developing countries women make up less than 50 % of the students enrolled in higher education programs. Lesotho is an important exception" where according to the World Bank (1994) enrollment of women is estimated at 63 %. Rathgeber further suggests that the larger enrollment of women in higher education has been attributed to the tendency for young men to leave Lesotho to work in South Africa (Rathgeber, 1998).

Graham-Brown has also pointed to the disparity between girls and boys in both Botswana and Lesotho:

In Botswana and Lesotho, girls outnumber boys at the lower end of the education spectrum, and even at secondary and university level the numbers of women are substantial, compared with most of neighbouring countries. This is historical trend due to the nature of the traditional cattle herding economy, where boys were educated by their 'elders' and modern education was therefore not much prized. The attraction for young men or migrant labour in the mining industry at

home and in South Africa have also discouraged them from staying on at school (Graham-Brown, 1991, p.58).

Despite the impressive historical record on education, at the time of political independence in 1966, education in Lesotho was inadequate in scope, in quantity, and in quality (Thelejani, 1990). Before independence, secondary and post secondary education focused on the training of people to work as either administrators to run the civil service or scientists and technicians. With the assistance of outside experts, educational policies were developed and modified in the series of five-year development plans discussed in the previous chapter. It is to these policies and the analyses that informed them that we now turn.

The First Two Decades: (1966-1986)

The first five-year national plan was written in the context of freedom from British rule:

The achievement of independence a few years ago was a turning point in our history; it has widened our national horizon and ensured the right of the nation to determine its own destiny. Economic and social development is now our next objective. The path to development is long and difficult. But we must follow it in order to improve our living conditions and create a better Lesotho for our children. Failing to achieve development means a continuation of the present conditions of poverty and unemployment, which may finally render our independence an empty and meaningless word (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970, p.xi).

This pronouncement provides a framework which can be used in establishing strategies for the achievement of social and economic development of a country. The government responded to the fact that at independence in 1966, the country was faced with two major problems, which education was assumed to be able to address. First, was the need to provide officials who could take over from the departing colonial

administrators. The second and more challenging issue was the long term problem of devising a system of education and training which would meet the challenges of the complex political, economic, social and cultural needs of the nation. It was, moreover, necessary to consider the problems in the context of the broader influences that directly affected the country. These influences included the geographical situation and the political and economic relations with neighbouring South Africa.

The assumption that Lesotho, being a small enclave within South Africa, would be more or less automatically developed as a result of the indirect influence of the strong expansionary forces in the neighbour economy has proved to be ill-founded. Lesotho remained insulated from the main stream of South African economic events. Rapid economic development in South Africa has not resulted in an expansion of the productive capacity in Lesotho; it only maintained the demand for Basotho labour force from South Africa firms, mainly mines (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970, p.xiii).

In the early 1970s, the government initiated major development targets to address the pressing issues of economic development and economic independence, hoping to attain the social and economic targets through education and training system. Investment in human capital through education in general and tertiary education and training in particular, was assumed to provide the skills required for social and economic development :

A country's population can indeed be its great asset or its worst liability, depending on the state of its education and training. Lesotho, a country poorly endowed with natural resources, has to rely heavily for its economic advancement on the development of its human resources and the formation of human capital. Promoting education and training, as a means of creating skills and aptitudes must therefore be a focal point in Lesotho's development strategy (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970, pp.28-29).

It is not therefore surprising to see that Government of Lesotho articulates the principal policy objectives of the First National Plan in the area of education as:

- (i) To gear requirements of manpower for economic development by lessening the academic bias of the system, and putting more emphasis on the teaching of science and mathematics...
- (ii) To improve the efficiency of the educational system in terms of number and the quality of its output and in relation to the money spent on it
- (iii) To use scholarships as a means of channeling individuals into those field of training needed for economic development.
- (iv) Through appropriate educational planning to strengthen Government control and supervision over all educational activities through appropriate educational planning (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970, p.164).

It is also not surprising, therefore, to see that the government begins to pronounce its intention to take necessary measures to coordinate and properly plan the development of the education system, hoping that such a system would generate the kind of workforce required for the economic advancement of the country. The justification for these measures was based on the fact that the current system was deemed to have a number of weaknesses inherited from colonial regime:

The present education system has many weaknesses. It is expensive and inefficient in terms of the money already invested in education and the number of pupils actually reaching and completing the final year of the secondary courses. Only 16% of pupils who start their primary education have been able to complete it, and only 10% have been able to pass the final primary examination. The content of education is also of traditional academic type and bears little relation to the development needs of the country. The teaching of science and mathematics is very weak. Furthermore, there has been little overall planning of the educational system so as to fit it to the country's needs for development (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970, p.161).

Lesotho hoped to achieve the objectives through several strategies. First, the government planned to expand secondary education and post-secondary education in a way that would relate teaching the higher level workers needs of the country. Second, the government planned to improve the training of teachers and the provision of basic resources for schools. Another strategy involved the establishment of the National Manpower Development Secretariat (NMDS) that came into effect in 1975. The NMDS was entrusted with the responsibility of coordinating human resources planning and administering scholarships for continuing education and training within and outside the country.

Despite the grand plan in the first five-year development plan, presented at the beginning of the 1970s, it was not until the mid-1970s that the government began to pay serious attention to the education sector, by increasing its political and financial commitments. Prior to that time, as noted above, education was the responsibility of the churches. They established and operated both primary and secondary schools as well as some of the post-secondary institutions with little supervision or direction from the state (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1980).

Towards the end of the 1970s, there was a growing frustration with the education system which was reflected in the National Education Dialogue in 1978 (Lesotho Ministry of Education, 1982). The recommendation was to undertake a comprehensive examination of the education and training system with the purpose of studying how it could contribute to social and economic development. In 1980 the Cabinet established the Education Sector Survey Task Force with the mandate to prepare a new policy document for education in the country.

In its report, issued in 1982, the Education Sector Survey Task Force stressed the need to strengthen and unify the uncoordinated effort of government, churches and communities in order to provide education and training that would be beneficial both to the individuals and the society as a whole.

Based on the Task Force implications, the government undertook its first comprehensive survey of the education sector with a view to identifying clear objectives for its development in relation to broad national development goals. The government identified three overarching objectives with regard to the education system for implementation during the 1980s:

- (a) to democratize access to education to the point where all "Basotho" children would be assured of at least primary schooling or its equivalent;
- (b) to ensure that educational programs reflected Lesotho's development requirements in particular with regard to the development of problem-solving skills, scientific and technical aptitudes and sociocultural values in conjunction with basic functional literacy; and
- (c) to equip sufficient numbers of individuals with appropriate occupational, technical and managerial skills to facilitate the country's socioeconomic development (Lesotho Ministry of Education, 1982).

Compared to the earlier initiatives, these objectives show an increased emphasis on democratization and access to education. Furthermore, the human resource development aspect is more fully developed, with the government making direct reference to vocational skill factors and the need to develop vocational sector within the education system.

These ideas were further developed in the third five-year National Plan: 1980-85 which, in addition to addressing previous issues, also focussed on new problems. Among other items,

primary education, particularly the implementation of remedial measures in Mathematics and Science were discussed.

At the secondary level technical and vocational education were stressed. The Government passed the Technical and Vocational Education Act in 1984 and established a department of Technical and Vocational Education and Training in the Ministry of Education which began to operate in 1987. The Department was responsible for (1) coordinating provision of technical and vocational education; and (2) advising the Ministry on matters of policy concerning development of technical and vocational education. A national advisory board with representatives from industry, international agencies, non-governmental organisations, some tertiary education institutions and government officials was also set up for supporting the Department in linking the supply of training with labour market requirements.

The vocational emphasis was also expressed with regard to higher education. At the university, where education traditionally had been focussing on liberal arts, the Plan proposed the establishment of faculties of engineering/technology, agriculture and health sciences and an expansion of enrollments in the field of sciences. These developments reflect the fuller development of the human capital strategy in Lesotho's policies on education and training.

As noted in Chapter 4, Lesotho has for a long time relied on the labour market in South Africa for employment of Basotho. The second five-year Development Plan (1975-80), in the second half of the 1970s, assumed that 30,000 new entrants into the labour market would be absorbed within the mining industry in South Africa (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1980). As the labour market opportunities for Basotho in South Africa worsened in the 1980s, the government's strategy was to try to reduce the country's vulnerability to external economic

dependency and unemployment pressures. The role of education and training therefore became crucial in providing the human resources "for the modernized local economy".

The link between modernization and skill formation was also promoted by the international donor agencies that played a crucial role during this first period of independence. The international community provided substantial resources for the development of technical and vocational skills. Most funds for education and training came from bilateral and multilateral donor agencies, including the World Bank which, in fact, played a dominant role. In 1987, foreign aid accounted for more than three-quarters of the expenditure on educational facilities, transport and technical assistance (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1992).

During the 1980s, other international organizations also contributed to education and training. The Federal Republic of Germany supported investments in technical and vocational education. The European Community acted both in training Basotho for skilled jobs particularly in the enormous Highland Water Development Project and in financing mathematics and science enrichment programs at the National University of Lesotho. The United Kingdom Overseas Development Administration supported the Faculty of Science at the National University of Lesotho. In addition the Irish Government provided support for industrial training and training of teachers responsible for teaching practical subjects at secondary level. The Africa Development Bank also supported a range of activities. It was anticipated that this generosity of the international community in support of education and training in Lesotho would be extended to the 1990s (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1992).

From 1987 to the Present

The increased links, during this period, between labour market requirements and education and training was, as Thelejani (1990, p.4) notes not broadly shared in the wider Lesotho society, even though it was clearly acknowledged in government documents:

As is true in the management of schools, the society itself still is conservative on the role of education. Despite talk about the importance of teaching practical skills, academic excellence is considered hallmark of an educated man. This attitude may be due to a lack of guidance and counselling and to the fact that the opportunities to which practical education may lead are not readily visible to the public (Thelejani, 1990, p.4).

The need to consider the economic aspect of education was further accentuated during the 1990s. The employment opportunities for Basotho in the South Africa's mining sector were declining, as evidenced by the stagnation of remittances earned through Basotho mining workers in the late 1980s.

In the past, South Africa absorbed many migrant workers, particularly labourers in the mining industry, but also skilled persons in the technical and teaching professions. Now this was no longer the case: increasingly skilled labour was taken into public service in Lesotho and, although the government was the largest employer of these skilled people, the number of openings was limited. Consequently, notwithstanding the fact that quasi-governmental organizations and the private sector employed a certain number of school leavers, the problem of unemployment has become critical in the country. Since the early 1990s, even University graduates have been severely under-employed or unemployed. This situation has impacted negatively on Lesotho's GNP growth with substantial consequences for the lack of improvement in quality of life among the people of Lesotho. Moreover, the economic situation was worsened by the rapid population

growth already illustrated in Table 4.1 in the previous chapter (Lesotho Ministry of Economic Planning, 1997).

It became obvious that sustained growth in Lesotho's GNP and quality of life would require the enhancement of labour productivity as well as job opportunities within the country; and the improved competitiveness of Basotho workers in the Southern Africa labour market. In turn, this implied the need for better educated, skilled and entrepreneurial work force which could only be created through a well-functioning education and training system. The Government advocated policies that would improve quality of life through income generation involving growth and expansion of services. Priority was given to the productive sectors of agriculture and industry which were assumed to contribute toward economic growth:

Over the next ten to twenty years Lesotho's modern economy will expand, based on the establishment of new industry and increased productivity and acreage in agriculture. This growth will be the basis of overall economic development in Lesotho, and will be dependent, in part, on the availability of skilled manpower (Lesotho Ministry of Education, 1992, p.4).

Policy documents highlight the role of education in achieving this goal:

The education system's response to this need will come through both formal and non-formal education. It should be noted that while formation of manpower may start with formal education, it does not end there. It is a continuous process, and the knowledge and skills acquired through work are as valuable as what can be earned in school or formal training. However, an education system that reflects realities of the world of work and production within its educational programme, can contribute a great deal to a nation's potential for economic and social development (Ministry of Education, 1992, p.4).

During the early 1990s, the Government of Lesotho, through the Ministry of Education and Training, initiated an ambitious policy of reforming the education system in the country. The policy was formulated through the Education Sector Development Plan of 1991/92-1995/96, which called for improvement of the management, quality and efficiency

of education. During this period, detailed implementation mechanisms were developed so that achievement could be measured and assessed at the end of the period. Five broad goals and policies for the system were articulated:

- a) everyone should be provided the opportunity to develop competencies necessary for personal growth and social life through the provision of universal primary education;
- b) sufficient numbers of individuals should be provided with appropriate occupational, technical and managerial skills to ensure the country's socioeconomic development;
- c) opportunities for continuing education should be provided through non-formal programmes in basic skills; agriculture, community development, vocational training programmes; and in-service education in industry, government and organizations;
- d) education programmes should incorporate cultural values and activities that enhance individual and social development; in particular, the role of the family and communities in school activities should be expanded;
- e) there should be active, cooperative partnership in education administration and management and the provision of education services between and among the churches, the government, the community and other non-government organizations (Lesotho Ministry of Education, 1992).

In order to implement the reform policy, the Government put forward a multi-tiered strategy that included:

- (i) revision of the education legislation in order to facilitate, among other things; participation in the management of education by all the stakeholders, including parents and communities;
- (ii) restructuring of the headquarters of the Ministry of Education to facilitate the process of decision-making;
- (iii) decentralisation of the educational management to the districts;

- (iv) improvement of management and resource use at school level, and,
- (v) improvement of teachers' conditions of service and the establishment of a career structure (Ministry of Education, 1992).

Three features distinguish these policy strategies from those of the 1980s: the focus on system, the emergence of tertiary education and the role envisaged for higher education. In giving more attention to the system of education and the need to increase efficiency and effectiveness the new strategy places management issues at the forefront of the policy discussions. It further emphasizes the need for an integrated master plan where major objectives can be prioritized on an annual basis. In this way the government hopes to consolidate and bring about effective co-ordination of diverse emphases and efforts of various ministries, non-governmental organizations and international agencies. It also recognizes the need to strengthen educational management not only at the central level but also at the district and the institutional levels. With respect to tertiary education and training, it should be noted that it appears now for the first time as a major policy concern in government policy documents, and not surprisingly it is promoted in the framework of economic modernization (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997, Ministry of Economic Planning, 1997).

Perhaps the major new focus is that of the role of post-secondary education and training for economic prosperity which is evident in documents and records from the period 1991 to 1996. To emphasize this direction, the Further and Higher Education (FHE) Inspectorate was established in the Ministry of Education. This unit was concerned with the operation of "the three principal post-secondary institutions"; namely, The National University of Lesotho (NUL), The National Teacher Training College

(NTTC) and Lerotholi Polytechnic (LP) (Ministry of Education, 1992). The proposition involved a much broader range of providers than was the case for the normal school inspectorate. In addition, the FHE Inspectorate was expected to liaise closely with the private sector. Taking into account the wide and varying fields associated with the activities and responsibilities of the Inspectorate, it would be required to:

- advise the Ministry of Education on the development of strategic policies for vocational, further and higher education;
- assist the Ministry to draw up priorities;
- set targets for individual establishments or areas or work, and assist with monitoring to ensure that appropriate service was being delivered; and
- promote effective liaison among institutions and between institutions and the Ministry.

The direct role of the FHE varied from one type of institution to another. On the one hand, it has the responsibility of inspecting technical and vocational schools on a regular basis. It also liaises with the secondary inspection teams when schools with technical subjects need to be inspected. On the other hand, there is no traditional inspection role required of FHE in relation to the National University of Lesotho. FHE has the responsibility to advise the Ministry with regards to the whole post-secondary sector and the University regarding priorities for higher education, and once national strategies have been determined, it would work with the University to assess their effectiveness. One of the important tasks of the FHE involves helping the Ministry to distribute financial resources among the various tertiary sector institutions. In this area, the FHE ensures that resources are deployed efficiently and that courses are delivered in a cost-effective manner possible.

Based on the assumption that further and higher education represented a major investment in human resource, it was, therefore, important that:

The university, the polytechnic and the teachers' training college should be producing the range of skills actually required by the national economy. The FHE inspectorate has, therefore, an important part to play in developing a national manpower policy. In this respect, the policy formulation role of the FHE inspectorate will be at least as important as its direct inspectorial function (Lesotho Ministry of Education, 1992, p.139).

The overall education sector plan associated with the fifth and sixth national development plans identified three central issues: improving quality, efficiency, and effectiveness of education. These issues focus on the provision of services to learners as clients that form a basis to inform policy and education planning. The plan further emphasised the right of clients to access education and training for the realization of their full potential (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997).

Towards the end of the fifth plan period the Ministry of Education initiated an Impact Assessment Study. The study (Ministry of Education, 1996) showed that, while much had been accomplished during the first half of the 1990s, several long term goals remained to be achieved. These were addressed in the sector plan for the period 1998-2001.

The Ministry of Education Development Sector Plan (1998-2001) targeted three areas for funding priority: Primary Education, Technical and Vocational Education and Non-Formal Education (Ministry of Education, 1997). These three areas have been considered to be critical for many reasons but two were considered primary. The first was that these are the levels that provide basic skills for survival and further development. The second reason was that they reach the majority of the poor and the disadvantaged and therefore have direct bearing on poverty reduction. By selecting these areas for special attention, the Ministry of Education would achieve two simultaneous purposes: (a) it would contribute considerably to

the national campaign of poverty alleviation which had been recently adopted by the government and (b) it would continue to implement its strategy of reforming the educational system.

The vision for the education sector for the year 2000 entails providing access to and completion of at least primary education to all Basotho children within the age bracket of 6 - 12 years. For those who are above this age but have not received or attained primary level education, informal education will be provided, with emphasis not only on basic literacy, but also on skills that would make them competitive in the labour market. An efficiently planned and effectively executed primary education programme, involving the active and direct participation of all stakeholders, would have a positive impact on the secondary and tertiary education system.

The government planned to achieve these objectives by increases in the education budget spread over the fiscal years of the plan and by establishing four policy directions. The first of these was for a rationalization of local resource allocation by giving the highest priority to primary education in order to address the weaknesses in its quality. The second policy direction was a focus on the development and upgrading of technical and vocational training by involving the business community in curriculum design and skills testing as well as in the provision of tertiary education. The overall purpose was to contribute to filling the requirements of business and industry for a trained workers in various economic spheres.

The third policy direction was to improve the quality and efficiency of formal education at all levels and higher education in particular. The strategy was recommended for its potential to increase the cost-effectiveness of higher education institutions through the development of activities that would generate revenue to supplement operational budgets

provided by the government and thereby enable the redeployment of financial resources to other areas.

The fourth policy direction was to improve the management of education. The government is to play a leading role in creating an enabling environment for private bodies and organizations to provide education and training in the country. The assumption is that this will improve the Ministry of Education's capacity to monitor and evaluate education and training in the country. Further, it has the potential to enhance the involvement of all stakeholders in the effective provision of education and training, thus improving the management of educational institutions (Ministry of Economic Planning, 1997). The need to include stakeholders in planning processes had already been expressed in 1997 by the then Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle:

Transformation of the national economy compels the Government to continue its efforts to broaden participation of the private sector, individuals, communities and the rest of the civil society in economic development (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997, p.viii).

The government hopes to sustain the strategy through the availability of well-trained workers and through its commitment to promote community participation in development and management activities related to education and training. A related advantage would be some democratization of the education system through the establishment of well-organized and effective local government structures. Funding for the implementation of this strategy would be solicited from international community for a short term period.

Policy and Practice

The preceding review of the development of government policy for education since independence shows clearly that serious and planned policy making was being undertaken and that this policy making was responsive both to conditions in Lesotho and to changes in the external environment. What it does not show is the extent to which practice changed as a result of these policy initiatives. It is to the documentary evidence on that question that I now turn.

One important indicator of the degree to which plans for educational reform were implemented is provided by an analysis of expenditures. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide relevant data for two periods: 1970-1975 and 1990-2000. Table 5.1 shows the expenditures on education as a percentage of the total national expenditures. Table 5.2 shows the percentage change in both total and educational expenditures. In both tables the figures up to 1995 are actual expenditures and for 1996-2000 budgeted expenditures.

It is clear that in both periods the proportion of total expenditures taken up by education increases every year except in 1994-95. Two patterns seem to emerge. First, a major shift in education expenditures occurs in 1972-73, when they jump to double the proportion of the previous year and remain in excess of 35% for the next two years. Second, the proportion of expenditures represented by education in the 1990s never reaches that high point of 1974-75, but is more even, and the increases are more steady. In this second period the percentage for education stands at between 25% and 30%. The data in Table 5.2 show a picture which reflects the data in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Recurrent Expenditure on Education (in Maluti): 1970-75 and 1990-2000

Year	Total Recurrent Expenditure	Education Recurrent Expenditure	Education Expenditure as % of Total Expenditure
1970/71	256,000	20,000	7.8
1971/72	748,000	128,400	17.2
1972/73	1,173,000	416,100	35.5
1973/74	1,413,000	526,050	37.2
1974/75	1,647,000	652,500	39.6
1990-91	467,700,000	81,230,520	17.4
1991-92	573,000,000	144,490,690	25.2
1992-93	595,416,230	159,665,870	26.8
1993-94	713,506,490	192,060,560	26.9
1994-95	882,055,440	230,180,640	26.1
1995-96	994,100,000	271,500,000	27.3
1996-97	1,118,100,000	309,900,000	27.8
1997-98	1,435,400,000	413,400,000	28.8
1998-99	1,533,500,000	454,100,000	29.6
1999-00	1,635,800,000	497,600,000	30.4

Note: Actual Expenditures, 1970-1975 and 1990-1995 and Budgeted Expenditures, 1995-2000

Source: World Bank, 1975; Commonwealth Higher Education Management Service, 1994

However, the important point to note here is that the increase in education expenditures in both periods has always been greater than the increase in total expenditures, again with the single exception of the year 1994-95.

Table 5.2 Changes in Total Lesotho Expenditures and Education Expenditures (in Maluti): 1970-1975 and 1990-2000

Year	Total Recurrent Expenditure	Change (%)	Education Recurrent Expenditure	Change (%)
1970/71	256,000	--	20,000	--
1971/72	748,000	192.0	128,400	542.0
1972/73	1,173,000	56.8	416,100	224.0
1973/74	1,413,000	20.5	526,050	26.4
1974/75	1,647,000	16.6	652,500	24.0
1990-91	467,700,000		81,230,520	
1991-92	573,000,000	22.5	144,490,690	77.9
1992-93	595,416,230	3.9	159,665,870	10.5
1993-94	713,506,490	19.8	192,060,560	20.3
1994-95	882,055,440	23.6	230,180,640	19.8
1995-96	994,100,000	12.7	271,500,000	18.0
1996-97	1,118,100,000	12.5	309,900,000	14.1
1997-98	1,435,400,000	28.4	413,400,000	33.4
1998-99	1,533,500,000	6.8	454,100,000	9.8
1999-00	1,635,800,000	6.7	497,600,000	9.6

Note: Actual Expenditures, 1970-1975 and 1990-1995 and Budgeted Expenditures, 1996-2000

Source: World Bank, 1975; Commonwealth Higher Education Management Service, 1994

A second indicator of the extent to which policy decisions for educational expansion were implemented is the size of educational enrollments over time. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show the country's educational enrollments at five year intervals from 1980 to 1995. Table 5.3 shows the raw data and Table 5.4 shows the average annual rate of increase for each level of the system.

With the exception of enrollments at the National Teacher Training College, which dropped between 1985 and 1995, all other sectors showed increased enrollments. Over the entire 15-year period, total enrollments increased by 61.3%. This overall figure

masks some much greater sectoral increases, of which the highest are: 127.3% in secondary and 101.1% at the National University of Lesotho.

Table 5.3 Educational Enrollment by Level, 1980-1995

Education Level	1980	1985	1990	1995	Change, 1980-1995 (%)
Primary Education	244,327	314,003	351,652	378,011	54.7
Secondary Education.	23,355	35,423	45,064	53,086	127.3
Post-Secondary Technical and Vocational Education	1,236	1,263	1,560	1,623	31.3
National Teacher Training College	0	924	658	759	-17.9
National University of Lesotho	995	1,119	1,360	2,001	101.1
Total Enrollment	269,913	352,732	400,294	435,480	61.3

Source: World Bank, 1991 p.63. Ministry of Education, 1996.

Examined in five-year intervals (Table 5.4), the rates of increase in primary and secondary enrollments are greatest from 1980 to 1985, showing increases of 5.7 and 10.3 per cent respectively. It is to be noted that the Lesotho population increase at this time was in the range of 2.6% to 3.6 % (c.f. Table 4.1 in the previous chapter). The period 1985 to 1990 shows average enrollment increases of 4.7% in Technical and Vocational Education and 4.3% at the National University of Lesotho. In the last five year period (1990-95) it is the University which, at a 9.5% average annual increase, has the greatest increase in enrollment.

Encouraging and facilitating these enrolment increases were a number of direct initiatives. The 1970s saw the establishment of a number of new post-secondary and training institutions. The creation of the National Manpower Development Secretariat

Table 5.4 Average Annual Change in Educational Enrollment by Level, 1980-1995

Year	Primary	Change (%)*	Secondary	Change (%)*	Tech. & Voc	Change (%)*	NTTC	Change (%)*	NUL	Change (%)*
1980	244,327		23,355		1,236				995	
1985	314,003	5.7	35,423	10.3	1,263	0.4	924		1,119	2.5
1990	351,652	2.4	45,064	5.4	1,560	4.7	658	-5.8	1,360	4.3
1995	378,011	1.5	53,086	3.6	1,623	0.8	759	3.1	2,001	9.4

* Change is shown as the percentage change from one period to the next divided by 5 to yield an average annual figure.

provided a mechanism for sponsoring students both within and outside Lesotho. As noted in the previous chapter, international donor agencies participated to a considerable extent in providing financial support for this human development focus.

The Ministry of Education has, as evidenced by a number of Acts, commission reports, orders, rules and regulations (National Manpower Development Council Act No.8, 1978; Loan Bursary Fund Regulations, 1978; Ministry of Education Annual Report: 1988/89, 1989; Ministry of Education Annual Reports for 1990/91, 1991; Education Act No. 10, 1995; Setsabi, Matsela and Hlasa, 1998; Ministry of Education Report, 1999) been involved in the direct implementation of selective elements of the nation's education reform policies. The key strategies for implementation have included policies of grant-in-aid funding of schools, highly subsidised or free tuition, particularly for primary and secondary schooling, the introduction of revolving funds through textbook purchase, increased loan bursaries for tertiary education and training within and outside the country, and the decentralization of education and training management in the districts.

Further strategies included improved mechanisms for the co-ordination of scholarships for post secondary education, and the introduction of study leaves with pay

to employees returning to further education. In the area of the provision of tertiary education and training and non-formal education, government implementation strategies have generally involved: (a) the articulation of proposals for external funding with international agencies, (b) the introduction of a Needs Assessment Training Survey to improving training within the country, (c) continuing political commitment to management training for the southern Africa region, and (d) commissioned reviews for the improvement of higher education in the country.

In comparing the present situation with the educational scene before independence, it is clear that there have been impressive achievements. However, a small number of caveats need to be noted. The Ministry of Economic Planning has observed that the statistics for education are more impressive with respect to quantity than quality. It notes that, although the number of secondary schools increased by 82% in the 1980s, the pupil-teacher ratio had gone up from 21:1 to 23:1. The Ministry notes particularly that at all levels, the growth in enrollments has not been matched by an improvement in educational facilities sufficient to lead to improvements in the quality of learning and teaching (Lesotho Ministry of Economic Planning, 1997).

Some further evidence on the negative side is provided by Thelejani. Writing in 1990, Thelejani notes that enrollment growth and the growth in the number of schools were in fact slower than had been anticipated during the first two decades after independence. He also records what he calls a high "push out" rate, resulting in only 14% of primary students continuing to secondary schools and he points also to the problem of the lack of employment opportunities for school leavers. In addition, Lesotho has not been able to achieve universal primary education. A final observation is related to this

problem: Lesotho, argues Thelejani, has failed to produce entrepreneurs ready to be involved in the creation of work, especially in small and medium scale enterprises involving non-agricultural activities (Thelejani, 1990).

Summary and Comment

Missionary societies have provided education in Lesotho since 1833 and as a consequence, the country has a longer history of education than many other African countries. It also has an unusual educational demographic in that proportionally more female students are enrolled at all levels than in any other similar country.

The situation at independence in 1966, however, was not educationally well advanced. Development of the education system to meet the social and economic needs of the country was seen as both necessary and urgent. Tied to the series of five-year development plans which began in 1970, a sequence of education reforms was begun. These reform policies articulated the need for a system of education that would include universal primary education, a massive development of secondary education, the development of new institutions for tertiary education and training in a variety of special fields and major expansion of the National University of Lesotho.

Statistics over the period show the achievement between 1980 and 1995 of an overall increase in enrollment across all levels of 61.3%. Within that total are increases of 127% in secondary education, 101% at the National University of Lesotho, 54.7% in primary education and 31.3% in technical and vocational education. Commensurate increases have also been documented in educational spending, both in the absolute figures for expenditure on education and as a proportion of the total national

expenditures. These impressive gains notwithstanding, some documented problems remain. There are some claims that gains in quantity have not been matched by gains in the quality of the system. Facilities development has lagged behind enrollment growth. There appear to be inadequate opportunities for employment for those leaving the education system.

A number of key features emerge from this account relevant to the purpose of the present study. These include at least the following:

- an overall rate of growth in the education sector which greatly exceeds the rate of population growth;
- growth rates in primary and secondary education which seem to reflect the government's priorities as outlined in national development plans and the associated educational planning documents;
- a very high growth rate in enrollments at the National University of Lesotho;
- growth rates in the tertiary technical and vocational sector, which exceed population growth rates only in the period 1985-1990, and are in all periods markedly lower than those in other sectors of education;
- declared policy intents based on the need to accelerate economic growth through education as investment in human capital, but an apparent lack of employment opportunities for those completing their education;
- a lack of explicit recognition in policy documents of Lesotho's uniquely high female enrolment in education.

Against this background of the official articulation of Lesotho's education reform policies, the next chapter examines the views of key actors in the system.

CHAPTER 6

ISSUES AFFECTING LESOTHO'S EDUCATION POLICY: THE VIEWS OF KEY ACTORS

This chapter deals with the views of the 28 respondents in the interviews, which I conducted in the period from November 1998 to January 1999. Where appropriate in this chapter I quote respondents exactly to ensure that their voices are present. Because all respondents were given assurances of confidentiality, individuals who are quoted are identified by the alphanumeric code assigned to each respondent. Codes consist of two-letter group identification followed by a single digit and one or more additional digits with a period interspersed. Thus, for example, the code EP6.4.2 identifies one individual in the group coded as EP. Codes beginning with the letters MP identify respondents from the three government ministries (Education, Labour & Employment, and Economic Planning). I refer to these respondents collectively as ministerial-officials. Codes beginning with the letters EP are used for respondents from post-secondary institutions and I refer to these people as institutional administrators. Codes beginning with BP, LP or NP signify that the respondent is from the group representing Corporations, Unions and NGOs.

As noted in Chapter 3, the three interview schedules were constructed slightly differently in order to ensure that the particular expertise of each group of respondents could be tapped. However, as also noted in the earlier chapter, the analysis was able to identify themes and issues emerging across all groups. It is these issues and the respondents' views on the extent to which they constrain or enhance the provision of

post-secondary education and training, which form the substance of the present chapter.

The chapter is in three sections. The first section deals with macro level issues and the second with issues arising at the level of institutional operation. The final section of the chapter provides a summary and comments.

Macro Level Issues

Three categories of issues at a macro level were identified as important in the responses of interviewees. These are the overall economic conditions of the country, international influences and issues of overall policy formation.

Overall Economic Conditions

All respondents made reference to the overall economic conditions of Lesotho as the context within which educational policies must be designed and implemented. Those conditions have been described in Chapter 4 and do not need repeating here, but four issues emerged as important for all respondents. These are (a) the lack of financial resources, (b) the high degree of government involvement and the smallness of the private-sector, (c) the limitations of Lesotho's formal labour market, and (d) Lesotho's dependency, particularly on South Africa and foreign institutions. A fifth issue, that of indifferent management capability was important to some, but not all respondents.

The lack of financial resources.

The lack of adequate financial support is identified as a significant constraint in the provision of post-secondary education and training. All respondents, including ministerial

officials, consider the financial resources allocated to be ineffective in meeting the requirements for human resources development. Ministerial officials discuss the problem as an aspect of the resources available to the country in general. As one of them said:

The government is not able to finance all students who otherwise would benefit from tertiary education and training. As indeed I have indicated before that we are assisted by selection procedure of the various institutions whereby many will become dropouts because they do not satisfy entrance requirements. Another most important constraint is lack of facilities which has led to the so-called migrant education and migrant students. People now go to South Africa for further education and if they do, even in that area, we still have a financial constraint. We cannot sponsor as many qualified students as we have. That is a major problem (MP7.1).

One consequence of the financial situation is that innovations in tertiary institutions may stall on financial grounds. For example, a proposal under discussion at the time of data collection would see the National Health Training Centre merged with the National University of Lesotho. One ministerial official is sceptical about it:

There is also a thinking that the National Health Training Centre (NHTC) and one Faculty at the National University of Lesotho are going to merge. I understand the reason behind is that time is overdue that the University should provide courses on health science. I am not sure, whether it will work or not because as I look through the proposal, the budget required to run the [present] program is M 5,000,000. On merging with the University, it will require M 16,000,000. I do not think the government will be in a hurry to implement such an expensive venture. . . . It has to go through many levels before we can think of introducing or establishing a department or a faculty of health. It is just not on. I do not think that it is feasible, taking into account the level of economy, to run such an institution (MP7.5).

The lack of financial resources affects the implementation of policies calling for improvements in technical and vocational education and training. Attempts to achieve the intended policy objectives in this area proved to be very expensive and yielded disappointing results. One institutional administrator comments:

I want to talk about technical education whose biggest constraint is funding. This is a very expensive exercise because it uses the real material, which is usually very expensive. The second constraint is the rapid change of technology. The equipment that we use becomes obsolete within a period of 5 to 10 years. In order to buy new equipment we need a lot of money. Then another major constraint is the remuneration of staff. The type of personnel we need is quite scarce. It is not like any other profession where you would find graduates from the National University of Lesotho ready to be absorbed as is the case with lawyers for example (EP6.4.1).

The view that resources are inadequate is not confined only to those who provide technical and vocational training. Institutional administrators in general and representatives of local NGOs and labour movements blame the problem of limited financial resources on the government bureaucracy. To them, the problem appears to be inadequate commitment to the provision of tertiary education and training on the part of policy makers and bureaucrats within the government. They argue that their institutions need more resources. They consider it essential that the government pays more attention to their needs and requirements as it makes its budget allocations to various departments. Ministry officials, however, do not see this as a possibility. As one ministry respondent said, discussing the provision of the training programs required for social and economic development:

They are very few indeed, because we do not have enough resources in our budget particularly for training of this nature. You will find that we still run one or two courses a year besides the ones at NSTC. . . . We have limited capacity in terms of financial resources (MP2.2).

The prevalence of government.

As noted in Chapter 4, the government is the largest employer of educated workers followed by a small private sector consisting of medium scale corporations and semi-

government businesses. In chapter 5 we noted evidence that the government controls education and training at all levels. The interview data confirm this situation and suggest some of its consequences. As one ministerial official said:

The problem in Lesotho is that most activities are based within the public sector. Thus [the discussion] tends to be clouded with the problems of the public sector efficiency or inefficiency (LP3.1).

Apart from questions of public sector efficiency or inefficiency, there are seen to be other negative consequences of the government's predominance in the economy—reduced tax revenues, government involvement in enterprises that might be better run by the private sector, minimal investment in research and development and the absence of influence from non-governmental sources. Quotations from both ministerial and union officials describe these consequences:

... the problem is the fact that the country is poor and does not have any resources to tap from. Unlike in other countries where taxes are able to finance social institutions such as Botswana and South Africa, with established mining industries, which are run as a private sector. Another problem in Lesotho is that the government is greatly involved in businesses through the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC). I still believe that once the government can [stop its involvement in] businesses there will be a lot of money that can be accumulated through payment of taxes by the private sector (MP3.1).

We have a very small private sector, which is not yet willing to finance efforts in research and development. Even those organizations, which are semi-autonomous, still have some attachment to public operations. [This is] unlike other countries where the private sector is a living agency ... willing to put [resources] into research and development. For instance, the Lesotho Chamber of Commerce is crying to be financed by the Government therefore it will not be possible for it to put money into research and development because it is not able to sustain its operations. (LP3.1).

The trade unions operational in Lesotho have a long way to go. We do not yet have the calibre of unions, which are in a position to challenge any

system in the country. The reason is that Lesotho is not industrialized. It does not have large enterprises, as is the case with South Africa where labour movements constitute millions of people. For example, COSATU is one trade union in South Africa, which alone exceeds by far in numbers the population of Lesotho. It is difficult in this country for unions to have strong influence in any change to which we aspire. (LP3.3).

The formal labour market.

This relatively low presence of labour unions in Lesotho can also be considered a feature of the formal labour market. As indicated in chapter 4, the limitations of the formal labour market in Lesotho, have led to the majority of the workers resorting to self-employment through formal and informal sectors. The situation is also associated with constraints in achieving the goal of acceleration of social and economic development through investment in human capital. As one of the representatives of non-governmental organizations observes, the situation has a constraining effect on the provision of tertiary education and training:

[T]he Lesotho Opportunities Industrial Centre (LOIC) has good facilities for training but as soon as graduates complete their training they will have no resources to start their own jobs because of general economic situation of the country. They are forced to accept employment in other industries yet they have been trained to be self-employed. The institutions are not able to provide seed capital for their graduates for generation of employment, which originally was the main purpose of establishing such institutions (NP2.1).

Nor is it now so likely as it once was that the South African labour market can be a source of jobs for qualified graduates from Lesotho, particularly for skilled or educated workers. An institutional administrator notes:

It seems South Africa now have their own people, they are telling Basotho that they can consider them if there is absolutely no South African they can take. For example, I know of a young man who has finished a diploma in

Human Resource program at the University of Cape Town. He has the highest mark in the program but he is a Mosotho. He got an average of 80 % and competed with South Africans who passed with an average of 45 % who were offered the jobs regardless of the fact that this young man from Lesotho has done best. I believe we will not have the same brain drain we used to experience because South Africa is increasingly educating people who can fill the jobs that used to be taken by the Basotho. What I see is that Lesotho will have more people highly qualified without jobs unless human resource planning emerges from somewhere (EP6.5.2).

Lesotho and South Africa.

It is clear that economic relationships between Lesotho and South Africa are crucial to an understanding of Lesotho's economy, and comments about the relationship with South Africa were frequent in the interviews. As we saw in Chapter 4, this relationship is one of dependence, although political changes in both countries in the 1990s have altered this to some extent with respect to education and training. Perhaps because of this, there is some variation in the views expressed by the respondents.

One of the consequences of this dependence is the out-migration of students to the institutions of higher learning in South Africa. One ministry official is very clear on this and on the reason for it:

There are few tertiary institutions registered with the Ministry of Education in Lesotho that provide education and training to the large numbers of post secondary education students. Many students receive admission in the South African universities, colleges and technikons because of the shortage of facilities in Lesotho. The government of Lesotho does not have immediate plans to address the situation. (MP7.3).

A colleague of this respondent agrees about the existence of student out-migration, but seems to disagree about the possibility of the government's responding to it:

Now the government realizes that many "Basotho" youth are crossing over to South Africa to attend "technikons" and universities, sometime at great cost to parents and the government as a whole. Therefore, the government has just started to think about trying to set up a college or a high profile institute,

which would provide both technical and academic programs. We want to do what South African technikons do by providing our high school youths with education that leads them to acquiring skills that will make them employable (MP 7.1).

What is not clear is whether it is entirely beneficial for Lesotho to develop its own institutions. Some respondents felt that collaboration and partnership with educational institutions in South Africa was cost-effective for a country as poorly endowed as Lesotho. They argue that in some areas Lesotho needs to take advantage of the structures that already exist in the neighbouring countries rather than reinventing the wheel. A respondent from the Corporate sector comments:

You also notice that Lesotho is in a peculiar situation where sometimes it is not economic to establish our own institutions but to use facilities that are already existing in South Africa or elsewhere. For example, there have been some studies, which found that it was cheaper to train outside the country in the area of engineering rather than to establish an engineering department at the National University of Lesotho (BP1).

However, it is possible to make arrangements which, while using foreign institutions, also allow the development of institutions at home. A ministry official describes an arrangement resulting from the political changes in the 1990s:

The centre I said was called "Ntlatso Skill Training Center" operating in the Maseru's Hoek district, was originally established with the help of the Government of South Africa through a similar institution in Bloemfontein. Initially, they would send their instructors to come and conduct training at the center. Even today, they still offer us up to 50 positions in their institution for training of our people in sewing (MP2.1).

There are also advantages other than staffing benefits. The accreditation of post-secondary institutions in Lesotho is not always easy. A system of affiliation has been established for some smaller institutions with the National University of Lesotho in those

academic areas that the university offers. However, some institutions do not benefit from this system because the university does not offer anything relevant to their programs.

What the government is able to do for these institutions is to encourage the formation of partnerships with similar institutions in South Africa. A ministry official speaks of such arrangements:

... we have been able to influence decisions on how some of the institutional programs should be run. For example, if students with a diploma from Lerotholi Polytechnic go to South Africa for a degree program, they are required to do a three-year national diploma in South Africa. We insisted that Lerotholi Polytechnic should link with at least one technikon or a university in South Africa. The arrangements are still under way with the Vaal Technikon and the University of Natal. From their accreditation, we shall be able to take advantage of our students who upon completion of a diploma at the Lerotholi Polytechnic will be directly admitted at one of the institutions for a degree in engineering. This is a new arrangement (MP3.3).

This official went on to note that such new arrangements may not always be accepted smoothly by local institutions. For some institutions, they recalled the 1980s brain drain that affected educational institutions in general. The ministry was not impressed by such fears in the new climate created by political changes in South Africa and the economic integration of southern African countries including Lesotho. Enhanced tertiary education and training facilities for development of human resources were required to take advantage of this new climate:

The second example was when we were approached to assist the National Health Training College for sponsorship of their students. We insisted that they also should work hard toward linking up with South African institutions of higher learning for accreditation. This has not been easy to agree upon. There were a number of issues to consider. Among other things, they were concerned about losing their staff to South Africa. However, the Department has a different reaction to the problem of losing staff and to the issue of retaining people who are skilled. First, we work from the premise that we do not own human beings. Second, in retaining our people, we need

to be realistic in looking into the problems that make them leave us and try to address those problems (MP3.3).

Such new developments, particularly in the second half of the 1990s, have been extended to other levels of education and training. Institutions now have a variety of resources from which they can choose within Lesotho as well as outside it. A different ministry official notes:

In most cases, we draw resource persons from one institute in Bloemfontein, in South Africa who for a long time has helped us with instructors and financial support for running our courses. We have very strong relations with them. You will remember they assisted us in establishing the National Skills Training Centre. However, this does not mean that other institutions in the country do not have similar expertise. For example, we can draw expertise from Lerotoli Polytechnic and other related institutions offering technical and vocational training programs in the country. It is just because we have established relationship with this institution in Bloemfontein (MP2.2).

Indifferent management capability.

The preceding extracts from the interviews show most ministry officials as speaking of examples of successful innovation. When they speak of problems, they tend to attribute them to the peculiar geographic and economic circumstances of Lesotho. Some officials, however, and most of the institutional administrators and representatives of business, labour and NGOs place the blame on the government's inability to make appropriate decisions. They refer to poor management, lack of state commitment and failure to attract international investment for increased productivity. They also point to a disparity between policy and practice. While government policies assign a considerable degree of importance to investment in human resources through post secondary education and training, some respondents claim that limited financial resources have been allocated

to this sector and that too little attention has been given to the need for enhancing management capability. One institutional administrator expresses this forcefully:

I think we have made a mistake of not training people to know how to manage resources in this country - material resources, time resources or human resources. I think the biggest failure in this country lies in management. Really I feel that we have a huge roadway because resources are there but we do not manage them in our best interest. This I must also admit it is not just a disease eating up Lesotho alone but is an African disease. I think Africa in general manages resources badly (EP6.3).

International Influences

As noted in Chapter 5, a variety of international organisations dominated the financial support of education and training in Lesotho in the second half of 1980s and the first half of the 1990s. International organisations worked in collaboration with the government in providing both technical and financial support to educational institutions, local non-governmental organisations, labour movements and business and industry for both institutional and human capacity building. A different kind of international influence is emerging more recently, namely the arrival in Lesotho of foreign educational institutions. In the following paragraphs I deal first with effects of international aid agencies and second with the emergence of foreign institutions in Lesotho.

International organizations and financial aid.

In many ways, the value of the contributions from international agencies was indisputable and direct. The experience of one institutional administrator testifies to this:

We cannot take all the qualified students . . . due to financial constraints and physical facilities. In fact, we have had to put aside what we used to call mature age entry program. [Now] for Science we have seen the light at the end of the tunnel in the sense that the World Bank has provided a new

science building. With the new building, we can now increase our B.Sc. qualified entrants from 130 that we could take (EP6.2).

International development agencies have also become prominent actors world wide in conducting education sector studies. The degree of their involvement varies widely, depending on the interest in the particular country and sometimes in accordance with the country's specific needs. Several factors contribute to the expanded role of these organisations in commissioning and conducting these studies, including the fact that research results of this nature have become the primary warrant for aid allocation. Another feature of the externally initiated sector studies is that agencies seek to provide policy advice in addition to funds, particularly in contexts of financial crisis and adjustment. As one example of this, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with the support it introduced in 1988 dictated what programs Lesotho should embark on. IMF policies focused on the reduction of government intervention, the encouragement of private initiatives and the promotion of exports but did not take into account investment in human capital which was a declared government intent.

It is this last point which provides a clue to the clearest sense of what the respondents had to say on the subject of international aid to Lesotho. While they all acknowledged the importance of the contributions from the international community, they spoke at length of the problems associated with those contributions. Three kinds of issues emerged: the ignoring of Lesotho's own priorities, the devaluing of local knowledge and expertise, and the creation of some internal divisions.

A ministerial official reflects on the way money was poured into Lesotho and the effects of the government's accepting of it:

I think we were spoilt during the period when South Africa was under apartheid rule. Industrialised countries sympathised with us by “pouring monies” into the country and we have heavily relied on foreign aid more than on our resources. This is also reflected in our development plans. For example, there was a time when the government realised that it was in trouble concerning financing of its own activities. Government officials . . . indicated that the government of Lesotho would not be able to finance any project which did not have donor funding. What does that mean to a country? In this way, our priorities have been severely compromised because we have depended on donor funding (MP3.2).

The same official speaks on the same theme, this time with regard to the administration of scholarships funded by aid from developed countries:

[T]he manner in which scholarships are administered is haphazard and mainly donor-driven. The donor agencies who invest their money in education and training always state the areas in which to train which is sometimes irrelevant to the needs of this country. Donors . . . always instruct us to comply with their expectations based on what they claim to be their country’s taxpayers’ money. Hence they dictate the areas in which we spend the money. In most cases, their interests have nothing to do with our country’s priorities. (MP3.2).

The dependence on international support for education and training was exacerbated by the financial crisis, which threatened higher education in the 1980s. As a consequence of the crisis, there were few local resources for researchers in post-secondary institutions to undertake major studies. Some commentators consider that one effect of international support was to lead authorities in Lesotho to devalue local knowledge and expertise by giving first preference to international experts in areas where local researchers had some strength. One of the institutional administrators shares his experience with regard to this issue:

Recently there was a need for consultancy in curriculum development specifically in the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC). It so happened that the NCDC got in touch with the Wits University (University of Witwatersrand) in South Africa to do curriculum for their staff in Lesotho. [Then] LES decided not to go ahead with the project because the key person

who was supposed to direct [it] left the institution. NCDC finally came to us to ask if we could be of assistance to them in their problem. . . . There was no comparison between what we did and the Wits proposal. The LES proposal was . . . one page and we came up with a proposal of 20 pages. I am not saying ours was of higher quality than what Wits planned to do. However, I mean our proposal was more comprehensive and intended to train more staff at a lower cost locally. What I am saying is that preference is always given to foreigners and this is done by our own people (EP6.5.1).

This situation is recognised by ministerial officials as well as institutional administrators. These ministerial officials also recognise that the need for outside funding puts constraints on their decision making:

Normally when we make our budgets, we have a line for research and consultancy included as part of our annual plan. However, we [then] go back to the donors to finance our research and consultancy. Once donor support is involved, we can not choose to have our own consultant or involve local expertise in doing the job. There are people abroad who have established relationships with the donor agencies and every time, they are the ones contracted by the agencies. The work they produce, quality wise, does not differ much from the work that can be done by the local researchers or consultants. For example, we have people that we can use at the National University of Lesotho, who are already involved in research. But we do not give them this job. . . . We have depended too much on donor agencies for our own research activities (MP7.6).

It is interesting to note that this influence does not affect only educational institutions and government ministries. It also extends to the efforts of labour unions in the area of education and training:

[We have] this “hangover” of “what you have is not the best”. For example, any rate charged by international organisations is accepted in Lesotho, but for a local to charge the same rate for the same job, it is considered expensive. . . . Our system operates this way (LP3.1).

Among representatives of labour unions the influence of international or donor agencies is also seen as problematic for a different reason. International funding is perceived to create a divide between those labour unions that support the Government

and those that are claimed to be a threat to it. This situation has affected not only the working relationship among labour unions in the country but has also had an effect on their work in the education and training of workers:

Historically these other federations were established through the influence of international agencies' funding which appeared to be more important than the needs of the workers and the country as a whole. This is a serious problem, which has affected the operation of unions in Lesotho. Donor funding was more valuable than any other thing to the organisers of such federations because they could travel to many parts of the world [claiming to] represent the Lesotho workers. At that time international agencies were willing to support workers unions without much scrutiny about the reports provided. Some of such funding intended for training workers had been diverted to activities outside the workers' unions (LP3.3).

The arrival of foreign institutions in Lesotho.

The influence of international donors is not the only problem facing the country in the area of post-secondary education and training. Respondents also identified a new trend: new institutions from outside the country wanting to establish themselves in Lesotho. This is problematic, especially to the Ministry of Education that is entrusted with the responsibility for the development of the education and training system. One of the ministerial officials comments:

It is important to note that a number of institutions from outside the country have already indicated their interest to start providing further education and training in Lesotho. The intention is to offer courses through a distance education mode. Because of the high demand for further education, one university from the United States of America has already started offering courses at the tertiary level without any consultation with the Lesotho government, though the situation has been partly solved (MP7.4).

It appears that the arrival of new institutions came as a surprise to many policy makers particularly in the Ministry of Education. Respondents perceived the situation as

problematic because of the absence of any legal framework guiding the provision of post-secondary education in the country, and also because, as the main employer of educated workers, the Ministry is expected to recognise the credentials of the institutions providing the education. It seems that the Ministry does not have the legal authority to prevent anybody from setting up an operation which has the potential to meet a demand for further education. This is what one of the ministerial official has to say:

You have heard of the new university... NewPort University now in Lesotho. We had a problem when they came in because they just came in without consultation of the Ministry. When we approached them to find out why they were here and how they started to operate, all they told us was they have been to their lawyers. According to the laws of Lesotho, there is nothing that can prevent them from operating in Lesotho. Then we said that is true there is nothing--but they know that there is the Ministry responsible for education (MP7.3).

Moreover, the problem goes beyond the issue of recognising credentials. The government, based on its policy of investment in human capital is committed not only to the employment of graduates, but also to financially sponsoring students. Two different officials confirm the nature of the problem as they see it:

Their graduates [of the foreign institutions] will have to be employed within the country, particularly by this government. Even now, this university is expecting some of their students to be sponsored by this government (MP7.2).

We are now having new institutions from outside Lesotho who would want to start operation in the country. How do we say to them yes, you can continue or no, you should not? Who are we? Who should say that? In fact, this became clear when we had a problem about the so-called "NewPort University". . . . Many students who are actually enrolled in this institution work in government service, work as teachers and their sponsorships come from the government (MP7.1).

From outside the Ministry of Education, at least for some people, the situation is not so much a problem as an inevitable result of Lesotho's failure to respond to demand.

A union representative comments:

New universities like NewPort University will come forward because of the demand for education in the country [and our failure] to develop our own opportunities for people to continue with their studies. There is no reason why NUL has failed to expand its facilities and resources to enable people to continue with their higher degrees at home for such a long time. We shall all go to NewPort University . . . with better facilities if we find that Universities of South Africa are more expensive. In fact, more institutions are coming to Lesotho. One day you will find new names some of which you will realise are just useless and cannot contribute to the development of the country (LP3.2).

If this respondent is correct, then, given the Ministry's responsibilities, there is more reason to develop some means of dealing with the issue. Recommended approaches have been various. One respondent recalls that "some authorities thought they should be instructed to leave the country and withdraw the sponsorship of the students" (MP7.3).

Another argues that the Ministry needs to initiate control and co-ordination:

[I]f the government is prepared to . . . fund its own people then they have to take responsibility for the type of training that these institutions offer and directly control them. If somebody comes from outside and starts offering programs from other countries, there has to be a control and co-ordination mechanism. We need to establish a structure within the Ministry of Education that is going to be . . . not only co-ordinating but actually controlling and saying no you cannot move in that direction but this direction because our policy as government is this and that (MP7.2).

The development of some such control and co-ordination mechanism would be useful not only as a response to the arrival of foreign institutions, but also in relation to the sponsoring of government employees who seek to better themselves by taking courses whose credibility the government knows nothing of:

Sometimes [people enrol in courses] without the awareness of the Ministry especially those people in teaching because teachers do not have many opportunities to improve themselves. When they see adverts in South African newspapers, they enrol at once. So we are trying to establish guidelines. For instance we have . . . what is called a Joint Reference Committee, which advises the Ministry on educational certificates particularly designated for teachers. We meet at least three times a year (MP7.3)

It is clear that Ministry of Education officials are actively exploring ways of dealing with the situation. There is mention of identifying a panel of experts to think about structural approaches to the problem, and there is active consideration of examining the way others handle such problems:

We are also in touch with some institutions in South Africa such as the Human Sciences Research Council We are hoping to visit them and see how they operate particularly in the recognition of certificates (MP7.3)

Whatever emerges from these inquiries will mean the development of some sound overall policy guidelines which not only deal with the arrival of foreign institutions, but also with their place in the overall government intent of human resource development. In the view of many, it is the absence of some such overall policy co-ordination that is at the root of many of Lesotho's problems in post-secondary education and training.

Overall Policy Issues

The Ministry of Economic Planning (sometimes called Central Planning) is responsible for overall co-ordination of the national policy including reform policies for education and training. Its mandate includes working in consultation with the Ministry of Education particularly with respect to Education Planning. As a senior official explains:

The Ministry of Central Planning is in charge of co-ordination of development programs and policies. It is in charge of the macro level aspects

of the development of the country. As such, we are in charge of rationalising and prioritising the national development. The policy of government now is to give priority to the social sectors. The social sectors are health and education. . . . In allocation of projects and budgets education will be included. . . . The other important task in this area is to examine whether policy is being implemented and then to monitor the performance in the implementation of the government policy (MP3.1).

However, all respondents, including those from the Ministry itself consider that overall planning is not being done. In what follows I deal first with the perceived lack of overall policy planning, second with what respondents see as the consequences of this lack and third, with comments about how the situation should be remedied.

The lack of overall planning.

The absence of a national policy on human resources (which is still referred to as "manpower planning" in Lesotho) and, more specifically, on post-secondary education and training is attested to by respondents from all groups. The ministerial official quoted above on the responsibility of the Central Planning groups, went on to say:

This country has never established human resource policy, a guide on which skills are required for what purpose. As I have mentioned, this Ministry is supposed to have developed a policy of this nature a long time ago but up to now it has not started on it. The current situation is that people are trained based on their personal needs not on the needs of the country (MP3.1).

Institutional administrators agree. "There is no manpower planning in the country; I do not think there has ever been any" says one. Another notes, "One problem here in Lesotho is lack of national policy in relation to manpower planning."

A member of the same Ministry confirms this, especially as it applies to post-secondary education and training. He goes on to suggest that one reason for the lack of progress may be the lack of expertise within the Ministry:

I do not think we are actually involved in the provision of tertiary education and training. . . . Our responsibility as far as work force development is concerned is to develop human resources planning policies of the country. This has taken a long time . . . however the main problem is our lack of relevant expertise in the area and another thing we do not have research skills within the department. However, we have pressure to do something (MP3.2).

Whether the Ministry of Economic Planning lacks expertise or not, other respondents often suggest that the reason for the problem does lie with the Ministry:

I feel that Lesotho is a developing country and what these guys are planning is development and I think it has not yet begun to occur to them how important education and training are as a component of development. . . . one day it will dawn to them very clearly that if you do not plan your education properly then you cannot control the economy. . . . I doubt if the Ministry of Economic Planning is yet on the ball in planning human resources (EP6.3).

While many respondents take this view of which Ministry is responsible, one member of the Ministry of Education recognises that his Ministry shares at least part of the responsibility, at least as far as program co-ordination is concerned:

Government has to take responsibility to control the programs and . . . the quality. Moreover, the honour is on the Ministry of Education. Unfortunately outside institutions have noted that we are short in this area (MP7.1).

Within the Ministry of Economic Planning, while recognising that planning is not happening effectively, one senior official does not think his Ministry should take all the blame. He points to two other reasons for the fact that plans are not implemented, first the failure of government to act on its own initiatives and second, the failure of those responsible for implementation:

[W]hen the National Manpower Development Secretariat was first established in 1976, a proposition was made to establish a council intended to run the program. That is why I . . . believe that laws are enacted in Lesotho but they are not enforced. This council was approved and started operating a long time ago but it has never worked efficiently and needs to be revised. Even its Act has to be changed. How do you revise something which has never worked? It shows how playful we are in the way we operate (MP3.1).

Later in the interview he makes the second point:

Planning involves specific people who are in most cases few in number, whereas, implementation involves a large number of people who participate in the implementation of plans. Many things, which contribute to the failure of implementation are difficult to pinpoint. For example, this Ministry co-ordinates the national development plans, writes a number of good plans on paper, and asks sectors to implement, but nothing doing (MP3.1).

Moreover, argues this official, government should not allow the lack of effective overall planning to prevent the government getting on with providing training:

However, I still maintain that the Government . . . should continue training more people regardless of the results of training. In the end, we hope and believe that wherever they are and whatever they are doing, they will return to the country. It is the obligation of the government of the day to continue training and invest in human resources in this country (MP3.1).

Many other respondents would not wholly agree. They are explicit about the bad consequences of the lack of overall policy and planning.

The consequences of the lack of overall planning.

Many interviews revealed a sense of frustration among those who would use the policy if it existed. The lack of an overall plan in human resources development seems to have led to a post-secondary education and training system with little relationship to the

labour market. One result is that people talk frequently about the lack of program relevance. Thus a ministerial official can say:

Another problem of course has always been the relevance of programs offered. . . . [W]e need to examine closely what the country needs, relate the type of training to our needs, and relate the type of training to the necessary development in the country. It is a shame that we are producing . . . these technically related people only to find that they cannot find employment in the country. Alternatively, the industrial people do not necessarily consume the training that we offer (MP7.2).

Another official's comment shows that the problem extends to private institutions.

One realises that training lags behind . . . what you might call social development, because now we are in an information age but very few are trained in this area. We do have a few training centres around town but . . . the kind of training even they offer leaves a lot to be desired (MP7.1)

A senior institutional administrator goes to the root of the problem:

Do we ever ask the question what are we training for? When the National Manpower Development Secretariat is allocating funds for training, we never ask why so many people are trained in science, education or any profession. What is our population and how do we address [its] needs both in the rural and urban areas? Our population is 90 % rural oriented. (EP6.6.1).

A colleague argues that the situation is wasteful, because it results in the creation of highly educated people who cannot get jobs in the country:

Even at the University where we produce B.Comm students, teachers, and so on, we are not fitting an overall plan which will give estimates over the next year that we need so many people in this area. For example, we do not know how many doctors, technicians and so on, we need in this country. I think as long as we do not have an overall plan and we do not base the education that we offer on needs of some sort, we are just going in circles. . . It is a terrible waste. We have got B.Comm students who do not have jobs already. We are overproducing academic people who cannot get jobs (EP6.5.2).

An NGO official makes the same point but adds another important conclusion about the consequences. Ironically, at the same time as there is an oversupply of highly educated local people in some areas, in others outsiders have to be contracted for professional work. He comments:

As you know, Lesotho does not have a training policy. . . . It is not clear as to what the requirements of the country are. . . for specific skills. For example we do not know how many medical doctors, engineers and the like the country needs to achieve its objectives. It is difficult because . . . for many professions we still have to contract people from outside the country. Another example is that we have many people who have trained as teachers when we lack expertise in other areas required by the country (NP2.2).

Representatives of non-governmental organisations also believe the system needs to address the issue of program relevance. One of them comments:

I believe that the programs that are offered at tertiary level are obsolete and require to be thoroughly reviewed to relate to the current situation, particularly the economic demand. . . . For example, the National University of Lesotho, particularly its extension arm, the Institute of Extra Mural Studies--many people who received a diploma from the Institute do not know what to do with the qualifications received if they cannot get a job (NP2.1).

Institutional administrators agree. What is offered seems to fall short on two counts. The first is the lack of technological education. The second is education to prepare people for work in the non governmental and informal sectors of the economy. An institutional administrator comments on the first of these, suggesting there is an ingrained parental bias against technology education:

I believe a country cannot develop unless it develops skills and its technology. I believe that is where Lesotho is falling behind. There is an attitude against technology among parents, hence they do not want their children to go to institutions like Lerotholi Polytechnic, Bishop Allard College and the like. Until we get away from that attitude, we will never meet the real need of industry or technology for development here (EP6.5.2).

A fellow administrator expands this idea to argue that the country is failing to provide courses in a large number of subjects necessary for work in modern Lesotho:

We do not have a degree in technology here yet you can see that Basotho are building like anything. We do not have a degree in home economics and we say we need to see a healthy nation. We do not have a degree in computer sciences and we are talking about technology innovation these days. . . . We do not have a degree in fine arts, performing arts, drama, music and so on, but today music is business, soccer is money and the cloth that you are wearing is arts. Whoever designed the colours shows that business people play with our brains. We do not have a degree in nursing and we continue to send our people to Botswana to continue their education in the field. We do not have guidance and counselling--in this University students are dealt with through a trial and error method, and we have no aptitude tests. We keep on saying it is the only University we have (EP6.6.1).

With respect to preparing people for work other than in government a ministerial official comments:

The type of education system that we have is such that everybody expects to be employed. Nobody wants to be independent and be self-employed. What I am saying is that the interest toward employment is out of fashion. For example at the Lesotho Agricultural College there is no component . . . where students are trained in agricultural production to instil a business orientation so that after training they are qualified for investment purposes (MP3.1).

An institutional administrator concurs:

We are not providing our students with any business skills to be self-employed like some other institutions in South Africa. They require all students to do some kind of entrepreneur courses. With that, they hope that no matter what students have done, they will at least start their own businesses. I think we should be thinking along these lines (EP6.5.2).

Beyond these two issues of inadequate technological preparation and the lack of preparation for self employment, a number of comments by the respondents bring up broader questions of the social organisation of work, and argue that the present system does little to remove some important problems. Three are mentioned: the imbalance in unskilled and skilled labour, the lack of opportunity for returning graduates from abroad

and, related to this, the rivalry for a limited number of available positions that seems to take the place of an expansion of the number of jobs. For the first of these we have the words of an official from the Ministry of Economic Planning:

In the industry sectors we get investors coming to Lesotho thinking that they will find a skilled work force and largely you find that we do not have appropriate skills because of the type of tertiary education that we have. The tertiary education system we have is not geared towards that type of skills needed by the industry. Hence, you find that some of the investors are required to have a component that deals with training. . . . We are saying that Lesotho needs more relevant training at tertiary level (MP3.1).

On the second of these additional issues an official from a different Ministry comments:

When you look at the number of people [going] for further training in another country, it is as if the government does not see it. The government believes it is saving by sending people out of the country for further training. For example the National Manpower Development Secretariat is spending M80 million in training people outside the country. People choose to go out of the country . . . and come back to Lesotho after training . . . and cannot get a job . . . because there is no market for such training in Lesotho (MP7.6).

For one union official, the lack of planning has a different kind of consequence. He sees fighting for the few positions available and the use of favouritism to award them:

I have not yet seen how the graduates of education and training at this level contribute toward the economy of the country. What I have seen so far is fighting for positions. Repeatedly you see a situation where some people are dismissed and replaced by others claimed to favour the politics of the party in power. I think it is mainly because we are not productive. If we were productive, employers would be competing for our graduates. The issue of fighting for existing positions shows that we are failing to produce people who contribute to the economy by creating more jobs. We cannot even upgrade our post-secondary institutions such as Lerotholi Polytechnic to the level of a technikon that can offer engineering programs in the country. If you go to countries like Botswana, you will see the difference (LP3.2).

A final consequence which respondents consider important and harmful is that the provision of education and training at the tertiary level remains fragmented. Both government and private sector institutions provide education and training without any form of co-ordination. One of the NGO officials already quoted notes that each institution is autonomous and observes, "There is a need for training in many . . . areas which is neglected because individual institutions are not aware that nobody is taking care of it." It is the concept of co-ordination, which is at the forefront of respondents' thinking about how to remedy the problem.

Remedying the situation.

The non governmental sector feels strongly that the situation cannot continue. A representative explains that some initiative is in the works:

[The Human Resources Commission] feels that something has to be done. We have a proposal to present before the relevant bodies in the government which has been developed on the basis of the Education Forum Report of 1995. We hope to come up with an ad hoc committee, which will draft the policy document to be discussed by the policy makers. As NGOs we feel we have a responsibility to influence Government where it is necessary (NP2.2).

The Ministry of Economic Planning has at its disposal two departments responsible respectively for the co-ordination of human resource development policy and the administration of funding for post-secondary education and training, though the latter (the National Manpower Development Secretariat) has only recently been transferred to the Ministry. What the respondents suggest is that the Ministry has the potential to initiate overall planning and the implementation of that planning.

To do this, say the respondents, a number of things need to be explored. General statements need to be made specific. Expertise, if absent from the Ministry, needs to be sought in Lesotho's own institutions. New ideas need to be encouraged. The creation of a single co-ordinating body needs to be thought through, as does the composition of such a body and its representation of stakeholders. The following extracts illustrate these views:

A Ministry of Education official notes the difficulty of working with general ideas without specifics to back them up:

Unfortunately, we have not been able to pronounce our policy this far except to say the public and government as a whole need to develop tertiary education to some extent. I mean these are just generalities but largely we need to pronounce word for word what it is that we need to offer after matriculation level, even in various areas (MP7.2).

The same official, notes, however, that his Ministry may lack the expertise needed and suggests it may reside at NUL:

Probably we in the Ministry of Education have no expertise to be drafting policies of this nature. We may have a general policy but as to actually what need to be included, we want to believe that it is mainly the university that can assist in that direction (MP7.2.).

People in the Ministry of Education appear to be ready to take some initiatives in developing new ideas. They have organised an international conference on the issue of overall co-ordination of policy for education and training particularly at tertiary level.

Education officials agree with the suggestions that the idea is long overdue:

In fact, we recently had a seminar at the Lesotho Sun before the World Congress of Higher Education. One of the suggestions that emerged was [the] need for a council for higher education to look after such matters and to advise the Ministry of Education. I think these are some of the things that will come up in brainstorming workshops that we want to organise. The Ministry of Education organised the seminar specifically in preparation for

the World Congress of Higher Education that we attended. However, unfortunately after that we had a political crisis in Lesotho (MP7.3).

The notion of a single, co-ordinating body is attractive. One NGO official says:

If we have a single body that co-ordinates the efforts, it will be much better. We are thinking that if we had a Ministry, or a department of Adult Education or Non-Formal Education then we would know that all institutions providing continuing education at the tertiary level would be co-ordinated from that angle. By so doing we would avoid duplication of efforts because, each institution would be aware of what others are doing (NP2.2).

The location of such a body and its composition are matters being considered by the already-quoted respondent from the Ministry of Education:

Well, I think, as far as I understand, it is something that will be composed of various stakeholders. May be they will have secretariat, I do not know yet, here in the Ministry of Education. Then it will be composed of people from the various institutions with a stake in higher education. Then we can meet maybe three or four times a year to deliberate on policies. In addition, the secretariat would implement the policies. . . . We feel that there should be such a body operational in the country (MP7.3).

Representatives of non-governmental organisations also suggest that the Ministry of Education should take the lead in working toward formulation of a national policy. The Ministry of Education has been facilitative in commissioning task forces of national and international experts to undertake surveys for the improvement and development of education and training at all levels. These task forces, this time around should include other stakeholders. A representative of non-governmental organisations comments:

Looking at it from the role of this policy I wonder how we can go about it. The Ministry of Education today is engaged in co-ordinating task forces responsible for formulating policies in non-formal education, technical and vocational education to name a few. I am wondering if anything is done in relation to tertiary institutions in this country. I still believe that the Ministry should also engage all stakeholders involved in higher education in Lesotho to do likewise and formulate policy for the country (NP2.1).

The country's history of private provision of education is in respondents' minds. In the view of a Ministry of Economic Planning official, the use of stakeholders in any co-ordinating body should also include the private sector and private institutions who might then subordinate to some extent their private interests to the general interest:

As we address the issue of a board, you will remember we mentioned the problem of privatisation of education and training of Lesotho. Private proprietors who have their specific interests mostly own the institutions. If people from outside proprietorships can participate in the board activities they will be able to influence and neutralise the situation through their inputs with no specific invested interest (MP3.1).

In the absence of the kind of single co-ordinating body which seems to be in the mind of several respondents there are two mechanisms currently in place which play a role, if not in co-ordination, then at least in quality control. The first of these is known as affiliation. It is an arrangement whereby the National University of Lesotho undertakes the supervision of the programs (not the administration) of a number of sub-degree level institutions. The second is the beginnings of an accreditation system operated by a branch of the Ministry of Education for some private technology-focussed institutions.

The mechanism of affiliation relies on the National University of Lesotho for the supervision of programs in lower level tertiary institutions. A ministerial official explains:

... [W]e rely heavily on the National University of Lesotho as the main body with highest responsibility for educating and training the work force in the country. We are just hoping that by having all these institutions affiliated to them they will be able to drive us in the same direction. (MP7.2).

A university administrator describes how the system of affiliation operates:

The three institutions I have mentioned that offer certificate and diploma programs are affiliated to the National University of Lesotho. . . . The National Health Training College (NHTC) is affiliated through the Faculty of Science, because we do not have a faculty of medicine. Lesotho Agricultural College (LAC) is affiliated through the Faculty of Agriculture while the National Teacher Training College (NTTC) is affiliated through the Faculty of Education. Our faculties are overseers of the programs that are being offered at these institutions (EP6.6.2).

She illustrates by describing the case of teacher training:

The Dean of [our] Faculty of Education is a member of the Board of NTTC. Whenever a new course or program is introduced at NTTC (which operates at the certificate and diploma level only) the Faculty of Education is involved in assessing the program to see whether they meet the standards of what needs to be offered at [that] level (EP6.6.2).

Affiliation does not apply to those institutions offering programs that are not available at the National University of Lesotho. Neither does it guarantee that graduates of the lower institutions will necessarily be admitted to NUL. An administrator explains:

Since in this part of the world we do not have an accreditation system at least as vigorously as some parts of the world, we had to be diplomatic by becoming affiliates of the National University of Lesotho. However, . . . our graduates . . . do not get automatic admission for a degree program. What we find surprising is that the University of Botswana has no doubts in admitting our diploma graduates. It is just one among several universities which have no problems whatsoever. Not to mention the University of Liverpool, which has admitted several of our graduates. Moreover, they are quite impressed with their quality. What a sad thing, when it comes to the only university in the country, which is even responsible for supervising us academically in terms of affiliation requirements (MP6.1.1).

The system of accreditation is in its infancy and is being developed as a measure of protection for the public. A ministerial official explains:

[T]his is a new concept altogether. We have had problems in Lesotho of individuals putting up training establishments without any supervision or monitoring of any sort. It has been difficult to establish what the institutions offer to the public and the level at which their training takes place. Graduates

from these institutions have always been very unlucky in the sense that after paying high fees and being awarded certificates, their certificates are not recognised by employers including the Ministry of Education. The government had to do something to make sure that it protected the citizens so that whatever money they pay in the name of fees would be used and benefit those who pay afterwards. That is what we mean by accreditation . . . the recognition of the offering of an institution. (MP7.7).

The same official explains that accreditation is the responsibility of the Division of Technical and Vocational Educational Training (TVD). He describes how it works:

The Ministry, particularly TVD, visits institutions applying for accreditation to see if training facilities, teaching staff or other resources are adequate. . . . If the institution does not meet basic requirements then it is advised to improve or shut down. . . . We have published a booklet we call Accreditation Criteria which specifies exactly what the minimum requirements are for anyone to open a training centre. There has to be a need because we cannot afford to train people for the sake of training. There has to be a need so that after training they can go directly to a job or else be able to do something on their own and participate in the world of work (MP7.7).

With the exception of this beginning attempt at accreditation, government finds direct control of post-secondary programs difficult. In the words of a ministerial official:

The problem is that we do not have a direct say in the provision of tertiary education in the country. Direct say here means we do not directly influence programs in quite a number of institutions . . . Most of these are autonomous (MP7.2).

This institutional autonomy, means that a number of issues are most keenly felt at the level of the country's educational institutions.

Issues at Institutional Level

Respondents' comments led to the identification of three categories of issues at the institutional level: government-institution relationships, relationships among institutions

and broader linkages between institutions and the world of work. Only in the third of these are the respondents' views critical in the same way as we have seen in relation to the lack of government's overall policy and planning.

Government-Institution Relationships

Apart from those issues already described as issues of overall policy and planning, two themes emerged when respondents considered the relationship between government ministries and the post-secondary and training institutions. These were (1) the degree of the state's commitment to institutions for the training of skilled workers, and (2) the support offered to institutions.

The state's commitment to the training of skilled workers.

It is through its educational institutions that the government's commitment to post-secondary education and training is realised. That commitment, as we saw in Chapters 4 and 5 is contained in recent development plans, focussing on the development of human resources. We have seen in the preceding section that there is a general view that overall policy planning is lacking, but the interview data show clearly that ministry officials take their mission seriously. Moreover, ministerial officials see clearly a role for their ministries as a bridge between government and the institutions:

If institutions of tertiary education in this country are going to be helpful to the economy, they have to have a kind of bridge between themselves and those who are running the economy (MP7.1).

Structurally, the National Manpower Development Secretariat was moved during the course of the fieldwork for the present study, from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Economic Planning. This move, in the view of officials from Economic

Planning, will increase their involvement in education and training policy development, and more specifically in the administration of student sponsorship funds.

The government continues to emphasise the need for participation in education at tertiary level through improvement of resources. The support for post-secondary education undertaken outside the country has recently been extended so that students can receive loan bursaries whether they engaging in full-time or part-time study.

Respondents agree that in general the second half of 1990s showed a significant increase in the allocation of resources to education and training, thus demonstrating the government's priority. One ministerial official comments:

[P]ost secondary education, or what has been called tertiary education, is our training strategy. That is why we are considered as a sector responsible for training in the country. . . . the majority of our students study in South Africa. For them to qualify they have to go through COSC [Cambridge Overseas School Certificate], and we do not sponsor students who have not passed COSC. As part of our deliberate policy, we sponsor students who have entry qualifications into the institutions of higher learning such as universities, university colleges, technikons and technical and vocational institutions. Because we believe that it is only at this level that, they are able to acquire [advanced] skills (MP7.1).

The same official shows how education is used to achieve both the social and economic purposes of the country:

In addition, we have programs that assist the nation at large in acquiring skills at different levels and sometimes below secondary education level because our people have not had the luxury of going through the educational ladder. Therefore, education on a continuing basis continues to be provided through formal strategies and non-formal ones. We have here the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre under the Ministry of Education whose main function is to look at the out-of-school population that includes children, youths and adults. They have correspondence courses for people who want to continue their education while continuing with other life activities. They also have specific groups that they target. For instance, if you look at the people who are working, like the migrant workers in South Africa they have needs in the area of literacy, and of course, their families back home (MP7.1).

The scope of this kind of education is broad. The official continues:

LDTC also helps other groups in addressing general life concerns. For instance in the area of health, they facilitate production of reading materials required for learning about primary health care [and now] we have this epidemic [called] HIV/AIDS. We . . . try to educate the public about the . . . disease and about how to go about preventing or controlling its spread. So education on a continuing basis has those multifaceted functions (MP7. 1).

The state and institutional support.

Respondents from government ministries and educational institutions agree on the fact that there is adequate support and co-operation extended by the government to post-secondary education and training. Most of the institutional administrators believe the government provides both technical and financial support to the best of its capacity and all the institutions experience support of the government ministries in one way or the other.

The support comes in different ways in addition to operating funds: grants or loan bursaries (for students or subvention for regional office, for example), the commissioning of particular training programs, or participation in governing and managing bodies. An official of the Ministry of Education explains the funding of the National University of Lesotho:

In Lesotho . . . we have one university, which is about 90% supported by the state. The government believes that the university is the sources of the skilled work force. This assumes that the university is aware of the needs of the country. The university gets a subvention--as I said its annual recurrent budget for last year alone was M86 million. It also gets support by way of capital and development budgets, which is not part of the 86 million. . . . Moreover, the government supports local university students through the National Manpower Development Secretariat. In short, the government looks after the needs of the institution, its students and physical development

of this university. As the name implies, it is a national university and an institution that rightly should get support from the government (MP7.1).

In partial confirmation, a senior official of the university's extension department also comments on student subsidies (and the fact that they are relatively recent):

Generally, what we see is the support of the Government to the University in the form of subvention. If you come to the specific programs, Government sponsors our students now, which they did not do before. It is another way of saying they accept us. Up until the last few years, they did not give our students any scholarship (EP6.5.2).

Lesotho's post-secondary and training institutions include some that are operated directly by the Ministry of Education and others that are private institutions. Administrators from both these kinds of institution find support satisfactory within the financial constraints under which government must operate. Two comments illustrate this, the first from the Director of a private institution, the second from an operation that is essentially an arm of the Ministry:

First, the government pays a subvention which sustains the regional office in Botswana. The existence of IDM is dependent upon a subvention by three countries, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Lesotho faithfully pays the subvention every year. Second, the Government of Lesotho supports us by continuing to send many people to us for training and engage us in research and consultation. We can say the Government is the biggest sole client of IDM in Lesotho (EP6.3).

Since we are a government department we depend 100 percent financially on the government of Lesotho. Like any other department or institution at the beginning of every year we prepare the budget. The government will allocate us in the same manner as any other department of government. I do not remember where we are treated differently because of the work we do. For example, if the government starts cutting from any other department, they will do the same with us (EP6.1.2).

Apart from direct financial support, the government has also given support in the form of requests for particular programs. An administrator from the university explains:

In addition, with the Mass Communication program we offer, it was a direct request from the Government. The Ministry of Broadcasting and Information asked the University to start a part time program to upgrade their employees, within the Ministry. . . . This is the main program that the government has requested so far which is completely run with the support of the Ministry. This is what I call government support to the institutional programs. This is how we got the new Media Centre established for their radio programs. The Government helped with the installation of equipment for the Centre estimated at about M1 million, although the Irish Government also topped up (EP6.5.2).

She also comments that there is a different kind of support, namely the involvement of ministerial officials themselves in relevant program development activities:

Another important support is that they served on the committee that approved curriculum at all stages. The Principal Secretary of the Ministry has served in the committee throughout the program operation (EP6.5.2).

This latter kind of support is confirmed by ministerial officials from both the Ministry of Economic Planning and the Ministry of Education. However, it is also the case that from the point of view of one of these officials, the relationship does more than simply provide support, it ensures some kind of co-ordination function:

The National University of Lesotho is . . . outstanding and the only University of the Country. As government, we do not have a direct share in that we do not control the programs of the university. However, we do influence what is happening at university. We do provide them with our view of the developmental needs of the country. We do communicate with the University very regularly at council or faculty levels. We are members as Ministry of Education. We are saying whatever goes on in this institution the government has a share (MP7.2)

We perform this task of monitoring implementation of the policy in consultation with the Education Planning Unit in the Ministry of Education. Another consideration is that this Ministry sits in the Council of the National

University of Lesotho. I believe it is this Ministry and the Ministry of Education that sit in the University Council. This shows the extent of commitment in co-ordinating the policies and to check whether the policies are implemented or not (MP3.1).

This same official, however, has some concerns about the degree to which the university should be state-funded. He wonders about whether it is a good use of funds when the institution might be mature enough to generate some income on its own behalf:

Even now, we put more money into the university, yet the university as I understand should be independent of the government monies or subvention. I am thinking that the university is mature enough to generate its own revenue through research and consultancies to support their services. . . . What do they do with the fees? That money could be saved to be injected into other levels of education such as primary, secondary or even the lower certificate and diploma level of tertiary education. That is where you see a wide gap because at the higher education level there is a lot of money allocated whereas at the lower level there is not much contributed (MP3.1).

It is also noted that the university has not been able to expand its facilities to accommodate more potential participants. This particular situation has contributed to the problem of high school drop-outs and out-migration of students that is costly to both parents and government. The speaker's reference to the relative neglect of the lower levels of the post-secondary (or tertiary) system is echoed to some extent by other officials. A respondent from a different ministry, for example, says:

I think the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho is very disorganised. You know there are many students who complete high school education each year. There is nothing, nothing well organised for them if they are not able to go to Lerotholi Polytechnic, or National University of Lesotho, or Lesotho Agricultural College and so on. The students go all over and the parents pay through their neck. In the final analysis you do not know what the students get out of these institutions that are mushrooming all over the country. . . . This is an area, which we need to think very seriously about (MP7.4).

Relationships Among Institutions

Collaboration between educational institutions is seen as crucial to avoid duplication of efforts and promote sharing of limited resources. Commenting on the need for collaboration among institutions, one administrator refers to the importance of the affiliation arrangement which we have noted above:

Not only co-ordination is important, but also collaboration with other institutions in seeing that the needs of the country are attended to. That is why there is this affiliation of the lower institutions to the National University of Lesotho to see to it that needs assessment in the country is not only done at the University level but it is done and addressed at the lower level (EP6.1.2).

As already noted above that what is called "affiliation" is a formal mechanism introduced by government which obliges a close program relationship between the National University of Lesotho and certain institutions at the lower, sub-degree level. It does not, however, embrace all institutions. In the absence of other formally created mechanisms for inter-institutional relationships, two semi-formal means have been developed by the institutions themselves to facilitate a degree of collaboration. The first has been developed by institutions offering technical programs, the second more broadly by the Directors of the country's main tertiary institutions.

One of their administrators describes the arrangement for the technical institutions:

For two years now we have formed what is called the Association of Technical Institutions in Lesotho. Our main task is to advise the Chief Education Officer (Tertiary) about how to improve technical education in the country. I think the Association is doing well except for some misunderstanding here and there in some of the departments in the Ministry of Education which we hope can be worked out with time (EP6.4.1).

However, the Association is not yet developed as far as the speaker would like. He sees limitations to the extent of its advisory function and, in addition to seeing that

function improved, he envisages a more regular, on-going role for its deliberations. He continues:

Now we are doing very little as far as our advisory job is concerned. We tend to advise the Ministry only during crises. Once the matter is settled we stop being "watchdogs" which is not appropriate. I think we need to have regular consultations. I believe that the Principal Secretary [in the Ministry of Education] should also be informed about our activities (EP6.4.1).

The second of the two semi-formal collaborative arrangements is described by the Director of one of the institutions involved:

For a long time institutions have been operating without any collaboration and co-ordination of any kind. We have recently found it necessary to collaborate among ourselves in our activities. The Directors of the main tertiary institutions have formed a committee to work out areas of common concern so that we can provide education and training relevant to the needs of the country (EP6.4.1).

The Director explains that the group includes the affiliated sub-degree level institutions, but is not restricted to that group. Some members are academically oriented, some technically. He refers to the group's common concerns and to the value of working under the umbrella of the university:

As [a group] we do have common academic concerns and we work together to strengthen our programs under the umbrella of one institution of higher learning (EP6.4.1).

The advantages of working with the university go beyond those of discussing common concerns. They can be very practical. The Director illustrates the case of being helped with a staffing difficulty:

... [O]ne of our departments was running at nil staffing. We tried to find assistance everywhere with no success but believe me the only place we managed to get someone was at the National University of Lesotho. They agreed to commute from the University to our Institute to teach in our

program. If we want to be realistic there are people at the University who can assist us in our shortage of staff . . . in science, mathematics or computer science. The University has expertise in many areas (EP6.4.1).

These beginnings of inter-institution collaboration have their counterpart in a number of linkages with the private sector and the world of work. It is to these linkages that we now turn.

Linkages Between Institutions and the World of Work

Respondents describe a number of examples of productive collaborations between post-secondary institutions and the world of work. The Ministry of Education is involved in quality control for some of the initiatives. Institutional and business administrators comment on programs they have developed or attempts they have made to ascertain what programs might be needed in some sectors. Union and NGO leaders also comment on the kind of involvement they have or would like to have, but they also express their concerns about the limitations they see on their involvement.

The Ministry of Education's Technical and Vocational Education and Training Division is responsible for approving programs which the industrial sector might want to develop. An official of the Ministry explains:

The Division works with industries, committees that provide in-house training for their employees. Such companies come to us and make application to start such a program. Their applications are approved based on our categories Y, X, and Z. Category Y is for community institutions, category X is for in-house training from companies and category Z is for private institutions. We accredit institutions based on these three categories. If these institutions want to work with bodies from outside the country, they also have to go through our procedures before they work with any institution. This is intended to protect the people of Lesotho because some institutions are profit making entities (MP7.6).

Institutions themselves also receive and respond to direct requests from business and industry for training programs designed specifically for the client's requirements.

One institutional administrator provides examples:

We have received a number of requests from the private sector to train their people based on their needs. For example, we had a request from the Lesotho National Development Corporation whereby we designed a course tailor-made for their needs. We also received a request from the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority to train their secretarial staff (EP6.2.1).

The same administrator explains that there are different charges for government and private sector projects respectively:

[The LHDA] provided their own specifications and [we] acted accordingly. In general the private sector make their requests for training based on their needs hence we design courses tailor-made to their needs. When it come to financial implications, we have standing charges for the government and those specifically directed to the private sector (EP6.2.2).

For some institutional administrators, the business and industrial sectors represent a source of research and development projects which seems to have been too little tapped by local institutions. A university administrator suggests the need to ask the kind of questions provoked by the broadest possible vision of the relationship between the national economy and the possibilities for academic research using local expertise:

When I came here, I visited the Lesotho Highlands Water Project [and] discovered that this University did not have much to do with it. I took all the deans . . . [and] we organized a workshop where we discussed questions like How does the University relate to such a big project in the country? How is it that water is tested at the University of Pretoria when we are here? How is it that the Project's research in the areas of law, sociology, land management and surveying is done by universities outside the country when we are here? We know our faculty of law has expertise in the land tenure system of this country. Can we be sure that the rural areas, which are the ones most affected by the Project, benefit from the electricity which it is going to generate? Can we be sure that we promote tourism? Can we be sure that we have other

spillovers like fishing, irrigation to increase agricultural production? In short, the vision is so broad. I have listed just these few examples (EP6.6.1).

The Highlands Water Development Project itself provides examples of how its needs for trained labour led to a number of educational initiatives through existing institutions. A Project administrator describes some of them:

There was a scheme, which was established at the beginning of the Phase I of this project. The institutions, which benefited . . . are the National University of Lesotho, Lerotholi Polytechnic and Machabeng High School. You will understand that when we talk about dams, canals, and the generation of electricity, we are talking about engineering. There is no institution that specialises in engineering as a profession in Lesotho, so the demand had to be addressed in a specific way. What happened was that Mathematics and Sciences were programmed from high school level and one of the problems was that the supply of candidates was very limited (BP.1).

Two other examples address this problem the shortage of qualified candidates:

[A]nother program, called AMSTEP, had to do with improving the quality of teachers in Mathematics and Sciences . . . and NUL was involved in the project. NUL was also involved in the project called LESPEC aimed at upgrading high school students who did not perform well in the COSC examination. . . . We provided teachers, funded facilities and did everything possible to upgrade the level of Mathematics and Science to students [coming] directly from high school (BP.1).

NGOs and unions are less directly involved in the provision of post-secondary education and training. They do, however, have a considerable interest and try to exert some influence where they can, particularly in bridging the gap between secondary and post-secondary institutions. An official of the Council of Non-Governmental Organisations says:

We do influence education processes through establishing membership within the institutions. . . . We are looking at the tertiary institutions to help us convince the Government concerning the problems created . . . when students progress from secondary to tertiary education. . . . We do not have

any direct formal working linkages with the management of tertiary institutions but we do have members among the institutions. We must applaud the management of these institutions who in many cases have listened to our concerns. . . . (NP2.1).

A colleague with responsibilities for human resource development in the same Council amplifies the Council's particular interest in problems of student transition from secondary to post-secondary education:

As a sub-committee of the LCN, we are responsible for providing for among other things, career guidance, counselling and the like. That is why we target high school students so that when they complete their studies, they know at which institutions they can continue. That is how we collaborate with institutions of higher learning such as the University, Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre, and technical and vocational institutions, which offer programs at post high school level (NP2.2)

In some cases, she explains, LCN is able to take a direct facilitative role:

We are aware that there are students who may not meet the entrance requirements of these institutions. It is the responsibility of the Commission through their subcommittees to assist students of this calibre. We facilitate by collaborating with institutions such as the Institute of Business Studies to find how they can assist such students. We also collaborate with institutions that provide specific programs to teach in courses that we organise. In most cases we contract affiliated member organisations . . . to offer courses with no cost to LCN (NP2.2).

The labour unions appear to have a less direct role in educational provision, but comment on their role as advocates:

. . . I think our intention as unions is to stress the point to the providers of education and training and encourage them to organise their programs with the purpose of developing the country. Again, the incoming institutions and organisations should be encouraged to provide access to the people of Lesotho and make use of the resources available in the country. These opportunities should be open to all the people to continue their education within the country. You will remember that the people who go to South Africa for further studies are sponsored by the National Manpower Secretariat and it will be cheaper if they study within the country (LP3.2).

The feeling among representatives of non-governmental organizations and labour unions is that they have the potential to help good governance if they are given a chance as government watchdogs. However, their initiatives and good intentions notwithstanding, the interviews suggest that these groups are not so easily able to contribute to the development of either policy or programs as are the business sector or the educational institutions. In the case of the unions, the reason may lie both in shortcomings on the part of the unions themselves and in animosity towards organized labour. On the first reason, a union official notes his union has been unable to present alternatives, or to disseminate information, or to influence the education of politicians:

Even the union itself has some shortcomings because we need to present some alternatives and the only alternatives . . . derive from party politics. . . . Another thing, our publishing phase . . . providing information to the public from which politicians can draw [is still undeveloped]. As a union operating from the University, we have not been able to program effectively to provide tertiary training for our politicians. We have the most unqualified parliament in terms of the profiles of people. The University could be instrumental in programming for this but we have not been able to provide for this need (LP3.1).

As to the animosity toward organized labour, it seems to be a reality in the view of union officials. Commenting on the apparent lack of government help in facilitating input from organized labour, the same official notes:

No, we are not getting any form of assistance from the Government. You see, there is also a public face of unions, which is not a popular one. For governments, unions are seen as agitators. . . . Governments are not sympathetic to unions' demands as organizations. We cultivated a very unpopular public face when we started to unionize (LP3.1).

In the case of non-governmental organisations, the reasons for their relative lack of influence may lie not in any animosity towards them, but to their recency and to a lack of understanding of who they are and what they can do. An official of the Council of Non-Governmental Organisations reviews their history:

I think when we talk about involvement of NGOs in this country we need to take into account, it is hardly ten years since we established [the] Lesotho Council of Non Governmental Organisations. You will remember how the NGOs particularly the Council were instrumental in reinstalling the democratic government during the attempted coup of 1994. Before that, nobody in Lesotho actually understood the role of NGOs. (NP2.1).

The speaker goes on to explain how the former military government appeared willing to use the expertise of NGOs, but that the willingness seems not to have continued under the democratically elected government, perhaps because of an unfounded view that the Council is hostile:

The popularity of the NGOs came about during the Military rule because there was an agreement that the budget allocated for drought and disaster relief would be directed to the NGOs for implementation of such programs. The budget amount to about two million which fund has been terminated on the basis that the Government would like to train their own people for the programs. Unfortunately, it was a dream because even today the Government has not been able to train people with such expertise. The official reason put forward was that LCN was seen as having animosity toward the government, which was quite unfounded (NP2.1).

However, there are signs that perhaps this attitude is changing. The same official comments on receptivity to the idea of a NGO representative on a government committee:

The representative will be able to identify some aspects related to [NGO] activities and draw attention of the Ministry to find if there are resources for such activities. This does not apply only to the Ministry of Education, but to other Ministries as well. For example, in the case of environment issues, the Ministry concerned contacted the NGOs to find if they had any expertise,

failing which they should build such capacity within NGOs to deal with the matter effectively. Rather than involving the Government agencies, whose capacity to reach the grass roots is always limited why not involve the NGOs with their broad representation but without resources (NP2.1).

What the NGOs have been trying to do is to establish an agreement with government on how they might contribute. Another NGO official describes the attempt to achieve a memorandum of understanding:

We have been working toward persuading the Government to agree on establishing a memorandum of understanding between the NGOs and the Government or a form of policy that will spell out the Government commitment toward the NGOs in the country. Now there is no such policy and . . . getting support from the government for different activities is a problem. Every time we plan to offer a training program we have to submit a new proposal which will be approved in the end. Hence, we believe that by having a memorandum of understanding we shall be able to have a standard way of operating. For example in some cases donor agencies may not give support directly to NGOs but prefer to work through the Government for accountability purposes. We need to have a memorandum that will guide both the Government and the NGOs on what to expect in the form of service from and to each other (NP2.2).

In summary, respondents are able to identify a small number of important and useful examples of linkages between Lesotho's post-secondary institutions and the world of work. Some of these have been at the initiative of the private sector, others result from institutional explorations. Respondents from unions and NGOs consider their role in educational development is not yet as far advanced as it might be and are attempting to establish mechanisms to remedy this.

Summary and Comments

This chapter has presented the interview respondents' views of issues in post-secondary education and training. The 28 respondents were all in senior positions and represented three government ministries, six educational institutions, three unions, the Lesotho Council of Non Governmental Organisations and the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority. The analysis identified themes and issues emerging across all groups, and a good deal of agreement across groups was found.

The issues emerging from the data fell into two major categories: macro level issues and issues at the level of the educational institutions. Three kinds of macro level issues were discussed: the overall economic conditions of the country, international influences and issues of overall policy formation. At the institutional level, the issues raised were those of government-institution relationships, relationships among the institutions themselves and linkages between institutions and the world of work.

At the macro level, in discussing overall economic conditions, all respondents agreed on the limitations of financial resources available. Although institutional and non-governmental administrators tend to blame the government for inadequate financial commitment and sometimes for indifferent management capability, ministerial officials do not see more resources easily available. All respondents agree that government is very prevalent in all sectors of the economy, and that the private sector is too little developed, with the result that the country suffers reduced tax revenues, minimal investment in research and development and a relative lack of influence from non-governmental sources. The limitations of the formal labour market are such that many graduates cannot find work commensurate with their qualifications. A dominant feature of the economy is the relationship with South Africa. While respondents recognise that there is considerable

out-migration of post-secondary students from Lesotho to South Africa, many also recognise advantages in the relationship—assistance with staffing, partnerships with South African institutions and a greater cost effectiveness in using established South African institutions rather than developing local programs in some areas.

In discussing the second kind of macro level issue—international influences—all respondents agreed that international aid was important, but all also spoke of three kinds of problems associated with international contributions: the ignoring of Lesotho's own priorities, the devaluing of local knowledge and expertise, and the creation of some internal divisions. A different international problem was also noted, namely the arrival in Lesotho of educational institutions from outside the country which begin operations without seeking approval either for their presence or their programs. Ministry officials are particularly exercised by this, and are actively seeking means to control such newcomers.

The third kind of macro level issue—agreed upon by all respondents—is the lack of any overall policy planning. The consequences of this are seen as a lack of attention to program relevance in relation to the economy and to the developmental needs of the country, an absence of co-ordination and some fragmentation in the provision of education and training at the post-secondary level. Respondents speak of the need for a co-ordinating body. In the absence of such a body, ministry officials describe two measures which partially fill the need. The first is the affiliation of a number of sub-degree level institutions with the National University of Lesotho. The second is the development by the Ministry of Education of an accreditation system for private institutions, particularly in technological areas.

In their discussion of institutional level issues, respondents agreed that the state has a commitment to the development of a skilled workforce. Institutional administrators also agreed that the government provided technical and financial support to the best of its capacity, even though resources were fewer than they would like. Respondents describe Government support in ways other than direct monetary grants. These include special grants in addition to core operating funds, the commissioning of special training programs (sometimes with capital funds included for facilities), and participation on governing councils. Respondents note the importance of collaboration among institutions and describe two semi-formal means of achieving it in addition to the system of affiliation of lower level institutions with the university. The first is the creation of an Association of Technical Institutions. The second is the formation of a committee of the Directors of the main post-secondary institutions. Respondents also describe a number of productive collaborations between institutions and the world of work. Sometimes these have taken the form of requests by business for training courses, sometimes they have been initiatives with a broader scope, designed, for example, to improve the supply of maths and science graduates. Respondents from unions and NGOs clearly see the need for linkages between themselves, government and institutions, but, although they have taken some initiatives in that regard, they consider that for historical reasons, they are not yet fully accepted by government as credible advisors in some areas.

A number of features emerge from the interview data which will need to be considered along with the documentary data presented in earlier chapters. These include at least the following:

- Lesotho's overall economic circumstances are seen by all respondents as having major importance for any consideration of post-secondary education and training.
- The relationship between post-secondary education and the labour market is very commonly mentioned by respondents and is seen to have three problematic dimensions: the prevalence of government as an employer, the underemployment of many graduates, and the lack of an appropriately skilled workforce in technical areas.
- The importance of international aid for the Lesotho economy was commonly acknowledged, but it was also seen to pose problems for the country's ability to maintain its own priorities and develop its own expertise
- The most unanimous agreement among all respondents is that Lesotho lacks overall policy planning for human resource development in general and for post-secondary education and training in particular.
- This agreement contrasts strongly with the documentary evidence, particularly that of the sequence of development plans.
- The view that inadequate implementation of policy is a problem is commonly held.
- All respondents agreed on the need for some kind of formal co-ordination mechanism for post-secondary education and training, but none mentioned the mechanism, which was supposed to have been established by the sixth national development plan.

- A number of issues that, on the basis of the literature and the documentary evidence, one would expect to have arisen in the interviews were mentioned rarely or not at all. These are the issues of social class, gender, urban-rural imbalance and political unrest.

In the following chapter these features and those identified in earlier chapters provide the basis for an analysis of all findings.

CHAPTER 7

CONSIDERING ALL THE EVIDENCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

To this point, I have considered three kinds of data: (a) the literature on education and the economy in developing countries in general, (b) documentary evidence on the history and development of Lesotho, its economy, and the origins and development of its education system, and (c) interviews with knowledgeable people involved in the educational policy process. The present chapter considers all these data together.

The chapter is in five sections. In the first section I restate the findings from the documentary and interview data. A first analysis of these data uses the work of Brown (1999). As noted in Chapter 2, this work provides a framework which might permit a useful analysis of the policies for post-secondary education and training. It is that framework which I use here in part to assess the collective data of the present study. Accordingly, in the second section I revisit the Brown framework and describe it more fully than in Chapter 2. In the third section I discuss the Lesotho data in relation to the elements of the framework. In the fourth section I deal with important issues which do not seem to fit well in the framework. The fifth section summarizes the conclusions, which can be drawn from the analysis.

Recapulating the Findings

Before engaging in the analysis of the data, it is useful to recapitulate briefly what they have shown. Rather than repeating the full summaries of each of the data chapters, this recapitulation relies mainly on the "key features" section with which those chapters concluded.

From the review of the geography, demographics, politics and economy of Lesotho in Chapter 4 we noted that the modern state emerged from a history of colonial administration in which the development of economic self-sufficiency was seen as less important than smooth administration. Following independence, there were periods of political unrest and unrest, and the continuing absence of a regularly elected administration. It is widely believed that political unrest, which continued to affect Lesotho even in the late 1990s, has acted as a brake on economic progress, even though a series of national development plans has been developed from 1970 to the present. Lesotho's economy is characterized by (a) limited natural resources and a consequent lack of significant industrial capability, (b) a heavy dependence on foreign aid and on the economy of the Republic of South Africa, and (c) a fairly heavy dependence on two exports: water and labour. We also noted that males predominate in the work force and that the public service, by the government's own analysis is over centralized and less effective than it needs to be.

As noted in Chapter 5, because of early 19th century missionary activity, Lesotho has a longer history of formal education than many other African countries. It is also unusual in that proportionally more female students are enrolled at all levels than in any other similar country. However, the situation at independence in 1966 was not

educationally well advanced and in 1970 a sequence of policies for education reform was begun, tied to the national development plans. These policies articulated the need for universal primary education, a massive development of secondary education, the development of new institutions for post secondary education and training in a variety of special fields, and a major expansion of the National University of Lesotho.

Statistics show an overall growth rate in the education sector much greater than the rate of population growth. Growth in primary and secondary education seems to reflect the priorities outlined in national development plans. Similarly, there have been big increases in enrollments at the National of the University of Lesotho. In the post-secondary technical and vocational sector, however, growth rates exceeded population growth rates only in the period 1985-1990, and were in all periods markedly lower than those in other sectors of education. There are some other negative aspects of the picture of strong growth in the education sector. These include some claims that gains in quantity have not been matched by gains in quality and that facilities development has lagged behind enrollment growth. Also, in spite of declared policy intents to accelerate economic growth through education, there continues to be an apparent lack of employment opportunities for those completing their education.

The results of interviews with senior administrators were presented in Chapter 6. All respondents saw Lesotho's overall economic circumstances as having major importance for any consideration of post-secondary education and training. Also commonly mentioned was the relationship between post-secondary education and training and the labour market. It was seen to have three problematic dimensions: the prevalence of government as an employer, the underemployment of many graduates, and

the lack of an appropriately skilled workforce in technical areas. The importance of international aid for the Lesotho economy was commonly acknowledged, but it was also seen to pose problems for the country's ability to maintain its own priorities and develop its own expertise. The most unanimous agreement among all respondents was that Lesotho lacks overall policy planning for human resource development in general and for post-secondary education and training in particular. This agreement contrasts strongly with the documentary evidence, particularly that of the sequence of development plans. The view that inadequate implementation of policy is a problem is commonly held. All respondents agreed on the need for some kind of formal co-ordination mechanism for post-secondary education and training, but none mentioned the mechanism which was supposed to have been established by the sixth national development plan. A number of issues that, on the basis of the literature and the documentary evidence, one would expect to have arisen in the interviews were mentioned rarely or not at all: social class, gender, urban-rural imbalance and political unrest.

Further analysis of these findings is necessary for the purposes of the study. Initially I analyze them in relation to the framework developed by Brown (1999) and sketched in Chapter 2. The fuller description of that framework is the subject of the following section.

Brown's (1999) Framework for Analysis

Brown's (1999) framework was developed in order to make a comparative study of the political economy of skill formation, with particular reference to what he calls a high skills economy and to the context of the developed world. He hopes, however, that his

analysis “will go some way towards the development of a comparative theory of skill formation” (p.248). For this reason, and because the notion of “skill formation” seems close to my focus on post-secondary education and training, I considered the framework applicable at least tentatively to the present data. Using it also has the advantage of assessing in a preliminary way its suitability for an analysis beyond the context of developed countries.

“The study of high skills at the end of the twentieth century”, writes Brown, citing Ball, (1998), “is essentially a study of post-industrial changes in our understanding of the global, national, local and personal” (1999, p.234). He argues that these changes mark the shift from one kind of society (industrial, Fordist, low-skilled) to another (post-industrial, post-Fordist, high-skilled). The shift is underpinned by a number of key assumptions about future society. These include the assumptions that productivity and innovation cannot be achieved via low skilled work, that the divisions between learning and work are breaking down, that the role of women has fundamentally changed, and that there is a growing problem of inequality and unemployment. Brown writes:

The study of high skills offers an invaluable insight into the way macro social and economic change is played out in different national contexts. [It includes] an analysis of economic competitiveness, social justice and skill formation policies. . . (1999, p.234-5).

Brown defines skill formation “in terms of developing the social capacity for learning, innovation and productivity” (p.248). He notes that human capital theory has failed to capture the essence of skill formation defined this way. He also insists that considering the political and economic contexts of skill formation are important “in recognition that it cannot be reduced to a matter of technological determinism” (p.248).

He argues that “an analysis of common post-industrial pressure points [will] expose the challenges, tensions and conflicts in national skill formation systems” (p. 241). He identifies four such pressure points, noting, however, that they are not exhaustive and are related to each other. This note seems to leave open the possibility that further pressure points might be identified, a possibility which is consistent with Brown’s implicit acknowledgement that his work is at a preliminary stage.

The first pressure point “focuses on the state/market relationship” (p.241) and calls for an analysis of the roles played by the state, the employers and the trade unions in skill formation policies. Brown writes:

If the quality of a nation’s work force is as important as is now commonly assumed, then the question of whether the competing interests of government, employers and the trade unions can be managed to ensure an upgrading of the quality of the workforce is a key pressure point in all developed and developing countries. (1999, p.241)

He illustrates the point by reference to the situation in various countries. In the U.K., for example, the interests of employers play a vital role compared with the trade unions, and government plays an important supporting role. By contrast, in most countries in the European Union there are legally binding commitments on employers and trade unions to negotiate agreed settlements. Different again is the case of Singapore, where the state has developed a professional civil service which is distanced from both employers and unions in pursuing an economic development strategy in the national interest. Here, the image of a small country in competition with giants has moulded a political consensus based on social inclusion and the upgrading of workforce skills.

The second pressure point deals with the way countries “try to embed the social capacity for skills upgrading in ways that contribute to learning, innovation and productivity” (p.243). This, says Brown, relates to the question of how countries try to overcome the problem of having a self-reinforcing network of societal and state institutions which interact to stifle the demand for improvement in skill levels. He argues that this recognizes that there may be a mismatch between the rhetoric of high skills and the realities of policy implementation. He amplifies the point:

This raises two related issues: firstly, institutionally embedding the social capacity for skills upgrading will depend on the political economy and history of skill formation in the country in question. Therefore it raises the question of whether this is easier to achieve in some countries rather than in others, and, if so, what are the main factors which inhibit the development of the social capacity for skills upgrading? Secondly, as there is unlikely to be one best way of embedding the skills upgrading process, which country or countries have the best prospects of success? (1999, p.243)

As an example of this pressure point, Brown cites the situation in UK where, in spite of a clear policy to raise skill levels, there is a history of both inadequate technical education and low employer commitment to training. This, argues Brown, will make it difficult for the government to embed skills upgrading, particularly since employers in the U.K. have also traditionally resisted state interference in commercial decision making.

The third pressure point focuses on the tension between competition among those with high skills and the need for some degree of social inclusion. In many respects, says Brown, the politics of high skills is presented as a positive-sum game, a view which assumes that as the general skills base is lifted, everyone will get a better job. He disagrees with this view:

What this argument ignores is the inevitable fact that a large proportion of jobs do not involve high levels of technical skills and never will. This ensures that the educational system will continue to be used as a screening device to decide who are the winners and losers in the competition for credentials required to enter the best jobs. This is bound to take the form of a zero-sum game (1999, p.244)

One question of interest for this third pressure point is how different countries organize the competition for education, training, credentials and jobs: by a system based on "merit" or by one based on "the market". The former, argues Brown, involves a significant role for the state because it must reduce the impact of such variables as class background, gender, and ethnicity. A reliance on the market as the principal mechanism governing the competition gives a good deal of force to wealth and the wishes of parents on deciding how students are to be educated and little to the intervention of the state.

The question of positional competition also raises two other issues. The first (focussing on "the winners") is how the state attempts to regulate aspirations. The second, (focussing on the circumstances of "the losers") is how it deals with social exclusion.

With respect to the first of these, Brown asks:

How does the state try to regulate and legitimate restrictions on access to university education? How does it try to mesh the skills requirements of the economy with parental and student occupational aspirations? (1999, p.245).

The force of these questions is illustrated by the case of the U.K., says Brown, which has experienced a long-standing problem of getting students to consider careers in engineering and science when occupational success has often been defined in terms of the traditional, professions such as law, medicine and accounting. In Singapore, the state's approach has been to regulate access so that students have little choice over what they will study. A related issue, notes Brown, is whether the demand from employers is able to

absorb the growing numbers of qualified people entering the labour market: "Are there enough high-skilled jobs to meet the aspirations of students, and, if not, how does the state address the question of 'over-education'" (p.245).

On the second issue—that of social exclusion—the question of interest is what happens to the "losers" in the positional competition. Do they still have access to good education and training and are there decent jobs for them, or do they "confront a polarized labour market which may force them into casual jobs or long term unemployment?" (p.245).

The fourth pressure point "focuses on the way social and economic change has challenged existing models of the 'worker-citizen'." (p.246). New ideas of economic efficiency have emphasised such key skills as communication, teamwork and problem solving and have placed more weight than before on individual initiative and self-reliance. These attributes go against "the routine, rule-following behaviour demanded [of] most employees in Fordist factories and corporate bureaucracies" (p.246). For Asian countries, Brown argues, creativity, self reliance and empowerment are seen as an "individualisation" of society which may weaken the social cohesiveness previously thought to have led to their success. In broader terms this fourth pressure point "also involves challenging existing assumptions about the nature and distribution of human capability. Unless traditional assumptions about the limited size of a society's talent pool are challenged, there can be no serious progress in high skill formation, argues Brown. The same can also be said, he continues, of established assumptions about the sexual division of labour.

These four pressure points, argues Brown, can be examined in different national contexts as a way of analysing the way the tensions they raise are dealt with in national skill formation policies. At each pressure point there are possibilities and limitations. The nation's skill formation policies result from negotiations and trade offs about these possibilities and limitations between and among the state and different interest groups.

Applying the Framework

In the following paragraphs, I re-examine the Lesotho data in terms of each of the four pressure points described above. I deal with each pressure point under a separate heading and conclude the section by summarising what the analysis has and has not revealed.

Pressure Point No. 1: The roles played by state, employers and trade unions

Brown's first pressure point focuses on the roles played by the state, the employers and the trade unions in skills development. The data of the present study seem clear on this pressure point. In Lesotho, ever since independence, it has been the state, which has taken the dominant role in developing policies for education.

With respect in particular to the post-secondary education and training sectors it is the series of government's development plans that have laid out the emphases and directions to be pursued. It seems to be true that the plans were inspired by a belief in the theory of human capital in its pure form and that they suffered therefore from some of the defects in that theory which critics have pointed out. Two criticisms in particular are

relevant: (a) that the theory fits developing countries less well than it fits the developed world, and (b) that it takes too little account of labour market considerations.

More than the plans themselves, however, it is inadequacies in their implementation which are revealed by the present data. There is little evidence in the documents that employers and unions were consulted in the development of the government's plans and there is very good evidence in the interview data that respondents think implementation has been inadequate and that part of the reason for this is the lack of involvement by employer and union groups and by NGOs.

In the view of many respondents, the predominance of government in the development of Lesotho's post-secondary education and training sector has a significant relationship to the overall state of the economy in at least two ways. First, it has been allowed to inhibit the development of private sector initiatives, which might diversify the economy. Second, the small size of the private sector in relation to government means that tax revenues are not available on the scale found in countries with a more developed private sector.

With respect to the possibilities, limitations and trade offs surrounding the first pressure point, it seems that the Lesotho case is different from each of the three types described by Brown—U.K. Germany and Singapore. In the dominance of the government, Lesotho resembles Singapore rather than U.K. or Germany, but it seems to lack the political consensus based on social inclusion and the upgrading of workforce skills, which Brown sees in Singapore.

Pressure Point No. 2: Overcoming the problem of a low skill equilibrium.

This second pressure point focuses on the way states try to overcome the problem of having a self-reinforcing network of societal and state institutions which interact to stifle the demand for improvement in skill levels.

The existence of such a network of institutions in Lesotho has been well documented in the data for the present study. As noted in Chapter 5, Thelejani (1990) has shown the length and strength of the educational traditions coming from the private and religious provision of education. These traditions also included the notion that the higher levels of education were for the preparation of administrators, rather than technical experts. With respect to post-secondary education and training, we also have the evidence of Thelejani's analysis that, at least until the late 1980s academic excellence (in traditional subjects) was considered the hallmark of the educated man—perhaps again because of the colonial tradition which gave pride of place to administrative careers.

That government recognized the inhibiting effect of this tradition seems evident from the language used in the series of development plans and quoted in chapters 4 and 5. However, interview data suggest that the societal expectations associated with the tradition still persist: at least one senior administrator noted the reluctance of parents to send their children into Lesotho's technical institutions.

It is at the second pressure point, according to Brown, that one is most likely to see "a mismatch between the rhetoric of high skills and the realities of policy implementation" (1999, p.243). The data of the present study indicate that this mismatch exists to a considerable extent in Lesotho. The key issue it raises, says Brown, is:

... the issue of how to coordinate education and training; labour market; R & D; and industrial relations policies and practices to develop the social capacity for skills upgrading (p.243).

We have seen that the absence of co-ordination has been identified by many respondents as a major difficulty in the operation of Lesotho's post-secondary education and training programs. Moreover, many of those who complained about the absence of co-ordination were speaking not only of program co-ordination, but of the kind of co-ordination which takes account of employment opportunities, the nature of the labour market, and the need for some planning system which identifies how many graduates with various kinds of skills are needed and will be needed in the future.

A consideration of the possibilities, limitations and trade offs associated with this second pressure point in Lesotho highlights a complex web of factors. Several elements of this web have emerged in the present data. We have noted the lack of employment opportunities for graduates, a factor which suggests the need for government's education policies to take account not only of the supply of labour, but also the demand for it. We have noted the dependence of Lesotho on the South African economy, a feature which raises questions about the extent to which the government can diversify economic operations and encourage a greater variety of outputs to complement the major water development represented by the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. We have noted the heavy dependence on international aid. We have noted also the relatively low involvement of stakeholders (unions, NGOs, the private sector) in the development of education policies.

However, if these factors represent what Brown calls limitations, there is at least one factor in the study's data which suggests possibilities for overcoming some of the

limitations: the majority of respondents, and especially those from institutions, unions and NGOs indicated their willingness to be part of the solution. The fact that some co-ordination initiatives are already being taken at the institutional and union/NGO levels is good evidence that the involvement of these stakeholders represents a major possibility. What the data do not suggest is the kind of trade offs, if any, which government might need to consider to capitalize on the possibilities. What is also unclear is the extent to which actions can lead, in Brown's terms, to "embedding" the social capacity for skills upgrading "in ways that contribute to learning, innovation and productivity" (p.243).

Pressure Point No. 3: The tension between competition and social inclusion

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, this pressure point focuses on the tension between competition among those with high skills and the need for some degree of social inclusion.

What Brown calls the politics of high skills has meant that governments tend to rationalize national skill development policies by suggesting a "positive-sum game" in which, as the skills base is lifted, everyone will get a better job. This does indeed seem to have been the rhetoric of the Lesotho government following independence, to judge by the language of the first development plans. Those plans exemplify the notion that the proper development of the education system would generate the kind of workers required for the economic advancement of the country. Like the rationale itself, however, the plans ignore the fact that a large proportion of jobs do not require high levels of technical skill. This is clearly the case in Lesotho, with agriculture as a basic traditional

occupation, a growing population, and apparently few opportunities for the development of industrial and technical production.

Brown's argument is that, because a large proportion of jobs do not require high levels of technical skill, the education system is in effect a screening device to decide who are the winners and who are the losers in the competition for credentials. Whether this competition is based on the market or on merit is something which governments can affect. Governments who wish to emphasize merit will take action to minimize the adverse effects of such factors as social class and gender. In Lesotho, policies are silent on the question of gender, even though a disproportionate number of females are in the education system at all levels. With respect to social class, there is some evidence in both literature (Bardill and Cobbe, 1985) and the interview data to suggest that the mechanisms for entry to post-secondary education favours those already privileged.

The final point to be considered in the context of the third pressure point is the state's role in dealing with the "winners" and the "losers" in the competition for credentials and jobs. With respect to those who will be "winners", there is little evidence in the data collected for this study that Lesotho attempts to regulate access to higher levels of education so as to mesh the skills requirements of the economy with the occupational aspirations of students and parents. In the interview data, on the contrary, there is evidence to suggest that such regulation is minimal or non-existent. This seems to be true, whether one is considering access to institutions in Lesotho itself or the funding of students to attend foreign institutions. With respect to the "losers", there is good evidence in the texts of the various development plans that the government wants to develop educational policies that address the issues of poverty and unemployment, but

very little evidence to suggest that implementation strategies have been put in place which actually deal with these issues.

The limitations, possibilities and trade offs associated with the third pressure point are difficult to analyze. The ways in which the management of positional competition is related to issues of social exclusion are not theoretically clear in Brown's formulation. The empirical evidence in the Lesotho data suggests that two major limitations are: (a) a selection system which is traditionally more "market" than "merit" based, and (b) the long-standing exclusionary effects of unemployment and the lack of opportunities for graduates. It also suggests that these limitations are strong enough to make possibilities for change difficult to realize.

Pressure Point No. 4: The relationship between the individual and society.

In developed countries, argues Brown, social and economic change has challenged existing models of the 'worker-citizen'. Where, as in U.K., there was for many years the assumption that the pool of talent in the population was limited, the move to extend higher levels of education to a much broader segment of the population came slowly and not without difficulty. Brown's argument is that unless assumptions like this (and like those about the gender division of labour) are challenged, there can be little progress in the move to high skill formation.

The chief relevance of the Lesotho data to this pressure point concerns assumptions about the division of labour based on gender. By contrast with the much higher than usual enrolment of females at all levels of the education system, their participation in the labour force is low: the workforce statistics show that males account for 66 per cent of all

employed persons in Lesotho. Boys, unlike girls, become bread winners or assistants to bread winners at an early age. The 1986 population census showed that about 76 percent of males were economically active compared with 36 per cent of females. A 1996/97 survey (Ministry of Labour and Employment, 1997) showed some increase in women's participation in the formal labour market, and an associated policy document (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997) referred to the need for more employment of women. However, the proposed increase is slow and women's employment continues to be concentrated largely in primary and secondary school teaching.

Beyond this important issue, the data do not speak clearly to other aspects of the fourth pressure point. One point, however, may be relevant. It is perhaps interesting that it was the establishment of a new kind of institution in the U.K. (the Open University) that spearheaded the extension of advanced educational opportunities to the broader population. In Lesotho we have noted the arrival of a new kind of institution--foreign institutions like the NewPort University which has given cause for concern to Ministry officials. Certainly these institutions offer the possibility of increasing the access available to post-secondary education. To the extent that they have arrived unasked for, they may represent a force for change. Whether they are resisted or constructively used may be an indicator of the extent to which Lesotho is willing to challenge existing assumptions about who and what is appropriate for post-secondary education.

Summary: The Results of the Application

It is important to recall that Brown's framework is aimed at helping to examine national skill formation policies not only for themselves, but also as an indication of the way different countries handle the shift from an industrial to a post-industrial world.

Countries like Lesotho are not in the forefront of that shift, but at the same time are faced with managing their economies in a global context in which the shift dominates a good deal of social, economic and political discourse.

The examination of the present data in terms of Brown's four pressure points seems to confirm this idea that Lesotho is not at the forefront of the shift from one kind of society to another. With respect to the way the interests of government, employers and trade unions are managed (the first pressure point), what emerges is that it is the state which has taken the dominant role in developing policies for education, that its plans were inspired by a belief in the theory of human capital in its pure form and that they suffered therefore from some of the defects in that theory. There is little evidence that employers and unions were consulted in the development of the government's plans and there is good evidence that respondents think implementation has been inadequate. Respondents believe that the predominance of government in the development of Lesotho's post-secondary education and training sector has a significant (and adverse) relationship to the overall state of the economy. In other countries where the state has taken the dominant role in managing change productively, it has been able to do so because of the development of a political consensus based on social inclusion as well as on the upgrading of workforce skills.

Examining the extent to which the social capacity for skills upgrading has been embedded in Lesotho society (the second pressure point) showed the strength and persistence of some traditional attitudes, which inhibit the development of such a capacity. The language of the national development plans suggests that the government recognized the inhibiting effect of these traditions, but interview data suggest that the

societal expectations associated with the tradition persist. What Brown calls the mismatch between the rhetoric of high skills and the realities of policy implementation clearly exists in Lesotho. It is interesting that it is the officials from institutions, unions and NGOs who most clearly identify this mismatch and who have suggestions for dealing with it, at least in part. These people see a clear need for improving co-ordination, both among institutions, and in dealing with the complexities of the economy. Whether allowing them a participatory role in developing solutions would move Lesotho in the direction of a greater embedding of the social capacity for skills upgrading is not clear, but it would certainly increase the range of participation beyond what seems to have been experienced up to now.

Consideration of issues of positional competition and social inclusion (the third pressure point) shows that the competition for credentials is more "market" than "merit" based. It seems also that the state is not active in regulating access to post-secondary education and training in ways which mesh the skills requirements of the economy with the occupational aspirations of students and parents. There also seem to be long-standing exclusionary effects of unemployment and the lack of opportunities for graduates. With respect to challenging existing models of the worker-citizen (the fourth pressure point), the clearest relevance of the Lesotho data is in what they show about assumptions concerning the division of labour on gender lines. Beyond this, the data seem to allow little to be said in relation to the fourth pressure point.

It may well be that part of the reason for this is that the kind of social and economic change seen in the developed countries is not yet extensive in Lesotho, in spite of the words found in the national development plans and in spite of the priorities urged by

international aid donors. Another reason may be that Brown's framework—explicitly made to describe developed countries—is not fully applicable to the developing world. Exploring either of these possibilities takes us to an analysis of those features of the data which do not easily fit the Brown framework.

Outside the Framework: Further Analysis

Two major influences on Lesotho's post-secondary education and training are clearly seen in all the data used in this study, and yet they have been alluded to only briefly in the foregoing analysis. They are (a) Lesotho's overall economic circumstances and (b) the country's dependence on external forces.

Lesotho's Overall Economic Circumstances

As noted in Chapter 6, almost all respondents cited Lesotho's overall economic circumstances as a major contextual impediment to the development of the post-secondary education and training systems. Lack of financial and human resources were seen to be the consequence of the limited natural resource and industrial base that has characterized the country since political independence in 1966. From this point of view, it is not surprising that respondents see inadequate implementation of the policies for educational development. As was noted in chapter 2, there is ample evidence in the broader literature to suggest that the success of educational reform strategies is largely contingent on availability of financial and material resources (Rubenson, 1989; Psacharopoulos, 1985; Torres, 1996).

This dependency seems not to have been well understood in the early days of independence. In Lesotho as elsewhere, the popularity of human capital and modernization theories played a major role in justifying massive expenditures on education in the period following independence in 1966. Investment in human capital through education and training was considered not only in Lesotho, but world wide, a driving force toward attainment of social and economic development and growth (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989). Studies conducted on education and training in Lesotho report massive enrollments that reached a climax in the late 1980s and early 1990s particularly at primary education level (Pitso, 1997).

However, the expansion in enrollments proved to be a poor indicator of increasing prosperity as the economic conditions of developing countries, Lesotho included, continued to deteriorate (Habte, 1989; Todaro, 1994; World Bank, 1995). Poor school performance, high rates of drop-outs and inadequate educational facilities as well as lack of training among teachers and instructors were reported in Lesotho (Thelejani, 1990). Other tensions also became apparent: the lack of improvement in the economic condition of the country, unemployment, an unorganized transition-to-work process, and the seepage of educated workers to other countries. These tensions appear to have adversely affected the rate at which reform objectives could be implemented in many developing countries (World Bank, 1995).

Lewin (1987) notes that "... the ability to finance educational development programmes has been significantly curtailed in many developing countries" (p.32). Lesotho is one of the countries cited in Lewin's study as having to freeze some of the positions in its educational establishment because of scarcity of resources. Lewin further

notes that the willingness of governments to allocate resources to education changed with the diminishing ability to finance it. Among the factors which he shows to be related to this diminishing willingness are a number which we have noted in the Lesotho data: increasing unemployment of the educated, a brain drain among the educated, an escalation of qualifications unrelated to job skills, increasing inequalities in educational provision, and uncertainty about the contribution of education to increased productivity (Lewin, 1987).

Although some may perceive the reduced willingness to finance educational reforms as "lack of political and financial commitment" (World Bank, 2000), it may be more accurate to say that it reflects an appraisal by the government of the fiscal realities it faces. As long ago as 1968, Coombs referred to a crisis facing the educational systems of the world. He argued that the expansion of educational facilities would not necessarily lead to economic growth, but rather to an economic crisis (Coombs, 1968). Lephotso (1995) has argued that the "crisis" emerged largely because of the disparities between the education systems and the prevailing circumstances in which they operated. Lephotso's analysis describes the disparities in terms very like those we have seen in the Lesotho data: irrelevance in curriculum, a misfit between the education provided and national development needs and priorities, and the labour market failure to absorb the graduates of formal education systems.

As noted in earlier chapters, the labour market realities in Lesotho are deep. In 1997 the country experienced its highest rate of unemployment, estimated at between 35 and 40% (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997). Approximately 90% of the population live in the rural areas yet national resources, particularly educational ones, are concentrated in the

urban areas. Moreover, the whole labour market picture is complicated by the size of the informal or non-wage sector, estimated to encompass as much as 60% of the population.

A 1993 study of income distribution in the formal labour market in Lesotho (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997) showed a degree of skewness indicating high inequity. The study estimates that 10% of households in higher income groups receive 44% of gross national income while the bottom 40% receive only 8%. It was these findings, of course, that led to the government's focus on sustainable human development (SHD), and especially poverty reduction, for its more recent national development plans.

Like all other developing countries, Lesotho, because of lack of substantial internal resources, has had to depend heavily on assistance from outside for its development. It is this dependence on external forces that is the second major factor left untreated by the analysis of the Brown framework.

Dependence on External Forces

Lesotho's geographic position as an enclave within the Republic of South Africa means that it is inevitably subject to some degree to the influence of policies and events in that country. Lesotho's economic and social status as a developing country means that it is also dependent on (and open to influence from) the international aid community.

The relationship with South Africa has been both direct and indirect. Directly, South Africa has provided employment opportunities for many Lesotho workers who would otherwise have been unable to find work. It has also provided income for the state, both through the remittances which Lesotho workers are required to send home (totalling 21% of GNP in 1995) and through its purchase of water from the Lesotho

Highlands Water Project. Indirectly, it has been argued that the generosity of the international community towards Lesotho in the 1970s and 80s was at least to some extent attributable to the existence of an apartheid regime in South Africa, to the political tensions between the two countries, and to the resulting sympathy shown to Lesotho, especially by the West (Lundahl and Petersson. 1991).

This "anti-apartheid sympathy" motivation for international aid disappeared, of course, with the end of apartheid in South Africa. Constructive relations between South Africa were also restored. The direct economic benefits of the relationship, however, have declined somewhat. We have seen that there are reduced employment opportunities for Basotho workers in the South Africa's mining sector and a consequent stagnation in remittances. We have also narrative evidence from the interview data to suggest that South African employers are preferring to take their own citizens over better qualified Basotho. Lesotho's unique situation of dependency on South Africa means that such factors have a measurable effect on the Lesotho economy, either in reduced revenues or in increased un-or under-employment.

Apart from the issue of dependence on South Africa, we must also recognize the importance of Lesotho's dependence on aid from international donor agencies. Both documentary and interview data indicate the importance of international aid for an understanding of the development of Lesotho's post-secondary education and training system. Some of the data suggest that its importance as a factor is second in importance only to the overall economy of the country (and the overall economy itself is inextricably linked with international aid). The data show clearly that there have been both benefits and disadvantages associated with this aid.

As documented in Chapter 4, Lesotho has benefited from massive amounts of international aid. This aid was particularly abundant in the period of the second and third national development plans (1975-85), but has continued in substantial amounts since then. The statistics on the educational budgets given in Chapter 5 show remarkable increases in the proportion of budget allocated to education since the early 1970s. Those on enrolments in the same period show similarly remarkable increases, especially in primary and secondary education and in the enrollments at the National University of Lesotho. It is easy to agree with respondents when they say that international aid has been an essential part of that development. The interview data, however, also reveal respondents' views of the drawbacks associated with such heavy dependence on external funding. They spoke of three kinds of problems associated with international contributions: the ignoring of Lesotho's own priorities, the devaluing of local knowledge and expertise, and the creation of some internal divisions.

The evidence from Lesotho is consistent with what a number of other studies show about the effects of international aid in developing countries. As the literature suggests, it is difficult to see developing nations being able to achieve self-reliance in their investment in human resources without assistance (Ashton and Green, 1996; UNESCO, 1994; World Bank, 1994, 2000; Zideman, 1996). However, the literature also speaks of three issues as important in an analysis of the effects of aid: (a) the relative importance of donor priorities and local ones, (b) the relative effects on donor capabilities and local ones, and (c) the possibility that local voices are ignored.

It would be surprising if the major donor agencies did not have their own priorities. In the context of international debate about higher education Kent (1995) examined the

positions of the World Bank and UNESCO respectively concluded that the World Bank was interested in poverty reduction under conditions of economic adjustment, whereas UNESCO was interested in sustainable development (Kent, 1995). Given the importance of the World Bank in providing support, and given its recent partnerships with UNESCO and other agencies, is not surprising therefore that the theme of Lesotho's Sixth Development Plan was sustainable human development, and that poverty reduction "continued to be a leading development objective for the country" (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997, p.70).

It is acknowledged that support from international agencies is often tied to specific conditions (Setai, 1991; Marope and Samoff, 1998). These may sometimes impose upon recipients policy directions which they might not otherwise have been inclined to emphasize. One example is the IMF's Structural Adjustment Program in 1988 and its successor, the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Program in 1991-94 (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1992, 1997). These programs required recipients to take a variety of control measures like reduced social spending, including spending on education, as a solution to the fiscal situation which the aid was designed to remedy (Setai, 1991; Sparreboom, 1996). There may also be less direct ways in which international aid can have effects that may appear to counter national policy objectives. One example of this is given by Torres (1996) who notes that "the policy preference of many international agencies toward funding primary schooling, capacity building, and system management" (p.218) might affect funding of other programs like adult and continuing education and training. The Chapter 5 data on budgets for the different sectors of the education budget in Lesotho seem to bear this out.

The second issue highlighted in the literature is the effect on the development of capabilities for analysis and solution generation. It will be recalled that in the Lesotho interview data, respondents from unions and NGOs viewed international support as creating continuous dependence by the use of external rather than local experts and by having remuneration rates, which devalued local expertise. In a study of issues such as this King (1991) analysed the shaping of the external agency perspective on education in the developing world over the previous two decades. He observed that over the period the agencies succeeded in increasing their analytical capacities, and their confidence in knowing about the educational problems in recipient countries. The "map" of educational priorities held by the international agencies had become much more clearly defined. This had happened, however, without any corresponding attempts by recipient countries to analyse their own national educational requirements. This points to, argues King, "an imbalance between the weight of the external analysis of a country's educational needs and the country's own diagnosis" (p.xv).

Inasmuch as it is the definition of a problem that determines the approach to its solution, King's findings suggest that local problem definition and therefore local thinking about solutions is at a disadvantage. This analysis is closely connected with the third issue identified in the literature, namely the possibility that in the design of aid programs local views are excluded. Even if they are not excluded, local voices may not be heard or listened to. "On some debates about education," King writes, "the signals broadcast from the agency perspective are so powerful it is difficult to hear the local voices at all" (p.xv). Heavy dependence on external resources--both material and

human—seems to be making it difficult for people in developing countries to fully participate in development issues directly affecting their society.

There is an emerging body of work over the past ten years to suggest that this is a serious problem. Studies of the strengths and weaknesses of educational reform policies and practices show the importance of productive participation by the developing country in the design of aid and the identification of the priorities it is to serve (Torres, 1996; UNESCO, 1994; Verspoor, 1989; World Bank, 1994; Ziderman, 1996). Bowman (1992) goes further and identifies two basic aspect of development: "how productive participation in the changes is distributed through a society [and] the ways in which fundamental institutions and related value systems affect [development] and are changed in the process" (p.390). Education, Bowman argues, enters as a value in itself and in relation to the transmission of other values.

Conclusions

To rely for an understanding of Lesotho's post-secondary education and training system only on the government documentary data would be misleading. The documents would show a nation emerging from a colonial past and, within four years of independence, creating series of growth-oriented national development plans. They would show a number of equally growth-oriented plans for the development of the education system and a set of statistical data that show enormous growth in budget allocations to education and in educational enrollments.

It is from closer examination of these data and from an analysis of the comments of senior and knowledgeable officials that a truer picture emerges. There is no question that

great strides have been made in the provision of education in the past thirty years. There is also no question that the senior officials interviewed recognise that the government has a commitment to the development of a skilled workforce and that it is providing support to the best of its ability, even though resources are scarcer than they would like. They also recognise support in many other forms. But it is also clear that there is nevertheless a gap between what has been promised with respect to post-secondary education and training and what has been delivered.

The nature of the gap has been well described in the preceding chapters. It has many elements. In the system itself there has been growth in elementary and secondary education which is not matched by allocations to post secondary education and training; there are curricula which are less than relevant to the world of work; there is an absence of co-ordination and overall planning. In the system's social and labour market context there are other features which contribute to dissatisfaction. We see traditional attitudes against the study of technical subjects as desirable career avenues. We see the lack of employment opportunities for graduates and the consequent un- or under-employment of qualified people. We see a neglect of rural issues and the presence of an urban-rural imbalance. We see the absence of a tradition of consultation with stakeholders in policy development. In the still broader economic, political, administrative and economic context lie fundamental features of Lesotho's situation which in various ways affect the system. There are very limited natural, financial and human resources. Export revenues are restricted to only two commodities, water and labour. There is heavy dependence on international aid and the agendas of donor agencies. There are geographically

unavoidable economic ties with South Africa. All development has taken place in a political context marked from time to time by the eruption of unrest.

Three different sorts of conclusions emerge from the analysis of the data in the light of the broader literature on development and on skill formation policies. These concern (a) the fundamental similarities between Lesotho and other developing countries, (b) the false promise of human capital theory, and (c) the concept of skill development.

This chapter's analysis of Lesotho's overall economic circumstances and its dependence on external forces drew on the broader literature of education and development issues. It seems clear that Lesotho is not alone in facing the issues resulting from a poor resource base. The case of Lesotho is consistent with other cases, which have demonstrated that the success of educational reform is dependent on the availability of financial and material resources. It is consistent also with the record of what has happened to educational reforms in other developing countries whose economies have either not improved or deteriorated. Its experience of international aid is one, which echoes that reported elsewhere. In short, Lesotho is unique only in some details of its case. Its broad circumstances are comparable to those of other developing countries trying to ensure their development and doing so to a considerable extent by means of help from international agencies.

Lesotho's national development plans are couched in the language of human capital theory. Some of the critiques of that theory were discussed in Chapter 2 others were noted in relation to the Brown framework. Critics have argued that the theory may be more appropriate to the developed world than to less developed countries, that it leaves a number of factors out of account, and that its representation of human resource

development as a “positive-sum” game is misleading. These criticisms appear to be justified by the case of Lesotho. Governments appear to have adopted the rhetoric of development without an analysis of what potential the country has for the kind of development envisaged in that rhetoric. Development in a country which is geographically defined, resource-poor, agriculturally diminished, and newly independent may need to be conceived differently than in developed countries with established social infrastructure as well as industrial and commercial interests. In adopting for its development plans the rhetoric of human capital theory, the government of Lesotho may have unintentionally made false promises about what could be achieved.

This suggestion raises the issue of how skill development is conceived. The analysis using Brown’s framework suggested as one possibility that the framework might not be fully applicable to the developing world. In some respects, it may need modification to be fully useful in all situations and I comment on this in the final chapter. However, the questions it raises suggest that it can indeed be usefully applied to developing countries. A basic theory of Brown’s framework is, as we have seen, that skill formation should be conceived in terms of developing the social capacity for learning, innovation and productivity. For Brown, the way a country engages in skill formation is an indicator of the extent to which it is shifting from an industrial to a post-industrial society. We may think of a continuum running from “industrial” (or perhaps “traditional”) to “post-industrial”. In the analysis of the Lesotho data we saw that at each of Brown’s pressure points, Lesotho was seen to be at or near the “industrial” or “traditional” end of the continuum. In terms of Brown’s arguments, moving further along that continuum requires a rethinking of the notion of skill development. Rethinking

skill development probably also requires an appraisal of a number of issues fundamental to Lesotho institutions, traditions, and society.

Overall, it is clear that one cannot understand a nation's post-secondary education and training system as something separate and alone. It is part of, and greatly affected by a complex web of economic and social conditions, external influences, and internal circumstances. To the extent that the promises and aspirations articulated for post-secondary education and training in Lesotho's policy documents have failed to materialise, the reasons lie in many directions. Some improvements may be made by simple means. Most improvements will require important rethinking, not only of the system and what it can achieve, but also of the economic and social context in which it lies. That rethinking should include consideration of what "development" means for countries like Lesotho as they seek to develop their potential in the post-industrial and globalized economy of the twenty-first century. In the final chapter, I speculate on the implications of these conclusions for those involved in the post-secondary education and training system in Lesotho.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This Chapter summarizes the study and discusses its implications for policy and research.

Summary

The purpose of the study was to examine Lesotho's post-secondary educational reform policies and practices so as to understand the issues involved, to assess them in relation to issues and practices in other developing countries, and to be able to suggest its implications for policy and research.

The study had three specific objectives: (a) to describe the nation's educational reform policies and their effects on the provision of post-secondary education and training, (b) to identify factors which, directly or indirectly, influenced the provision of post-secondary education and training in Lesotho, and (c) to assess the relevance of the broader international literature on the development of post-secondary education and training to the Lesotho situation.

In addition to a review of relevant academic and professional literature, the study used three kinds of data: (a) the literature on Lesotho's history and its economic and educational development, (b) official documents and records concerning policy and practice in the area of post-secondary education and training, and (c) the results of interviews with 28 senior officials in government, educational institutions and other kinds of organisation with an interest in the area. The data were examined for patterns, themes

and issues which were assigned to categories derived in part from the literature and in part from the data themselves. Two analyses of the finding were undertaken. The first was an analysis in terms of Brown's (1999) framework for examining various countries' approaches to skills development. The second examined two major factors which seemed not to fit into the Brown framework.

The review of the academic and professional literature showed that the relationship between a nation's economy and its education system was well demonstrated, but that it is less straightforward than was originally thought. The almost universal adoption of human capital theory as a justification for investment in human resources has been subject to some critique. In the industrialized world the education-economy relationship is almost certainly different from that in developing countries. In addition to differences in their history, their economies and the scope of their education provisions, these countries often have labour market characteristics which are quite unlike those in the developed world. The literature also raised the question of what is seen as the appropriate role of the state in the provision and financing of education and showed that the variation in conceptions of this role are likely to affect the scope and process of educational policy making.

Lesotho itself, known in colonial times as Basutoland, is a small, landlocked country situated entirely within the Republic of South Africa. Since it obtained independence in 1966, its population has grown steadily and is now about 2.1 million. More than 10% of the people work out of the country in South Africa. Political unrest over almost the entire period since independence has sometimes been exacerbated by unrest and consequent reactionary measures and appears to have acted as a brake on

economic progress. Following a history of colonial administration in which the development of economic self-sufficiency was seen as less important than smooth administration, Lesotho has attempted to deal with economic issues through a series of five-year national development plans. The country has limited natural resources, only two substantial exports (water and labour) and a heavy dependence on foreign aid and on the economy of the Republic of South Africa. At the present time agriculture accounts for about 12% of GDP and remittances from mining workers in South Africa for about twice that. The tertiary sector accounts for just under half of GDP and the construction sector contributes more than a quarter, largely thanks to the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, built to supply water to the interior of South Africa. Recent government analyses have pointed to the need for a more effective public service if improvements in Lesotho's economy are to be realised.

Because of early nineteenth century missionary activity, Lesotho has a longer history of formal education than many other African countries. It is also unusual in that proportionally more female students are enrolled at all levels than in any other similar country. However, Lesotho education at the time of independence in 1966 was not advanced and, along with the national development plans, a sequence of policies for education reform was instituted. These policies were for universal primary education, a large scale development of secondary education, new institutions for post secondary education and training in a number of special fields, and expansion of the National University of Lesotho.

Some evidence of the working of these policies is seen in an overall education growth rate much greater than the rate of population growth. However, growth in primary

and secondary education and at the National of the University of Lesotho accounted for most of this increase. In the post-secondary technical and vocational sector growth was less. It exceeded population growth only in the period 1985-1990, and in all periods was markedly lower than the growth in other sectors of education. Further evidence that educational development has not fully matched the ambitious picture in the policy documents lies in some claims that gains in quantity have not been matched by gains in quality and that facilities development has lagged behind enrolment growth. Also, in spite of declared policy intents to accelerate economic growth through education, there continues to be a lack of employment for graduates.

The view of senior knowledgeable administrators, as expressed in interviews done for the study was that Lesotho's overall economic circumstances had major importance for thinking about post-secondary education and training. Most of these respondents also commented on the relationship between post-secondary education and training and the labour market. They saw three problems: the prevalence of government as an employer, the underemployment of many graduates, and the lack of an appropriately skilled workforce in technical areas. The importance of international aid for the Lesotho economy was commonly acknowledged, but it was also seen as problematic in that it diminished the country's ability to maintain its own priorities and develop its own expertise. There was unanimous agreement among all respondents that Lesotho lacks overall policy planning for human resource development in general and for post-secondary education and training in particular. All respondents agreed on the need for some kind of formal co-ordination mechanism for post-secondary education and training, but none mentioned the mechanism which was supposed to have been established by the

sixth national development plan. A number of issues that, on the basis of the literature and the documentary evidence, one would expect to have arisen in the interviews were mentioned rarely or not at all: social class, gender, urban-rural imbalance and political unrest.

From the analysis of the data it is clear that great strides have been made in Lesotho education in the past thirty years. The government has a commitment to the development of a skilled workforce and it is providing support to the best of its ability, even though resources are scarcer than it would like. It is also clear, however, that there is a gap between what has been promised with respect to post-secondary education and training and what has been delivered. This gap has many elements which have been summarized in the previous chapter.

Three general conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. The first is that Lesotho is not alone in facing the issues resulting from a poor resource base. Its circumstances are comparable to those of other developing countries trying to ensure their development and doing so to a considerable extent by means of help from international agencies.

The second general conclusion is based on the observation that Lesotho's national development plans are phrased in the language of human capital theory. Development in a country like Lesotho, however, poses different challenges from those in developed countries with not only established industrial and commercial interests, but also social infrastructure. In adopting the rhetoric of human capital theory, the government of Lesotho may have unintentionally set false expectations for what could be achieved.

The third general conclusion derives from Brown's notion that skill formation should be conceived in terms of developing the social capacity for learning, innovation

and productivity. If this is accepted, and if we also accept that skill formation policies are an indicator of the extent to which a country is shifting from an industrial to a post-industrial society, then Lesotho is seen to be at or near the “industrial” or “traditional” end of the continuum. Skill development may need to be differently conceived if Lesotho’s development is to progress. Rethinking skill development may require an appraisal of a number of issues fundamental to Lesotho institutions, traditions, and society.

In the following section I speculate on the implications of these conclusions for those involved in the post-secondary education and training system in Lesotho and I shall suggest a number of implications for policy and research.

Implications of the Study

Because some implications for policy require some new conceptualisation and improved information, they are addressed to the research community as well as to policy makers and administrators.

Implications for Research

There are implications in the study for both theoretical and applied research. I deal first with issues of theory and then with research needed to inform policy makers.

The Brown (1999) framework.

One of the more thought-provoking aspects of this study was the analysis of the Lesotho findings in terms of the framework on skill formation policies proposed by Brown. The framework was explicitly developed for comparing the skill formation

policies of developed countries, and its use with the present data showed some respects in which it might need modification if it is to be extended beyond those countries. In particular, in its present form it takes no account of the influence of international donor agencies and the conditions which may attach to the aid they provide. Another possible modification might be needed in the definition of the first pressure point, (the relations between government, employers and unions). In Lesotho, and probably in many developing countries, labour unions are not so mature as they are in the developed world, nor so numerous, but NGOs may play a significant role and their involvement in the development of skill formation policies might well be included in the framework. Overall, however, notwithstanding the possible need for such modifications, the framework applied to the Lesotho data was revealing.

Implication 1. Further work should be done using the Brown (1999) framework to investigate and compare the post-secondary education and training policies of developing countries, both to improve the framework and to allow in-depth comparisons among both developed and developing countries.

Concepts of development, and the social capacity for learning, innovation and productivity.

A consideration of both the Brown framework and the literature on the shortcomings of human capital theory led to two conclusions in the present study about the nature of development and the nature of the post-industrial society. First, governments appear to have adopted the rhetoric of development without an analysis of what potential their country has for the kind of development envisaged in that rhetoric.

Second, if development is to be seen as moving towards a post-industrial society, then moving requires a rethinking of the notion of skill development as a societal capacity and not merely an individual one. Rethinking skill development probably also requires an appraisal of a number of issues fundamental to Lesotho institutions, traditions, and society.

Implication 2. A conceptual study of different notions of “development” and the inculcation of the social capacity for skill development should be undertaken in which the implications for Lesotho are specifically addressed.

The relationship between education and the economy in Lesotho.

The present study has shown how complex and interconnected international, societal, organisational and educational factors are, in determining the possibilities and constraints of providing post-secondary education and training. The factors require more thorough and detailed examination in order for us to have a better understanding of the way they work. Such studies would also help in comparing the rhetoric of reform with the actual extent of the government's commitment to its implementation. A study on untangling the complexities of the relationships between the provision of post-secondary education and training and various aspects of political-economy, formal schooling, and access to the labour market in the context of Lesotho is necessary

Implication 3. A study would be needed on the interrelationships among post-secondary education and training in Lesotho and the complex of international, societal, organizational and labour market factors associated with it.

Program completion and employment.

The recognition of post-secondary education and training by the Lesotho government appeared to intensify in the 1990s when it appeared as a major policy concern in government policy documents and was highly promoted in the framework of economic modernization. The documents indicated that there was an annual increase of about 30% allocated to the National Manpower Development Secretariat responsible for the co-ordination and administration of scholarships. It does not appear that any systematic data have been collected on the effectiveness of this policy initiative. It would be useful to know where people enrolled, how many actually complete their programs of study, what type of employment they took, and where their jobs were.

Implication 4. A program and employment audit would be needed to assess the effectiveness of the government's investment in post-secondary education and training.

Program completion and social inequality.

Post-secondary education and training in Lesotho may be benefiting some people more than others. Specifically there are some indications in the data that university education in Lesotho has tended to benefit children of the people who are already in advantaged position socially and economically. If this is true, it carries major implications for human resource development policy. It is also relevant to the development of the social capacity for learning, innovation and productivity. A detailed study of the characteristics of those who complete post-secondary education and training programs, those who drop out, and those who are denied access to higher education would provide important information for further policy development.

Implication 5. A study would be needed of the characteristics of those who complete post-secondary education and training programs as well as of the drop-outs and the reasons for non-completion.

Gender disparities in education and work.

Women are enrolled in all levels of education in Lesotho to a much greater extent than in other developing countries. At the same time, however, they are underrepresented in employment statistics. Moreover, their traditional social roles tend not to be consistent with their being better educated than men. Men have cultural and legal roles as family heads. Boys become bread-winners or assistants to family bread-winners at a very early age. The potential seems considerable for tensions resulting from cultural, societal and traditional expectations. It seems plausible to suggest that problems like crime and divorce tend to increase as men are forced by level of education to occupy inferior position within traditional families that claim a man as head of the family.

There is at present no research to determine to what extent the gender disparity and associated problems sketched above exist in Lesotho. There is no research to assess the cultural, political, economic and developmental implications of the situation if it does exist to a significant extent. There is no research into possible avenues for change—for example the men in inferior positions who are victims of the recent layoffs in the South African mining sector.

Implication 6. A study would be needed on the social and economic consequences of the situation where women are in general better educated than men, and yet men are expected to perform traditional leadership and bread-winning roles.

Implications for Policy

Six issues arising from the study have direct implications for Lesotho policy makers. For several of these, the research suggested in the previous section would provide a sound knowledge base for policy development.

The issue of self-reliance.

As noted in the preceding chapter, there is a widely held view in the literature that without adequate resources educational development is not likely to progress. Lesotho's lack of resources and its dependence on foreign aid have emerged as major factors constraining the development of post-secondary education and training. All respondents and all documentation take for granted this feature of the Lesotho economy. However, rather than assume that Lesotho has to continue to tailor its policies to the circumstances of a dependent economy, I suggest an alternative implication, namely that Lesotho needs to consider ways of increasing its self reliance.

Pursuing this alternative would require an emphasis on the production and use of local resources and decreased emphasis on the support of international agencies. Given Lesotho's limited natural resources, this will not be easy and any moves would be aimed in the direction of self reliance, rather than at complete self reliance. However, it needs to be recognized that at least three things are found in abundance in Lesotho and not

normally considered when policy makers analyze the economy. These are (1) many people with basic literacy and a positive attitude (who are therefore easy to train), (2) the now established sale of water to South Africa (which has other probable associated social and economic benefits), (3) natural scenery beauty from its mountainous geography (which facilitates tourism).

To argue for increasing self reliance is not to suggest the abandoning of external aid, but to suggest that locally developed strategies would be supplemented by available support from international agencies. Post-secondary education and training initiatives might then be established based on social need, and not because of the availability of external funding. The strategies may also include giving enough autonomy to Lesotho's post-secondary educational institutions to enable them to negotiate their own terms in contracting with international funding agencies or with the private sectors where it is feasible.

The reversal of the assumption that Lesotho must be so heavily dependent on foreign aid might similarly be applied to dependence on South Africa. This is another feature of the Lesotho economy which appears to be taken for granted. There are adverse and positive implications which are aggravated, for example, by the fact that South Africa is more industrialized than Lesotho, a relatively small and economically disadvantaged country. However, apart from the recognition of the importance of remittances from migrant Basotho workers, there has been little mention of other ways in which the relationship with South Africa might be mutually beneficial.

From these considerations, I suggest three implications for policy.

Implication 7. The Lesotho government should investigate the potential for new sources of revenue, e.g. from tourism and constructions.

Implication 8. The country's post-secondary education and training institutions should be allowed to negotiate with international agencies and with the business sector program initiatives and the funding required for them.

Implication 9. New ways should be investigated in which Lesotho's close relationship with South Africa can be expanded to the mutual benefit of both countries.

The issue of realistic goals.

We have noted that the uncritical adoption of human capital theory may have led the government inadvertently to set unrealistic development targets. We have also noted Fagerlind and Saha (1989) suggestion that over ambitious goals and targets for education and training in developing countries can no longer be considered a panacea for social, economic and political issues in these countries, given their limitations.

The evidence in this study suggests that some policy assumptions, like the linkage between continuing education and paid employment, might not be realistic. The Lesotho human resource policy agenda may need to take into account not only formal employment, but also the strength of the informal economy and non-wage employment.

Implication 10. Government and policy makers would need to give careful thought to the feasibility of achieving the policy targets they set and consequently to the articulation of realistic goals in policy statement and official plans.

Implication 11. Policy makers and education planners alike should consider ways of taking into account the informal sector of the economy in their policy formulation and implementation strategies in order to enhance the effects of post-secondary education and training.

Issues of inequality.

Three issues of actual or potential inequality arose in the study. They concern (a) social class, (b) gender and (c) urban-rural differences. It was notable that none of them features in any of the policy documents and that two of the three were not mentioned as issues by any of the respondents in the study, and the third was mentioned by only one person. The lack of recognition of this situation would seem to imply a lack of critical awareness of crucial issues affecting the society as a whole. Either these senior officials are unaware of the possibility of inequalities in the system or they do not consider them important. Such inequalities, however, are key impediments to the creation of a truly developed society and their persistence is incompatible with the goals set out in national development and educational reform policies. If the suggested implications for research above were adopted, then the extent to which inequalities exist would be better known. Assuming that such research will be done, then four further implications might be suggested for policy makers and administrators.

Implication 12. Policy makers and administrators should be more acutely aware of the possibility of inequalities in the provision of post-secondary education and training.

Implication 13. Policy makers and administrators would need to determine whether there is a need to redress a social class imbalance in the proportion of students entering post-secondary education and training and if such a need exists, they should take steps to meet it.

Implication 14. Policy makers and administrators should consider the issues related to the gender disparities in education and the work force and take steps to remedy them.

Implication 15. Policy makers and administrators should recognize and modify the imbalance between the allocation of educational resources to urban areas and the proportion of the population living and working in rural areas.

Resource allocations.

The literature shows that political or state commitment in support of investment in human resources through education and training is widely considered a principal factor in social and economic development and growth. The present study found that in spite of official articulation, state educational resources allocated to the provision of post-secondary education and training were inadequate. . Most resources thus far have been directed to formal education intended specifically for the school-age population. The time

is ripe for those who belong to the school-age population and but unfortunately are pushed out of it, as well as the adult population, to benefit from the state allocations of resources for continuing education and training. It is true that the government has been constrained by economic conditions in implementing its planned investment in human resources. However, unless the government is prepared to show a willingness and commitment consistent with its policy statements, the provision of post-secondary and continuing education and training is likely to remain largely ineffective and inefficient.

Implication 16. The government should reconsider its educational resource allocation priorities and recognize the need for the allocation of more resources to post-secondary education and training.

Implication 17. The government should provide adequate resources to the National Manpower Development Secretariat to permit it to exercise effective co-ordination and management of increased financial resources for the post-secondary and training sector.

The processes of policy development and implementation.

The study indicates that policy making is done "at the top" by handful of senior bureaucrats and education planners. Respondents from institutions and especially from NGOs and Labour unions felt excluded from the processes of policy development and the design of implementation strategies. Interview data in the present study, show that incorporating the views of these people would probably enrich the policies and ensure commitment to workable implementation strategies. In fact, the documentary data show

that wide participation of stakeholders in the development of policy priorities was already being advocated by the government, but appears to have been slow in being achieved.

Implication 18. Policy makers for post-secondary education and training should actively solicit and incorporate in their statements, the views of stakeholders such as institutional administrators, and representatives of unions and business, and of NGOs.

Planning and Co-ordination.

The lack of planning and co-ordination for post-secondary education and training was loudly voiced in the interview data. Two different but related concerns emerged. The first was that there was no attempt by government to analyse the labour market requirements and allocate educational resources accordingly. The second was that there was no central co-ordination of what institutions do. In the absence of such co-ordination, institutions were beginning to create their own mechanisms for inter-institutional collaboration. Interestingly, the sixth national plan which had been promulgated two years before the study's data collection, placed major emphasis on the improvement of administrative efficiency and the co-ordination of resources and operations. Of even greater interest is the fact that the Education Sector Development Plan in the mid 1990s had established the Further and Higher Education (FHE) Inspectorate with broad powers to do precisely the kind of co-ordination whose absence was so clearly noted by the interview respondents. The FHE had failed to materialise. The kind of co-ordination envisaged for the FHE and needed by the interview respondents is essential if the system is to achieve the goals set for it.

Implication 19. A planning and co-ordination capability for post-secondary education and training should be established, either by activating the FHE or by creating a new body, or by facilitating institutions to develop the capability among themselves.

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APPENDICES

Consent: I am willing to participate in the study and agree to be interviewed. The goals of this research program are to enhance understanding of the linkages between the provision of tertiary education and the world of work in Lesotho; to suggest a strategy of the provision of adult and tertiary education and training that will enhance development of human resources in the country. The study will contribute to the literature on development of human resources in developing countries. The results of the study will be submitted as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time, without prejudice.

I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.

I consent to participate in this study.

Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX III. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

1. Please describe the type of education and training in which the Ministry is involved?
2. How would you describe the mission of the Ministry toward the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
3. How would you describe the linkages between the provision of tertiary education and training and the world of work?
4. Who determines the type of programs that are offered for what specific purpose?
5. How would you describe the relationship between the Ministry of Education and the educational institutions that provide tertiary education and training programs in Lesotho?
6. Which Ministries are involved in the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
7. How do the individual Ministries relate to each other in performing this task?
8. Who are directly involved in the decision-making process relative to the type of programs offered?
9. Is there a government body responsible for the co-ordination and collaboration of the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
10. If not, is there any other mechanism/body responsible for co-ordination?
11. In what ways do the activities of this body, affect the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
12. How would you explain factors that mainly enhance the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
13. How would you explain factors that constrain the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
14. What strategies would you suggest or recommend that can improve the current situation pertaining to the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation.

APPENDIX IV. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES

1. Please describe for me, the nature of institutional involvement in the provision of tertiary education?
2. How would you describe (a) the broad goals and (b) specific objectives as defined by your Institute?
3. How would you describe the linkages between the provision of tertiary education and training and the world of work in Lesotho?
4. In what ways, in your opinion, that knowledge, skills and attitude acquired through tertiary education and training contribute to social and economic development in Lesotho?
5. Which government Ministries are involved in the provision of tertiary education and training in the country?
6. How would you explain the nature and level of government financial support for the provision of tertiary education and training institutions and programs?
7. What would you consider as the principal factors determining the nature and level of such support?
8. How, in your opinion, has government financial support affected the provision of tertiary education and training programs in the country?
9. How would you describe the kinds of government incentives available to participants for enrolling in tertiary education and training?
10. How would you assess the nature and level of such support?
11. How would you explain factors that in your opinion influence the nature and level of government support in the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation

APPENDIX V. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS

1. How would you assess the nature and level of financial support for tertiary education and training programs provided by the organization/agency?
2. In what ways in your opinion has the financial support by organization/agency affected the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
3. Please describe, for me, the kinds of incentives provided by the organizations/agency, for adult learners to participation in tertiary education and training programs.
4. How would you explain the impact or effect of the availability of such incentives to learners or participants' recruitment?
5. How would you explain the effect as far as outcomes of the provision of tertiary education and training in general are concerned?
6. Are there other kinds of government support (besides those already mentioned) available to agencies/organizations and programs?
7. How would you assess the nature and level of government support in these areas?
8. What factors, would you say influence the nature and level of such support?
9. From your experience, how political structures at different periods affect the provision of adult and tertiary education and training?
10. Could you also explain how economic factors affect the provision of tertiary education in the past, today and in the future?
11. What strategies would you suggest or recommend that can facilitate improvement of the provision of tertiary education and training in Lesotho?
12. How would you relate the provision of tertiary education and training to labor market in Lesotho?

Thank your very much for your time and co-operation

APPENDIX VI: THE MAP OF LESOTHO

