

**THE MEANING AND SYMBOLISM OF CULTURAL DRESS PRACTICES IN
LESOTHO**

by

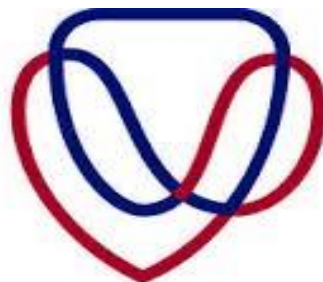
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Dissertation in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Consumer Science

at the Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Science



UFS · UV

**UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
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DECLARATION

I, Baatshwana Pheto-Moeti, declare that the thesis titled, THE MEANING AND SYMBOLISM OF CULTURAL DRESS PRACTICES IN LESOTHO, hereby submitted for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted the same work for a qualification at/in another university/faculty.

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“With all his abundant wealth through Christ Jesus, my God supplied all my needs”
(Philippians 4:19).

He provided me with the wisdom, knowledge and understanding for He is good, there is none like Him and His mercy endures forever. With these words I would like to thank my parents, siblings, relatives, friends, church members, students and colleagues for their contributions. I also extend my appreciation to my family, husband and children who supported me so much during these tough times in prayers and amazing understanding in order for me to achieve this Doctoral degree.

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This work is dedicated to my beloved children Neo Joy, Karabo Joseph and Naleli Ditebogo and my loving husband Dr Lehlohonolo David Moeti who sacrificed so much towards the success of this wonderful piece of work. I also extend my heartfelt gratitude towards my Godfather, Lance Corker and his family who walked with me throughout my academic journey. Without whom, I would not be where I am today.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

FGD	Focus Group Discussions
LCE	Lesotho College of Education
SAS	Statistical Analysis System
SI	Symbolic interactionism
UFS	University of the Free State
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the perceptions of the Lesotho College of Education staff and students in the Maseru district, and elderly people from the districts of Quthing and Botha-Bothe on the meaning and symbolism of cultural dress practices in Lesotho. The cultural dress practices with meaning or symbolism have not been extensively interrogated and recorded and are at the verge of extinction. Other studies on Basotho dress have indicated some gaps pointing to a need to determine, preserve and communicate the distinctive nuances attributed to the overall Basotho dress (Pheto-Moeti, 2005:90). The study sought to address these gaps regarding the Basotho cultural dress practices. Accessibility of the information currently found in the Sesotho literature was interrogated to widen the scope of knowledge.

The aim of this study was to determine knowledge and explore meanings, symbolism and cultural practices of dress of different rites of passage and artefacts for different cultural activities of Basotho and also to identify factors that influenced these cultural practices.

This study was premised on the theory of symbolic interactionism developed by George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). In addition, a cultural perspective enabled the understanding of the meanings of cultural dress practices as they were developed over time within different historical contexts of the Basotho people (Kaiser, 1990).

The research design for the study was an explanatory sequential mixed method approach in which a quantitative survey was followed by a qualitative phase (Creswell 2014). The target population was the Lesotho College of Education staff and students in the Maseru district and elderly persons in the selected villages of Ha Mosuoe and Ha Belo in Quthing and Botha-Bothe districts respectively. The staff and student populations were 200 and 590, and sample sizes of 132 and 233 at 0.05 confidence interval respectively.

The study raised a number of important observations. It showed that there was need to preserve and encourage the conservation of Basotho cultural dress artefacts and practices for future generations to prevent their extinction. Preservation and encouragement of Basotho cultural dress practices was a contribution that will lead to

their restoration and appreciation. Consequently, the future generation shall be endowed with respect (*hlonipha*), sense of self-identity, and patriotism.

Adherence to cultural dress practices was retained by a few individuals who were still attached to these practices, placing them in danger of being replaced by modern practices. Even though the respondents showed a high degree of knowledge and understanding of meaning or symbolism of cultural dress practices for the various stages of human development, the existence of these practices was under the threat of Christianity and modernisation because they were no longer observed by everybody any more.

Adoption of the changes brought by Christianity and modernisation to Basotho cultural dress practices has resulted in the suppression of indigenous creativity and gradual cultural loss. For Basotho to have accepted that modern dress practices were more decent than their cultural dress practices led to the gradual loss of their heritage. The Basotho blanket has been adopted as the traditional dress for the national identity for Basotho replacing the original cowhide and skin karosses. *Seshoeshoe* dress has replaced *setea* as a traditional identity dress for Basotho women. The result of this was the suppression and abdication of indigenous creativity of their cultural dress practices.

In order to respond to the issues raised by the study it is recommended that the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture in conjunction with the Education sectors and other stakeholders should develop appropriate policies that will facilitate education for the appreciation of cultural dress practices as part of required knowledge for the Basotho nation.

Keywords: Adornments, artefacts, body supplements, Christianity, culture, dress, meaning, modernisation, symbolism.

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GLOSSARY

Sesotho	English meaning
<i>Bipisa</i>	A cultural ritual undertaken for a woman during her first pregnancy
<i>Bosiu</i>	In the evening
<i>Kharetsana</i>	Women's head band
<i>Khoetsa</i>	A necklace made from a strip of leather with a skunk's claw attached worn by some Basotho infants
<i>Khokhotsi</i>	A yellow powder derived from basalt stone
<i>Khujoana</i>	Dried umbilical cord
<i>Konyana</i>	Lamb
<i>Kuoane</i>	A hat made from animal skin
<i>Lebetlela</i>	A specially carved and decorated protective stick carried by some Basotho men
<i>Lechoba</i>	A hand held adornment made from a cow's tail
<i>Lekoloanyane</i>	A graduated male initiate
<i>Lenyetse</i>	Long hair formed into dreads that is left on the middle of the head when claw shaving
<i>Leqapha</i>	A cloth decorated and secured with safety pins worn young men
<i>Letata/ lefoqo/ mokhahla</i>	Basotho karosses made from tanned skins and hides

<i>Lethuela</i>	A beaded spiritual/ancestral healer
<i>Letlama</i>	Heavy shawl used as blanket
<i>Letsoku</i>	Red ochre
<i>Lifatla</i>	Basotho sandals made from cow hide
<i>Linyao/litubatubi</i>	Tattoos
<i>Lipetja</i>	Bracelets
<i>Liqoatho</i>	Wet hide or sheep skin wrapped round the feet by shepherds
<i>Litsoajane</i>	Female initiates at pass-out stage
<i>Merutlhoana</i>	Leg rattles
<i>Mokorotlo</i>	Basotho hat
<i>Moletsa</i>	Waist beads made from egg shells
<i>Morepo</i>	A sheep blanket
<i>Motloenya</i>	Hair that is left during shaving above the forehead and styled in different ways by boys
<i>Motseare</i>	During the day
<i>Phepa</i>	White clay applied on the body by first stage of female initiates
<i>Pilo/sekama</i>	Black cream applied to the hair by <i>litsoajane</i>
<i>Qibi</i>	A seal
<i>Seanamarena</i>	Swearing by the chief (name of Basotho blanket)
<i>Selibelo</i>	A small container of fat used as body cream
<i>Seshoeshoe dress</i>	Women dress made from <i>seshoshoe</i> fabric
<i>Setea/ mose oa khomo</i>	Women dress made from cow skin

<i>Setipana</i>	A cape
<i>Thapo</i>	Mourning attire, black lace worn around the neck or piece of black cloth pinned to the sleeve
<i>Thari/thatsana</i>	Sheep or goat skin shawl for used carrying small children on the backs of their mothers
<i>Thethana</i>	Cultural loin skirt for girls and women made from cotton fibres
<i>Tlopo</i>	Shaving hair styles that leaves a block of hair above the forehead
<i>Tsea</i>	Loin cloth
<i>Tuku</i>	A head scarf

iSiNdebele

English meaning

<i>Gashi</i>	Beaded tiny covering worn by children
<i>Hlonipha</i>	To respect
<i>Ibheshu</i>	Loin cloth made from cow skin
<i>Ikhiba</i>	Special small blanket used by married Pedi and Ndebele women to cover their shoulders
<i>Indilile</i>	A short three layered gathered skirt
<i>Inkathula</i>	A cultural dress for Ndebele brides made from animal skin for induction
<i>Isithikulu</i>	A bead string with traditional medicine
<i>Izintombi</i>	Ndebele girls who have completed initiation and are ready for marriage
<i>Izixolwana</i>	Ndebele beaded loops

<i>Jokolo</i>	A five-panelled apron worn by married Ndebele women
<i>Legabe</i>	Ndebele female children loin-lap
<i>Linaka</i>	A Ndebele beaded cape made of animal skins
<i>Maphotho</i>	Goat skin apron worn by married women
<i>Mkhizo</i>	An apron-like dress worn by older initiates on top of <i>indilile</i> , decorated with beads and safety pins
<i>Nyoka</i>	A beaded bridal costume
<i>Pepetu</i>	A dress for maidens

iSiXhosa	English meaning
<i>Amaso</i>	A bead necklace worn by Thembu initiates
<i>Gunxa</i>	Induction of a bride
<i>ibhayi</i>	Small light blanket used to cover shoulders by married women
<i>Ikhohlwani</i>	Grass hand belt or bracelet
<i>Ikrwala</i>	An initiate
<i>Ingcathu/ umqatho</i>	A red band worn on the head by Thembu initiates
<i>Inxesha</i>	Loin skirt
<i>iSikhakha</i>	Thembu/Xhosa traditional women dress
<i>Isishuba</i>	A loin cloth
<i>Ithurhwa</i>	A grey blanket for herd-boys
<i>Ncebeta</i>	An apron-like garment worn on top of <i>iSikhakha</i> that forms part of married Xhosa women

<i>Ngcawe</i>	A red blanket worn by Thembu initiates
<i>Ubulunga</i>	Cow's tail hair
<i>Urhwaqu</i>	iSikhakha from animal skin

iSiTsonga

English meaning

<i>Tinghlanga</i>	Tsonga scarification
<i>Xikwana</i>	iSitsonga name of a reed with sharp edges

CHAPTER 1 :

INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXTUAL SETTING

The Basotho people are the inhabitants of Lesotho in southern Africa. This nation was founded by *King Moshoeshoe I*, in the early eighteenth century by bringing together remnants of the south Sotho and *Nguni* clans that survived the *lifaqani* wars. The nation is comprised of groups of people that observe a common ancestry and venerates a specific animal totem according to clans. The clan affiliations are inherited from the father to children. A *Mokoena* father gives birth to *Bakoena* children irrespective of the wife's clan. The clans have ritual and political significance. Clans such as *Bakubung* and *Bataung* settled south and west of Lesotho while *Batlokoa* and *Bakhatla* settled south and to east and north, and a great overlap occurred to those communities that lived close to each other. Some *Nguni* groups such as *Phetla*, *Polane*, *Phuthi* and *Bafokeng* first settled in the southern part and centre of the lowlands of Lesotho. Other clans include *Basia*, *Makhoakhoa*, *Bahlakoana* and some others from the Ndebele, Zulu, Swazi and Thembu tribes (Ellenberger, 1997:14-20; Gill, 1993a:12, 24; 1993b:23, 27).

Although regarded as a homogenous society, the Basotho is inherently a mixture of different tribes and clans some of whom have remained firmly attached to their cultural dress practices. The dress practices are generally categorised into, day, night and special event dress and are symbolic and communicate a variety of information (Segoete, 2001:13-15). The Basotho traditional dress as is known today, is an adapted dress from the Europeans. Acculturation in Lesotho began with the interaction of the Basotho and the Dutch Settlers in South Africa through wars and the arrival of the European missionaries in 1833. The Basotho had several kinds of blankets and various other forms of traditional dress types made from animal skin, many of which are no longer common nowadays (Pheto-Moeti, 2005:1; Karstel, 1991:18). Figure 1.1 depicts traditional dress items that are no longer common.



Figure 1.1: Sefatla – a traditional shoe made from an ox hide (left: Morija Museum and Archives n.d.) and cow skin blanket – letata (right: photo by author)

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Dress is an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body or the complete arrangement of all outwardly detectible modifications of the body itself and all material objects added to it (Pheto-Moeti, Riekert & Pelser, 2018:15; Motsemme, 2011:12; Damhorst, 2008:1; Kaiser, 1997:4; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1993:29). Notwithstanding, Eicher and Evenson (2015:3) perceived dress as both a product and a process that differentiates people from animals. They showed that because of technology and innovation, dress includes a host of items and activities related to the adornment of the body. Dressing the body entails actions that transform and add to the body as a response to environmental changes, as well as social and cultural expectations (Kaiser, 1997:4). Kaiser further indicated that the process includes the five senses of seeing, smelling, touching, hearing and tasting. Dress includes decorations and ornaments, hairdressing, body painting and various forms of body mutilation such as tattooing and scaring (Kaiser, 1997:4). Thus, dress includes more than just clothing which is the three-dimensional objects that enclose and enhance the body (Damhorst, 2008:1). For the purpose of the study dress and clothing are not used interchangeably. The study specifically attempted to address Basotho dress practices in general, with the understanding of dress defined as distinct from clothing.

Dress is an essential aspect in everyday life, because what people are wearing can communicate their status and moods (Pheto-Moeti, 2005:14; Kaiser, 1990:3). Within

dress, is engrained the history, culture and societal values of a people. Even though fashions or norms of dressing, trends in technology, the arts, notions of morality, social organisation and patterns of everyday living change over time, they are communicated and maintained through this medium (Kaiser, 1997:2). Dress captures influences and interactions with other societies. In Africa, the influence of missionaries played a considerable role in defining and determining the contemporary dress.

To a large extent, in many African cultures, the traditional dress has been influenced by assimilation and acculturation. Fair (2004:14) proposed that in the nineteenth century in many African cultures, dress served as an important and immediately visible sign of class and status. Dress and accessories form the primary aspect of aesthetic beauty. It does not merely form body coverage but is an expression of gender, character, wealth and status (Byfield, 2004:33; Michelman & Erekasima, 1992:170). During the late 1800s and early 1900s, some Africans used clothing as a visual symbol of resistance to colonialism (Akou, 2004:50). For example, in Angola, clothing was used by the natives to create and express their Angolanidade which is a unique expression that they were Angolans in their own way and own world (Mooriman, 2004:86).

The literature in sociology, psychology, cultural studies, consumer behaviour, and anthropology, demonstrated a need for an integrated approach. An interdisciplinary view to the study of dress is significant to theorists and researchers in highlighting relevant concepts, methodologies and application of ideas (Kaiser, 1990:2). From the Family Ecology and Consumer Sciences discipline, the study demonstrated an integration through the reliance on sociological and social psychological theories. It encouraged an interdisciplinary collaboration. Dress is such a common aspect of everyday life such that it is taken for granted. For this reason its symbolism and communicative power is only realised when the appearance draws people's attention for analysis (Kaiser, 1990:3). This study explored the Basotho dress as a tangible material object connected to the body, that is, body covering and also an assemblage of modification or supplements to the body from an integrated semiotic and social psychological approach. Unlike major cultural groups in Southern Africa like the Zulus, Xhosas, Ndebele's and the Swati's, Basotho, in particular, have been affected dramatically by acculturation (Pheto-Moeti, 2005:33). Therefore, this study sought to

analyse, from a symbolic interactionist perspective, the impact of dress on the Basotho identity and cultural values.

Several theories attempt to explain the need for dress. These include (i) modesty; (ii) immodesty; (iii) protective; and (iv) adornment theories (Tortora & Marcketti, 2015:2-3; Michelman, 2008b:194; Pheto-Moeti, 2005:9; Roach-Higgins, 1995; Kaiser, 1990:16). This study adopted the adornment theory for a comprehensive understanding throughout the research. The adornment theory refers to the decorative aspects of clothes and other forms of body modifications for purposes of attraction, showcase and expression of beauty. Adornment was the original reason for wearing clothing. This is based on the fact that even barbarians that lived naked and other societies that still follow that practice today employ some form of adornment to parts of the body (Kaiser, 1990:16). Tortora and Marcketti (2015:3) contended that decoration of the human body was universal. They showed that even though there were cultures where clothing per se did not exist, there were no cultures where some form of body decoration did not exist.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Dress conveys a wealth of information to a trained and observant eye (Eicher, Evenson & Lutz, 2008:445). Whether an African is wearing European clothes or traditional African dress, what is important is for the dress to define “who the person is” within the parameters that are both local and foreign (Byfield, 2004:85). Perani and Wolff (1999:46-47) showed that the presence of European clothing in Africa did not mean a complete disappearance of indigenous dress styles. Indeed what is observed is that innovative combinations of the Western and the traditional dress have emerged. In Lesotho, instead of using animal skin to make the traditional *mose oa khomo* as was the case in the past, a brown synthetic canvas is used (see Figure 1.2).

Given the developments that have taken place in Basotho dress over the years, so much has been taken for granted about the evolution of the dress over time and the symbolic meanings that have been attached to different dress practices. In a previous study on *Seshoeshoe* dress as an identity dress for Basotho women, the findings indicated a gap pointing to a need to determine, preserve and communicate the distinctive nuances attributed to the overall Basotho dress (Pheto-Moeti, 2005:90).



Figure 1.2: A Mosotho woman wearing mose oa khomo (left) and college youth displaying modern synthetic cultural dress with thethana showing in front (right) (photographs by author)

The problem identified in the study is that there is rapid change in the dress practices of the Basotho people and yet to date, not enough research has focused on 1) the traditional and/or modern dress practices; 2) the specific factors affecting these changes as well as the meaning and symbolism of Basotho cultural dress practices and 3) the impact of the loss of cultural dress practices on the current and future generations. The researcher had also observed that there was a seemingly lack of interest in cultural dress practices among the young and the old Basotho. Based on the available information, interest and knowledge about dress, the study sought to address the existing information gap. The reviewed literature indicated attempts to address some individual aspects of the Basotho cultural dress practices. For example, Karstel (1991) among her other works, investigated the Basotho blankets. Mokorosi (2017), Pheto-Moeti (2005) and Segoete (2001) have discussed some Basotho cultural practices related to clothing. Mokorosi (2017) has consolidated archived information on Basotho practices and Matobo, Makatsa and Obioha (2009) focused on the Basotho concept of initiation.

On the other hand, this study undertook a comprehensive investigation on the meaning and symbolism across the entire spectrum of the Basotho cultural dress practices. Accessibility of the information currently only found in the Sesotho language

has been expanded to a broader readership. Eshleman, Cashion and Basirico (1993:100-101), as well as Kaiser (1990:370), demonstrated that material artefacts had a strong influence on the socialisation of people and their cultural system. Civilisation has had some positive aspects on African cultures, however, that should not happen at the cost of losing salient and core elements of African traditional culture, values and social behaviour that are foundational in differentiation and social identity. It is, therefore, fundamental that Basotho as a nation should not abandon its social identity through loss of its cultural values, artefacts and practices that are associated with dress.

Acculturation creates tension between traditionalism and modernisation with the consequence that cultural identity and heritage are lost. The modern Basotho generation that has no information about its cultural past tend to believe the image projected by the western world that western dress is more superior and therefore, look down upon their indigenous lifestyles, products and ideas about dress. Exposure of the young generation to the fact that there can be a balance between modernisation and tradition is important, which motivates this study (Rosenberg, 2002:7; Mafaesa, 2001:6). It is also a strong contention of the researcher, that for Lesotho, the relationship between the dress as material culture and the socialisation of the Basotho needed further documentation. The Basotho cultural dress practices used to be important in maintaining their values, morals, beliefs, attitudes and identity - a factor that currently seems to be under serious threat. While it is a known fact that culture is dynamic, the Basotho cultural dress practices warranted some investigation in order to determine the perceptions of different generations on their significance.

The existing information gap was addressed by seeking answers to the following research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of both young and old Basotho men and women in relations to the Basotho cultural dress practices?
2. To what extent are the twenty first century Basotho generation aware of the meanings and symbolism of cultural dress practices of different rites of passage?
3. Are the Basotho cultural dress practices valued as part of identity in everyday life?

4. What is the impact of Christianity and modernisation, technology, modern body modifications and supplements and dress items that have potential for causing conflicts on the Basotho cultural dress practices?
5. Which Basotho cultural dress artefacts with meaning or symbolism are still valued and need to be preserved?
6. Are there any associations between gender, age and occupation of the respondents?

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Basotho have a vibrant history of dress practices of which not very much is known. Furthermore, because of modernisation, examples of this cultural wealth are rapidly disappearing. The aim of this study, therefore, is to investigate meanings, symbolic and cultural practices of dress of different age groups, rites of passage and traditional activities of the Basotho. Also, to identify factors that influence these cultural practices and their value in contemporary Lesotho. The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. Determine the nature and extent of knowledge and understanding of meaning and symbolism of the Basotho dress practices for different rites of passage by both young and old persons;
2. Explore Christianity and modernisation, technology, modern body modifications and supplements and dress items that have potential for causing conflicts as factors that influence traditional and modern dress practices;
3. Explore possible associations between different demographic variables and perceptions concerning Basotho dress practices and culture;
4. Establish whether Basotho cultural dress practices are valued as an everyday practice; and
5. Determine past and present cultural dress artefacts that are valued and need to be preserved.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study of dress can be used informally by parents and teachers to help children, and young adults clarify complex concepts such as gender, race, ethnicity, conformity

and individuality (Eicher *et al.*, 2008:444-445). Many people fail to appreciate the significance of dress in human life by simply taking it for granted; dress conveys profound information of wearers and their perceptions about life. When cultural dress practices are lost, the information and the meanings that were embedded in them are also lost. Cultural heritage is increasingly threatened at the global level and the deterioration and disappearance of items of cultural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world (UNESCO, 1972).

The United Nations through UNESCO responded to the problem through the adoption of the World Heritage Convention the purpose of which is to preserve cultural heritage because of its importance to all humanity (UNESCO, 1972). This study aims at contributing towards the goal of this Convention. Information will be availed through documentation and the use of modern technology such as the internet will provide global accessibility. The study is essential within Home Economics/Consumers Science as a multidisciplinary science. It addresses the issue of dress practices of a specific community of the Basotho from a multidisciplinary viewpoint seeking to provide a consolidated and up-to-date record. The study therefore, demonstrates how Home Economics/Consumers Science can draw from other disciplines such as the social sciences in understanding the relationship between people and dress. It will contribute to the documentation of the history of the Basotho dress and related cultural practices as part of material culture for future generations.

1.6 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

To conduct and complete this study in a meaningful and manageable way, with the available time and resources, some limitations have been identified, especially relating to the interview section of the study.

The population comprised of the staff and students of the Lesotho College of Education and the elderly from two villages in two districts of Quthing and Botha-Bothe. The scope was limited by the available resources. The selected site for study influenced the information received.

It was difficult to travel to the places to conduct interviews with the elderly in terms of the distance and terrain. Because of the old age and the health of the interviewees, the envisaged grouping had to be adapted.

For purposes of analysis, access to dress artefacts with meaning and symbolism was limited due to their scarcity in the selected villages.

1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The following terms are used in this study and are defined as follows:

Acculturation refers to the on-going process by which members of a distinct culture internalize the values and behavioural patterns of a majority society but not admitted to intimate groupings (Kaiser, 1990:534).

Adornment is defined as any decoration or alteration of the appearance (Kaiser, 1997:4).

Artefacts are the things that people sometimes make (called the artefacts of culture. Dress includes manufactured and handmade objects and materials. These objects also are products of the processes and technologies a culture develops to make things. Both sociofacts and mentifacts become encoded in artefacts, such as dress, made by people in a culture (Damhorst, 2008:5).

Dress practices include any “actions undertaken to modify and supplement the body in order to address physical needs in order to meet social and cultural expectations about how individuals should look” (Manthey, 2015:2 citing Eicher *et al.*, 2008:4).

Clothing is any tangible or material item/ object/ apparel connected to the body. The definition encompass such items as pants, skirts, tops and other related body coverings (Pheto-Moeti *et al.*, 2018:15).

Culture defines shared aspects of social life, primarily in terms of ideas, beliefs, and values. This nonmaterial concept of culture includes learned behaviour patterns, religious beliefs, ideals, standards, symbolic meanings, and expectations that are shared as the people of a society develop a heritage of common experiences. The shared culture can change as current members interpret ideas, beliefs, and values in light of new experiences (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:31).

Cultural patterns are referred to as value orientation, which is a concept used to denote values, beliefs and other orientations that characterize the dominant group within a culture (Samovar, Porter, McDaniel & Roy, 2013:168).

Dress is an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body or the complete arrangement of all outwardly detectable modifications of the body itself and all material objects added to it (Damhorst, 2008:1; Kaiser, 1997:4; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1993:29).

Material culture is defined as the vast universe of objects used by humankind to cope with the physical world, to facilitate social intercourse, to delight our fancy, and to create symbols of meaning (Richards, 1992:53).

Non-material culture refers to the “ideas” of culture that influence behaviour and direct socialisation (Bell, 2013).

Meaning – Dress and the body have meanings that are relative to culture and historical times. Meanings are created by individuals living from day to day within cultures and interacting daily with the objects and materials of dress. Some of these meanings develop as people hear others talk about the way people look, see other people dressed in specific ways, and react to them based on their appearances. Meanings of dress and appearances are created, maintained and modified as individuals deal with dress and the people wearing each style of dress (Damhorst, 2008:5).

Religion is a set of beliefs, symbols and practices that are based on the idea of the sacred and that this refers to that which people define as extraordinary and inspiring a sense of awe and reverence (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:37)

Rites of passage is a ceremony or an event that marks the transition from one phase of life to another. Although it is often used to describe the tumultuous transition from adolescence to adulthood, it refers to any of life’s transitions (births and beginnings, initiations, partnerings, and endings or death). There are many passages in people’s lives if they choose to mark and celebrate them (Kaiser, 1990:530)

Tattooing refers to the insertion of pigment into the skin with needles, bone, knives or other implements in order to create a decorative design (Martin, 2019:5).

Symbol refers to an object, mode of conduct, or word toward which [people] act as if it were something else. Whatever the symbol stands for constitutes its meaning (Charon, 1998:48-49).

Values They are culturally defined standards of desirability, goodness and beauty that serve as broad guidelines for social living (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:40).

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter one gives a general introduction and background of the study. The chapter further outlined the aim and objectives, the research questions, problem statement, contextual setting, significance of the study, delimitations and limitations, as well as the definition of terms.

Chapter two provides an in-depth review of the literature related to the concept of dress, dress as body covering, impact of modernisation on dress practices, dress practices, culture, dress as an aspect of culture, Basotho dress and culture, Basotho supplements and adornments.

Chapter three addresses the theoretical framework (symbolic interactionism), definition of a symbol, meaning of symbol, and perspectives in symbolic interactionism.

Chapter four presents the methodology. It covers an in-depth review of quantitative and qualitative (mixed methods) approaches, target population, sampling, data gathering instruments, data analysis, ethical aspects, validity of the two approaches and limitations encountered.

Chapter five presents the results. It addresses the presentation of data, findings and discussions. It is divided into the following parts: analysis of artefacts; students and staff perceptions and perceptions of the elderly. It entails the presentation of data and analysis, discussion of data as well as findings of both the quantitative survey and the integrated mixed-methods approach.

Chapter six presents the conclusions and recommendations of the most significant findings, and recommendations for further research are provided.

CHAPTER 2 :

LITERATURE REVIEW: DRESS AND CULTURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Basotho clan differentiation as presented in section 1.1 under contextual setting is very important in understanding their cultural dress practices. The literature review draws from the broad literature of dress and culture and attempts to narrow down to the Basotho situation. This chapter focuses on reviews of documented material on culture and dress relevant to the objectives of the study, *vis a vis*, knowledge and understanding of Basotho cultural dress practices. The material includes the significance of symbolism or meaning of Basotho cultural dress practices and factors that influence traditional and current dress practices.

The chapter is divided into sections that address the understanding of the following concepts: dress practices; culture; dress; impact of religion and modernisation on dress.

2.2 DRESS PRACTICES

Nielson (2009:3) submitted that a dress practice was “an assemblage of body modifications and supplements displayed by a person.” Roche, Roche and Al Saidi (2012:133) posited that dress practices can be considered as a means of transmitting information about individuals and societies. They showed that dress practices in the Sultanate of Oman served to indicate material status, with variations in the styles of wearing according to regions and tribes. Women in most tribes in al-Batinah wore burqa, a frame-stretched cloth covering a portion of the face with the fabric usually coated in neel (indigo). Indigo temporarily stains the wearer’s skin blue enhancing facial appearance. The tinted skin is regarded as beautiful and even when the indigo is washed off, the pale skin is considered attractive.

Studying the dress of a people results in obtaining information about their social mores and values. Dress practices are part of societies’ history and culture and are in practice enforced in social interaction. In most cultures there are dress code enforcers who use

social sanctions as a means to enforce and maintain the practice especially over women. In their study of the Bosnian women the authors indicated that when women got exposed to possibilities of change in their dress code due to interactions with other cultures, they began to challenge their dress practices (Workman & Freeburg, 2009:314). As discussed in the following section dress relates to ideas in different cultures and in different periods (Kaiser, 1990:352-353; Thurston, Lennon & Clayton, 1990:139; Horn & Gurel, 1981:246).

2.2.1 Social role and social status

Dress, as a nonverbal element of cultural communication, has the capability of differentiating people in terms of their social-demographic characteristics including age, sex, religion, education and occupation (Wass & Eicher, 1980:320). Clothes as an aspect of dress have been used symbolically to indicate status. They have been used for recognition, approval or identification of people (Horn & Gurel, 1981:271). "In every society, there is a marked distinction in dress of men and women, strict taboos are maintained against wearing garments assigned to the opposite sex. The division of sex roles by means of clothing is deeply embedded as a social norm that in most countries has become a penal code. With respect to sex differentiation in dress, females are supposed to have an interest in dress, and males are supposed to have a little or none. A woman is expected to be soft, round, colourful, delicate and decorative, and the man is expected to be hard, vigorous, strong, drab and inconspicuous" (Horn & Gurel, 1981:188).

In every society, there is a difference in the clothes of men and women according to the cultural roles assigned. For example, men were typically engaged in formal employment and women remained at home taking care of the household and children. Trousers for men and skirts and long dresses for women enabled them to fulfil their roles (Roach, 1989:416). Terblanche (1995:53) and Horn & Gurel (1981:204) noted that gender, age, nationality, socioeconomic status and individual personality are significant dress determinants expectations. Children learn role differentiation by sex from a very early stage. For example, children learn that others are boys, and others are girls through the differentiation of their dress (Roach, 1989:416; Horn & Gurel, 1981:205). Concerning nationality, many cultures have clothing that distinguishes

them from others for example a Greek and an Indian sari, the Basotho blanket and Ndzundza blankets (Trollip, 1994). Roles associated with positions in the different social structural makeup such as family, polity, economy, religion, caste and class are distinguishable through dress (Terblanche, 1995:53).

Storm (1987:126-127) in a study of dress highlighted the importance of age and gender roles and showed that gender roles were a prominent feature. Even in circumstances where the dress may be similar for both genders, some form of distinction is brought in the details. In many cultures wearing of dress of a different gender is regarded as a taboo. In the same manner for a woman who is not pregnant to wear a maternity dress is regarded as abnormal. This is because a maternity dress communicates the role that it was made for. Some cultures have colour preferences for boy and girl infants. Contrary to the western culture where there is specific clothing for infants and toddlers, in the Basotho culture boys usually went naked until they were about six years. As the boys grew up and became aware of their nakedness, they would become embarrassed and start looking for something to cover themselves. Before wearing *ts'ea* or loincloth, boys typically wore beads called *seope*. On the body they covered themselves with *makupana* or *matatana* made from goat's skin with wool on the outside when it was cold. Girls on the other hand wore *thethana*, which was smeared with fatty ochre from a much younger age. They also wore *lithatsana* made from tanned sheep's skin/hide (Mokorosi, 2017:33; Mats'ela, 1990:46-47).

The distinction between the clothing of the elderly and the youth is culturally important, thus discouraging in particular older adults and women who seem to believe that dressing like young people maintains their youthfulness (Storm, 1987:132). Storm (1987:137) and Damhorst (2008:5) remarked that dress is useful in facilitating different social activities. A uniform is an example of an occupational dress that identifies a group of people performing a similar function. For example, nurses, policemen and other uniformed professionals can be easily identified by their uniforms. In many cultures, dress communicates the identity of individuals in terms assigned to their social status.

2.2.2 Rites of passage

Davis (1994:3), Durel (1993:223) and Van Gennep (1960:11) observed that there are three phases of rites of passage; (1) separation, (2) transition and (3) incorporation. Van Gennep (1960:11) proposed that rites of separation are mainly associated with funeral ceremonies, rites of incorporation with marriages, and transition rites may become prominent in pregnancy, betrothal and initiation. Transition rites play a less significant role in adoption, to the delivery of a second child, remarriage and the transition through different age groups. Human life development entails several stages from the date of birth to death. Each of the stages has great importance that affects the individual as well as the community within which he/she is a part (Boakye, 2010:3; Van Gennep, 1960:11). A rite of passage is a ceremony and marks the transition from one phase of life to another—for example, the first experience of menstruation by females, weddings or burial rites. Dress is used to symbolise one's change of status and serves as an important part of the rite of passage ritual.

Trollip (1994:33) posited that among the Ndzundza-Ndebele, traditionally, the colours of beads had distinctive connotations, pointing mainly to the stages of development in a person's life – infancy, childhood, puberty, betrothal, marriage and parenthood. The greens and yellows were “good” through their association with growth in spring, abundance in summer and the harvests in autumn. The blues were “powerful” colours because they were linked with the sea and sky, while the red tended to suggest “troubled times”. Opaque red beads, resembled blood and was used to signify strife or heartache, while the transparent ones, being linked to fire or lightning, could hint at anger or host of ominous events. Blacks, the darkest of all, represented sorcery, death and widowhood, while pink, as found in sea shells, was a sign of authority (Trollip, 1994:33-35). Basotho women adorned themselves with *senyepa* – a belt made of beads around their waists and infants wore *moletsa* made from egg shells round their waist. Among other valuable materials used by Basotho for adornment, were necklaces and girdles made of glass beads, little balls of wood, iron and copper, amulets and whistles, bracelets and necklaces made of massive copper (Casalis, 1997:151-152; Sechefo, 1904:17).

Further examples include the wearing of a red dress for a wedding which is perceived as a powerful fortification against evil spirits. Kaiser (1985:430) postulated that the ring

is placed on the fourth finger since it is believed to be directly linked to the heart. Also, true betrothal is when the woman from the fiancés' party ties an ornament around the betrothed female's neck. The bride wore her father's presents when moving to her new home. The wedding ring signifies purity and faithfulness in marriage. White colours signify purity among the western communities (Kaiser, 1990:530, 1985:430).

Boakye (2010:3) proposed that although a rite of passage is often associated with the transition from adolescence to adulthood, it refers to any of life's transitions (births and beginnings, initiations, partnerings, and endings or death). There are many passages in people's lives if they choose to mark and celebrate them. The Zulu's, for example, have their children's ears pierced to mark the transition from infancy to childhood. Pieces of a twig or a corn-stalk are fitted into the opening on the earlobe, and gradually the size is changed until it is the size of the top of a teacup (Morris & Levitas, 1987:s.a.). There are also western professional rites of passage such as the white coat ceremony observed by the medical students (Workman & Freeburg, 2009:70). Many African societies observe the practice of rites of passage including for example, Ndembu and Bemba in Zambia and Kaguru in Tanzania and Gisu of Uganda. The practice may include incisions of the body, cutting of genital parts and testing the body for endurance. The practice is significant for females, with a focus on fertility. It is also regarded as important in ensuring the continuation of family lineage and status. The rite of passage is used to ensure allocation and security of the place in family lineage as an identity of maturity and offer status as a member of a group. During this stage, participants are trained on issues related to sex and marriage and family life. Domestic skills are especially emphasized for females as a prerequisite for marriage. "All traditional Ghanaian societies celebrate a girl's transition to adulthood, and it is known as *otufu* among the Gas, *bragoro* among the Akans and *dipo* among the Krobos. Puberty rites are held for both boys and girls in the Northern Region of Ghana, unlike the south where it is mainly for girls. Female genital mutilation is practised as a form of puberty rites." Except for the Krobo, the practice of passage of rites has declined significantly in Ghana (Boakye, 2010:3-4).

Eliade (1965: ix) submitted that it is the initiation rite that gave a man in a traditional setting the image of manhood. In some cultures, initiation comprises an extensive engagement of rites and training to develop and produce a change in the religious outlook and social standing of the individual being initiated. Puberty initiation is one

crucial example in understanding the traditional cultures. The passage or transitional rites are mandatory to all youth in a community. For them to be admitted into the adulthood level of the society from adolescence, they have to undergo a series of initiation rites. Initiation is part of the cultural belief in which the initiate is introduced into society and its spiritual and cultural values. He is taught about the behaviour patterns, the techniques and the institutions of adults as well as the mythological beliefs and traditions of his tribe, names of the gods, their history and their activities. He also learns the mystical relations between the tribe and the gods as it has existed from the past. Eliade (1965:2) describes three types of initiations:

- The collective rituals: these effect transition from childhood to adolescent, and to adulthood. It is the most general and mandatory.
- Rites of entering a secret society: as the name says what is done in the society remains the secret of the society.
- Connection with mystical vocation: religious or related to traditional healing and spirituality.

One of the processes of initiation is the operation of extracting a tooth of a novice. In some traditions, circumcision is treated as a death of some sort. The instructors are dressed in lion and leopard skins, and they put on claws of beasts of prey when undertaking the circumcision operation. The act is symbolic of destruction, but once the novice has been circumcised, he is dressed in either lion or leopard skin to indicate that he has assimilated the divine essence of the initiatory animal and has been restored to life in it. In Australia, the novices are daubed with red ochre as a substitute for blood or sprinkled with fresh blood. The initiation practices for girls are not as widespread as for the boys. Within the coast tribes of northern Australia, the completion of the initiation ceremony for girls is marked by painting them with ochre and extensively decorating them. It is not uncommon to undertake the initiation for one individual. The women would then accompany her at dawn to a fresh water stream or lagoon. After a ritual bath, she is led in a procession to the main camp where she is received with great fanfare as a general indication that she is socially accepted as a woman (Eliade, 1965:2, 43).

Among the Basotho, initiation (*lebollo*) has three meanings that mark a change and passage to maturity. The first meaning is associated with the tapering of the umbilical

cord from a newly born baby (*ngoana o bolotse*). The second meaning refers to circumcision at a modern hospital when a boy child or man, goes for a genital operation that removes the foreskin. The third meaning is a rite of passage into adulthood of adolescent boys and girls.

During the first stage of the girls' initiation, the *bale* stage, *phepa* (white clay lotion) is applied all over the body including the feet causing the initiate to look white (Matobo *et al.*, 2009:106, 110; Tyrrell, 1968:100). At this stage, Tyrrell (1968:100) and Ellenberger (1997:288) noted that the female initiates were clothed with a short skin skirt reaching the knees, a girdle of grass ropes called *likholokoana*, round their waist, a small skin mantle on their shoulders and covered part of their faces with a veil made of rushes (*leloli or molula*). Around the waist, the initiates (*bale*) wore eight or more rings of *likholokoana* which were bounded with endless plaited strings of grass. It was understood that the string must have no end and no beginning so that evil will not be able to enter. *Bale* wear sheepskin aprons below the grass hoops. During the *tsoejane* stage, female initiates apply *pilo* on their skin which is a black substance used as a cream. *Tsoajane* (also known as *tsoejane*) is a stage before pass-out (out – *ho tsoa* in Sesotho) and is post-initiate (Matobo *et al.*, 2009:110; Sekese, 1991:14-15; Tyrrell, 1968:100).

During the *thojane* phase, which is a pass-out ceremony, the initiates have their hair shaved on the sides leaving *lenyetse* or *tlopo* in the middle of the head. The remaining *lenyetse* is smeared with a black cream called *sekama* and the shaved part with red ochre (*letsoku*). During the graduation on the departure day, they apply red-ochre all over their body together with their clothes. Their dress comprises of *thethana* over which is the spatulate back skirt of goatskin (Matobo *et al.*, 2009:110; Sekese, 1991:14-15; Tyrrell, 1968:100) Tyrrell (1968:100) noted that as a practice of the initiation schools, the clothing that the initiates used was carefully destroyed (usually by burning) to ensure the protection of the graduates from attacks by evil powers. Figure 2.1 shows how *bale* with decorated grass veil used to conceal their identity.

The initiation rite of passage is very significant in many African cultures. Trollip (1994:33) indicated that Ndzundza-Ndebele female, requires a particular dress code before she can perform initiation rituals. Initiation dress in many cultures including the Basotho is unique to the practice (Eliade, 1965). The Ndzundza wear blankets in

certain colour combinations decorated with specific designs, thus portraying symbolic meaning indicating stages in the life phase, as well as activities and ethnicity. Therefore, dress eases the transition between cultures and allows for compliance between two cultural forces. There is also a concept of incorporation in which an artefact borrowed from another culture remain unchanged but is used to communicate cultural meanings in the adopted culture. The Basotho blanket and those of the Ndzundza are an example of incorporation.



Figure 2.1: Bale concealing their faces with veils (Source: Gill, 1993:43)

The most popular items of Ndebele ornamentation are the beaded hoops (*Izixolwana*) worn by females after the age of puberty. They vary in size, are fitted around the wrists, arms, ankles, legs, neck and stomach. These are made of thin stems of grass firmly sewn together to form a compact, circular core. The broad, tight-fitting neck-hoops, although extremely uncomfortable, are sewn by Ndebele women as the most attractive and essential items of ornamentation. All Manala and Ndzundza women wear heavy copper rings which can be opened and closed when heated and therefore fitted to size around arms, legs and neck.

Manala and Ndzundza girls start wearing ornaments during early childhood – beaded anklets, wristlets, and necklaces. At this age, they are dressed in a loin-lap (*legabe*). In adolescence, the *legabe* is replaced with a small apron (*phephethu*) which is covered from edge to edge with beads. In due course, this is replaced by the large, goat-skin apron (*Maphotho*) worn by married women, decorated mainly with white beads, the *maphotho* is broad, heavy and long and in some cases reaches down to the ankles. On the day of her marriage, a bride wears a veil of threaded beads, completely hiding her face. Ndzundza Ndebele female cannot attend initiation school unless she has a full traditional outfit (Trollip, 1994:33-35). Among the Basotho children, body adornment was not as extensive as was found among the Manala and Ndzundza. Segoete (2001:13) intimated that Basotho children wore *moletsa* (beads) on the waist made from eggshells and around the neck wore a bead necklace. Women wore *mose oa khomo* that was decorated on the edges with *khohloana* and large shiny *lethose* buttons called *mabenyane*. They also wore *morepo* (sheep blanket) smeared with red ochre. On the head, they adorned themselves with headband (*kharetsana*) and wore anklets of *lethose* around the shin (*tlhafung*). For traditional dancing, *merutlhoana* (Several small bags made from sheepskin that give a rhythmic sound during dancing) were worn around the ankles (Segoete, 2001:15).

Bereng (1987:20) observed that at death of a husband as the final rite of passage, the Basotho family selected clothing among the wife's clothes that she will wear during her period of mourning. On the day following the husband's burial, the children shaved their hair and wore a strip of black cloth on their necks (*thapo*) to signify mourning for at least a month. During the removal of the mourning cloth, children's heads are shaved again. The wife of the deceased is expected to mourn for her husband until the winter of the following year. At the end of the mourning period, she will go to her parent's home for cleansing (*ho tlosa sesila*). She is then provided with a new change of clothing. It was also noted that the removal of mourning clothing in summer is associated with the destruction of crops in the fields by hail and other disasters.

The rite of cleansing includes a slaughtering of an animal and the widow touching its blood. Widows wear blankets as mourning wrappers and will only remove them after a prescribed mourning period (Mokorosi, 2017:47). Furthermore, Maposa (2012:156), found out that for the Ndaus in Zimbabwe, women of the deceased's immediate family shaved their heads and wore laces around their necks as a sign of mourning. Also, a

black piece of cloth (*mutiisa*) could be worn on the sleeves of clothing as a sign of mourning. These mourning artefacts were ritualistically taken off at some later point after the funeral and disposed of by burning. It was mainly women who engaged in the mourning practice, which was demonstrated by wearing church uniform during the burial ceremony if the deceased was a uniformed member of a church. Figure 2.2 shows a woman mourning the death of a son with a black outfit and family members expressing their grief by wearing a piece of black cloth on the left arm. The practice is typical of Africans.

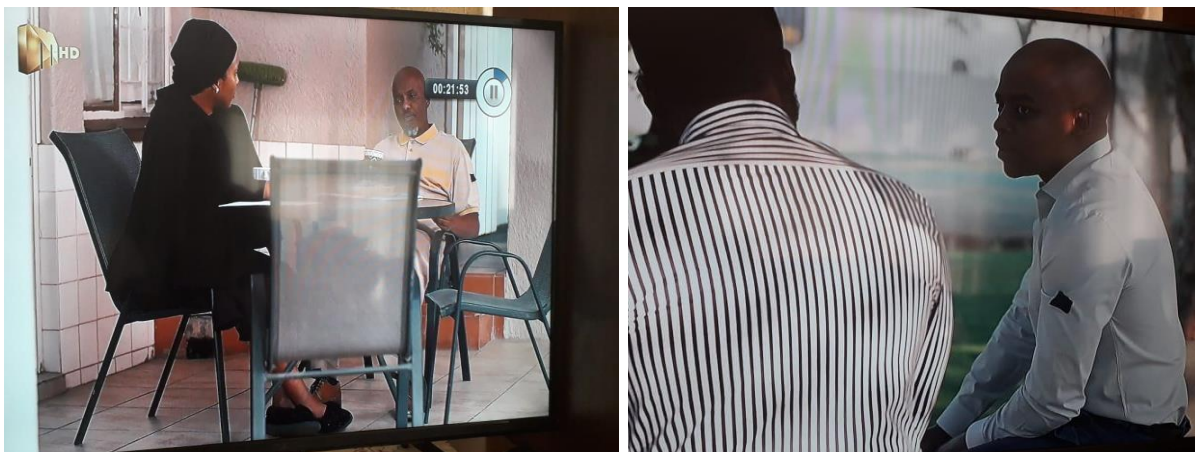


Figure 2.2: Mourning dress by different family members. (Source: 'The Queen' 2019)

2.3 CULTURE

Culture is defined as the man-made material items and patterns of thought, feeling and behaviour practised by all members of a group that live together. Culture encompasses a broad spectrum of phenomena that is both material and non-material in nature. There is a new concept of culture that “defines shared aspects of social life primarily in terms of ideas, beliefs, and values. This nonmaterial concept of culture includes learned behaviour patterns, religious beliefs, ideals, standards, symbolic meanings, and expectations that are shared as the people of a society develop a heritage of common experiences. The shared culture can change as current members interpret ideas, beliefs, and values in light of new experiences” (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:31). This definition reinforces Damhorst’s (2008:3) postulation that culture is a system that is learned and reflected in behavioural patterns characteristic of the members of society and that in addition, it is a complex whole that includes any capabilities and habits held by members of a society. The word ‘society’ refers to “a

group of individuals who interact with one another based on sharing of many beliefs and ways of behaviour.” The word entails the concept of people living together and sharing knowledge about their structural patterns, systematic organisation of their families and their political, economic and religious structures (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:33). Samovar *et al.* (2013:34-35) demonstrated that there is no aspect of human life that is not touched and altered by culture. As a shared set of ideas, values, perceptions, and standards of behaviour, culture is the common denominator that makes the actions of individuals intelligible to other members of their society. It enables them to predict how other members are most likely to behave in a given circumstance, and it tells them how to react accordingly. It is a primary means of communication.

Samovar *et al.* (2013:37) also proposed that culture serve as practical requirements of human life. It structures a society so as to ensure that knowledge and experiences learned from one generation are passed to the next, thus;

1. Culture serves a basic need by laying out a somewhat predictable world in which each individual is firmly grounded.
2. It enables one to make sense of his or her surroundings by offering a blueprint of not only how to behave but also the results one can anticipate for that behaviour.
3. Culture also provides structure and direction.

2.3.1 Cultural values and their association with dress

Values play an important role because they are self-organizing principles that guide people’s thoughts and actions. They are provided by the culture in which one is socialised. However, values tend to be primarily associated with individuals. They are associated with self-concept and self-evaluation and also help people to define what is important to them and shape their preferences and choices (Kaiser, 1997:289). Values are culturally defined standards of desirability, goodness, and beauty that serve as broad guidelines for social living (Sarmovar *et al.*, 2013:40). In relation to dress, Kaiser (1985:201) submitted that values are principles that influence individuals’ awareness, interest and aesthetic perceptions. They are among cultural mentifacts that influence human’s actions and behaviour. Dress therefore reflects the views that

people consider to be of value among cultural factors that affect how people evaluate their own traditions and customs (Lennon, Rudd, Sloan & Kim, 1999:191; Horn & Gurel, 1981:245; Barbu, 1971:46).

Values associated with dress originate in culture and are adopted by families and are naturally transferred to children (Conklin, Jones & Safrit, 1992:17). These authors submitted that individual members of every society are guided by some principles that develop into values. Values guide individuals into making choices in terms of personal and socially preferences of actions. Like other cultures Basotho dress practices are an expression of their values influenced by tradition, shared beliefs, attitudes and experiences as intimated by Conklin *et al.* (1992:17). These values were passed through symbols such as dress.

2.3.2 Cultural symbols

“A symbol is any object, mode of conduct, or word toward which [people] act as if it were something else. Whatever the symbol stands for constitutes its meaning” (Charon, 1998:48-49). Kaiser (1997:42) noted that “symbols have shared meanings for people; they may or may not be physical or concrete, but in either case they do include an abstract component. Clothing and appearance symbols may be concrete or material objects, or they may be stored in memory as an image that evokes meaningful responses. We use symbols to define or represent our realities.” Symbols also help to initiate responses. They provide clues to behaviour, focus attention on critical elements in a social situation and allow people to organise their actions as appropriate. Symbols derive their meanings from social contexts and are sustained in them. Consequently they enrich the way people view everyday life. They serve to provide some degree of continuity and structure from one context to the next, as well as to present some variety and change, because of the way people are able to manipulate them.

In the same way that people learn norms and values as they grow up, they learn the meanings that people in their culture attach to symbols. The understandings people share about symbols and their meaning affect the patterns of behaviour found in a culture. Social interactions are relatively easily facilitated between individuals because of the unwritten agreement that certain kinds of behaviours communicate certain

meanings. Cultural symbols encompass gestures, dress, objects, flags, and religious icons. A cultural symbol is anything that carries a particular meaning recognized by people who share or are familiar with that culture (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:51-52).

2.3.3 Cultural Patterns

Dress is just one of the many elements that comprise the total culture of a group of people, yet it is one of the most visual expressions of the habits, thoughts, techniques, and conditions that characterise a society as a whole. When dress is compared with other art forms, it is observed that it characterises the culture (Horn, 1975:26). Horn and Gurel (1981:38-39) illuminated the cultural patterns concept by suggesting that in cultural terms, patterns are used to describe certain aspects of behaviour that are consistent, orderly, or repetitive. In addition, patterns of culture appear to make each society somewhat different from every other, though there are similar patterns common to many people living in different parts of the world. Learned cultural patterns are learned first from parents, siblings, and other family members, then from playmates and working companions.

Culture can also be learned through socialisation into a group or organisation or society. Socially acceptable patterns of dress are learned too. Due to social change and dynamics of social interaction, individuals continue to learn about the acceptability of certain forms of dress in different social situations (Kaiser, 1985:416).

The following cultural patterns have been identified:

1. Technical patterns are directly related to a society's material culture, including the types of natural and synthetic materials available for the production of textiles and apparels, as well as the means for producing textiles and apparel.
2. Aesthetic patterns refer to the artistic codes or symbolic means of expression that help to compose the non-linguistic structure of feeling in society.
3. Moral patterns of culture reflect the socially learned ethics and values that impinge on such issues as sexuality, appearance, traditions and habits.
4. Ritualistic patterns include culturally patterned activities that are taken seriously by participants including ceremonies making changes in individual status (for

example, graduation ceremony or wedding) or community festivals or parades (Kaiser, 1990:527-530; 1985:419-430).

Cultural patterns are also referred to as value orientation, which is a concept used to denote values, beliefs and other orientations that characterise the dominant group within a culture. As it is used in the context of this study, the term can also refer to culturally-based beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviours shared by members of a particular culture and in this case the Basotho culture. A cultural pattern allows social scientists to use generalisations to describe culture comprehensively. These patterns encompass the conditions that contribute to a social group's perception of the world and how they live in that world (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:168).

2.3.4 Characteristics of Culture

Horn and Gurel (1981:37) have suggested that culture is characterised by being communicated and cumulative. Culture may be communicated by a language, written and oral and by non-verbal and symbolic behaviour. As new ideas are added to old culture, it becomes cumulative. There are four characteristics of culture, it can be - 1) transmitted; 2) learned; 3) shared; and 4) transformed. Culture can be passed on from one generation to another. Cultural transmission related to dress may involve mental artefacts such as appearance-related stereotypes and symbolic systems, or physical artefacts including clothing or accessories. For example Basotho hat and Basotho blanket are regarded as an identity for Basotho and their symbolism has been culturally transmitted (Mokorosi, 2017; Karstel, 1993; Kaiser, 1985:416; 1990:352;). Kaiser (1990:352) further observed that through socialisation, socially acceptable patterns are learned. These patterns are not static.

Due to social change and the dynamics of social interaction, individuals continue to learn about the acceptability of certain forms of dress in different social settings. Common meanings are assigned to shared symbols. In smaller homogeneous societies, the meanings of clothing symbols are shared due to intimate sphere of social influence. In larger heterogeneous societies, status groups and subcultures, as well as the media may help to reinforce the meaning of clothing symbols. Culture is transformed, it changes and is not a static structure but an ongoing process. This structure is basic to symbolic interactionism. *Seshoeshoe* dress as a Basotho women

cultural dress continues to evolve with time by being adapted to styles from other cultures (Pheto-Moeti, 2005). Culture also changes in two major ways (a) invention or innovation from within the culture and (b) acculturation of intercultural contact. The Basotho people comprises a number of minority clans including the Ndebele and Thembu, the interaction between clans contributes to change of culture (Gill, 1993a:12, 24; 1993b:23, 27).

Culture can be learned through socialisation into a group organisation or society. As one shares culture, one can take part in its development and transformation as they interpret its message and join their actions with those of others around. Culture is also transformed and transmitted through processes of negotiation and accommodation. Thus culture represents both the complexity and the consistency that make up the meshing of individual actions that occur in group life (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:41; Eller, 2009:26; Kaiser, 1990:352, 1985:416).

2.3.5 Cultural identity

Cultural identity is one of many forms of identity that individuals may express through dress. Cultural identity is developed from social interactions through agreed meaning between the wearer and the perceiver. Dress meant to express some aspects of ethnicity, symbolically should be understood to have been developed through social interaction. Cultural or subcultural identity may be developed, displayed, or ignored by individuals (Kaiser, 1990:536, 1985:448). Historical stories about the past that serve as lessons on how to live in the present help reinforce people into what is called “a common culture” that creates a strong sense of identity (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:37).

2.3.6 Material Culture

Material culture which encompasses clothing has been defined by Richards (1992:53) as “the vast universe of objects used by humankind to cope with the physical world, to facilitate social intercourse, to delight our fancy, and to create symbols of meaning.” Kaiser (1990:527) submitted that objects of material culture, including garments, reflect the environment within which they are produced and or used. Through material culture, the categories and principles of the culture can be identified in the form of

concrete and tangible objects. Clothing in this respect “make culture material in diverse and illuminating ways”. Material culture like dress is an influential metaphor of culture and society. Technology is material culture or physical things used to enable people to adapt to their physical and social environments. The diachronic perspective on material culture, of which dress is a component, maintains that objects reflect the environment within which they are produced and the historical background of the producing group, as well as the means by which the material goods are acquired (Kaiser, 1990:370).

Richards (1992:53) indicated that material culture in a society changes more rapidly than non-material culture. Dress is a physical, social, and aesthetic material, observable over time in virtually all societies (Lennon *et al.*, 1993:160). Grier (1996:552) proposed that the study of artefacts, their conditions of manufacturing, distribution and use manifests profound perspectives on the history of society and culture. Artefacts provide an ordered medium for communication.

Material artefacts reflect the non-material culture shared by the members of society. Material artefacts can have a strong influence on the socialisation of individuals and on the continuance of the cultural system (Eshleman *et al.*, 1993:100-101). Material artefacts displayed in a museum are for purposes beyond admiration of design and beauty but contain explicit and implicit messages related to sociocultural, political and economic contexts. The language, symbols, norms and values of a society as non-material culture are intrinsically imbedded in tangible material artefacts such as dress of a society (Bell, 2013; Chung, 2003:18).

2.4 DRESS AS AN ASPECT OF CULTURE

Dress of people at any period of time is associated with alterations in cultural forms, that is, in the part of the environment made by human beings (Mathews, 1979:397). Dress is a material artefact that reflects beliefs, values and attitude of a culture as mentifacts. Dress as an expression of an individual’s social identity plays a dynamic role in social interaction and communication. Dress as a cultural symbol, represents a metaphor of society in transition (Trollip, 1994:26-32). Dress is an integrated cultural phenomenon. Variations and conformity of dress are culturally dictated and supply communication of the social role and status of the individual. Dress has a strong

influence on the socialisation of individuals and the continuance of a cultural system (Michelman, 1995:372). Dress in all cultures has a unique and critical role because of its proximal relationship to the body. The body and dress are each a symbol or 'text' for culture, implying that people can communicate their culture through their dress (Michelman, 1995:397). Furthermore, Michelman (2008:373) noted that ethnicity or race is a learned cultural heritage, shared by a category of people that can include common national origin, ancestry, style of dress, language, dietary habits and ideology and is essential in studying the meaning of dress.

Dress is also significant in capturing a society's history, as fashions or norms of dressing change over time, trends in technology, the arts, notions of morality, social organisation and patterns of everyday living are reflected in dress (Damhorst, 2008:2). Damhorst (2008:3) demonstrates that what people know and think are mentifacts of a culture, and they include ideas, values, knowledge, and ways of knowing. Knowing how to dress is a part of any cultural knowledge base. Damhorst (2008:3) stated that,

In any one appearance, a person may express personal and cultural values simultaneously. For example, a culture that creates changing fashions may be expressing a general belief that change and newness are positive. In contrast, a culture that values tradition and doing things the old way will likely produce clothing that changes very little over time. People also learn the meaning of different styles or types of dressing; meanings are another component of cultural knowledge. Dress may elicit a stereotype, or a network of meanings assigned on the basis of appearance. Appearance stereotypes are mentifacts shared by members of a cultural group.

2.5 DRESS

2.5.1 Definition of dress

Dress includes a broad choice of other supplements and accessories to the body, such as; makeup, nose rings, masks, shoes, headdresses, wigs and hairpieces. Dressing may include the application of chemicals, heat and light to change colour, texture and odour as people do with perfumes, deodorants, tanning, facial peels, hair straightening or curling, tattoos, scarification and branding. Removing noticeable portions of the body can also be an act of dress, such as; cutting hair, shaving a beard, removing a

facial mole, removing fat through liposuction or getting a nose job. There can also be, some extreme body modification of cutting off a body part for non-medical reasons as is practised by some groups such as Dani women in Friar Jaya who amputate the joint of a finger to honour ancestors when a relative dies (Damhorst, 2008:2).

Based on the understanding of dress as presented in the previous chapter, body modifications and supplements can be classified according to their relationships to the different parts of the body (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:4). Eicher and Evenson (2015:6-7) also showed that temporary or permanent modifications can dress the body in ways that transform how an individual sees himself or is seen by others. The modifications include the following aspects; colour, volume and proportion, shape and structure or surface design. Hair and body colouring are easily done, and the volume of the hair can be increased through various processes. Permanent change of parts of the body like breasts is done through surgery. Hair and beard can be given numerous temporary shapes, while on the contrary, such body parts as the head and feet can be permanently shaped or moulded at the infant stage.

Surface designs can be temporary or permanent. Temporary designs include nail painting and facial paint applications. The removal of hair or a beard is referred to as surface design by subtraction. Tattooing results in permanent marks on the body surface. Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1993:29) perceived a tattoo as a body modification that changes surface design and colour of skin, and a permanent wave as it is a modification that transforms the shape and texture of hair. The texture of hair or body surface can be either temporarily or permanently modified through scarification. Scent and perfumes add a pleasant smell to the body, and bad body smell odours can be counteracted by bathing as well as the use of deodorants and perfumes (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:10; Eicher *et al.*, 2008:12).

As a body covering, dress is known as clothing, and in addition to items such as pants and skirts it includes accessories like shoes, gloves, hats and others (Kaiser, 1997:5). Pheto-Moeti (2005:9) observes that clothing of the body has absorbed the interest of man since the first thought of covering his nakedness. The first clothing worn consisted of the skins of animals secured around the body by bones or thorns, which were readily available. However, as a result of civilisation, the simple unshaped covering has been perfected.

Until the close of the nineteenth century, Basotho used animal skins as their customary dress. Basotho traditional dress was divided into three categories, daywear (*motseare*), evening (*bosiu*) and social activity (*mekete*) (Segoete 2001:13-14; Gill, 1993a:12). During the day men wore *kobo-ea-khomo* (*lefoqo* or *setipana*). *Lefoqo* was made from cowhide which had tie laces (*leqhoele*). *Setipana* was made from cowhide or sheep/goats skin or wildlife hide. Basotho karosses (*matata* and *mekhahla*) were made of tanned hides and skins for blankets. Men wore *setsiba* / *ts'ea* from tanned sheep or goat skin, preferably sheep skin. For ceremonies they wore special *ts'ea* made from black goat skin. Women and girls wore *thethana* made from *tsikitlane* plant and was smeared with fat and ochre for durability (Mokorosi, 2017:33; Giesen, 1993: vii; Karstel, 1993:187, 1991:18). Although men made *ts'ea* from various animals, the primary animal is the sheep. Hence, the Basotho idiom, *re bana ba ts'ea ea nku* (sons of *ts'ea* – loin cloth made from a sheep) (Sechefo, 1904:1, 16). Segoete (2001:13-15) proposed that Basotho chiefs wore *matutuoane* – a leather blanket made of a jackal or rock rabbit's skin. Men's *setsiba* (*ts'ea*) made from a black sheep was heavily decorated with yellow metal rings (*khohloane*) and *meshino* (leather strips decorated with beads) (Riep, 2011).

Wearing of *thethana* by girls was regarded as being decently clothed, and any extra clothing would be for comfort or adornment. Women wore *mose oa khomo* over *thethana*, and the waist was adorned with *senyepa* (belt) decorated with colourful beads (Segoete, 2001:14). For the royal and the wealthy, mantles, cloaks, capes or ponchos were made from tanned skins of leopards or other colourful animals. Ox hide was generally used to make various mantles, cloaks and capes for ordinary people. Children carriers or shawls (*thari*) were made from tanned sheepskin while men's and boys' loins (*setsiba* or *ts'ea*) were made from tanned goat or kid's skins. Sandals for family members called *lifatla* were made from ox hide or antelope's leather. The herdboys wrapped wet hide or sheepskin around their feet, allowing it to dry thus taking the shape of the feet producing what was called *liqoatho*. Women wore *mose oa khomo* and the part above the waist was usually left bare. The upper part of the body was covered with a cloak in the presence of male in-laws or during cold weather conditions. *Mose oa khomo* was worn over *thethana* which served as a petticoat (Mokorosi, 2017:33). Another type of traditional hat made from animal skin *kuoane*, is still common.

Pheto-Moeti (2005:9) submitted that the traditional hides, skins and feathers have to a large extent been replaced by European materials. During pre-civilisation, styles and forms of clothing were mainly localised and only became widespread when nations began to intermingle. The most powerful races had the greatest influence on the cultures of the lands they conquered, and hence their clothing.

In order to explain why people wear clothes, Pheto-Moeti (2005:9, citing Kaiser, 1990:15) listed four theories of clothing according to their uses; (1) the modesty theory (2) the immodesty or sexual attraction theory (3) the adornment theory and (4) the protective theory. Firstly, the modesty theory suggests that people first wore clothing to cover their bodies to hide their shame. This theory is derived from the Christian biblical explanation of clothing. Coverings were initially worn by Adam and Eve to cover their nakedness, because of intuitive shame. This theory is based on the idea of morality and is supposed to be the oldest explanation for wearing clothes. This explanation suggests that people are instinctively ashamed of nakedness. *Thethana* which was a dress for Basotho girls probably got its name from the Hebrew *thanah* (a fig tree) associated with leaves of which Adam and Eve made themselves aprons (Seqoete, 2001:13). Modesty, however, is socially learned, and this is demonstrated by the fact that children under the age of two or three are happy and comfortable when they are naked. They only begin to appreciate that being undressed is socially acceptable in certain social contexts as they grow older. Modest clothing behaviour displays the control of one's sexual urges through the covering of erotic bodily parts. Nevertheless, what is considered modest in one culture may not be acceptable in some cultures.

Secondly, the immodesty or sexual attraction theory, on the other hand, proposes that individuals wore clothing in order to attract attention rather than to conceal the private organs. In this manner, clothes can symbolise the desire to attract someone else (Kaiser, 1990:15; Kaiser, 1985: 42-49).

Thirdly, the adornment theory relates to the decorative use of clothes and other forms of appearance modification for purposes of display, attraction or aesthetic expression. This is fundamentally done by adding beauty to self and thus managing impressions that are given off to others. Lastly, the Protection theory indicates that protection is an

important function of clothing. Protection may be for purposes of weather, sports or occupation (Damhorst, 2008:9; Kaiser, 1990:16, 1997:5-17).

2.5.2 Adornment

Kaiser (1997:4) defined adornment as “any decoration or alteration of the appearance”. The process of adornment is multipurpose and is beneficial as an explanation of motives in dress only in relation to the social context. The concept of adornment is based on the fact that people make themselves more attractive by adding beauty to themselves and thus managing the impressions that are given off to others. The primary motive to adorn the body has been explained by a variety of social purposes; extension of the bodily self, sexual attraction, and status expression. Kaiser (1997:4) classified adornment into two primary forms which are corporal and external. The corporal forms of adornment are those involving some moulding or manipulation of the body. The external forms include any clothes or other ornaments or decorations that are attached to the body (Kaiser, 1985:36-37). Forms of adornment can also be classified or distinguished as temporary or permanent as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Forms of Adornment

	Corporal	External
Temporary	Painting Makeup Plucking hairs (Hair extension, colouring, plating etc.) Shaving	Clothing changes jewellery
Permanent	Scarification Tattooing Mutilation Circumcision Ear piercing\ Nose piercing Deformation Moulding the skull Plastic surgery Extension	None

(Source: modified from Kaiser, 1985:36-37)

Corporal forms are either temporary or permanent, whereas external forms are all temporary by definition. Examples of temporary corporal forms are an application of makeup or shaving of facial or bodily hair. Tattoos are permanent, corporal forms of adornment that are primarily popular among people of the world with light skins. Dress and adornment may also communicate an individual's stage in life or status with the life cycle (Kaiser, 1985: 42-49).

Body modifications and supplements can be classified according to their respective properties. For example, skin can be transformed by tattooing (modification), which alters its colours (property) and surface design (property). Similarly, a body piercing not only modifies the body's skin but allows for a ring to be attached to the body as a supplement (Miller-Spillman, 2008:14).

Since around the 1950s United States and Europe experienced an emergence of a subculture that differentiates itself from mainstream society through extreme body modifications. Their modifications include multiple piercings, extensive tattooing, branding, and scarification, Teflon implants to change the three-dimensional shape of the body, and sometimes surgical modification of or removal of parts of the body. The experience of pain is the focus of the "meanings" of body modifications for this group, meaning that it can be spiritual and central to identity. Those involved often share their experiences and research into body modifications with other members of the subculture and achieve a sense of community and social bonding through their deep interests and involvements (Damhorst, 2008:107-108).

2.5.2.1 *Hair as a temporary adornment*

Unlike in the past where black women straightened hair using a hot comb, nowadays, the Afro-American women can freely choose from silky straight hair, very short natural, braids and dreads, and much more. Whatever the design, the hair is arranged as an expression of self-love and acceptance, individuality, and self-expression, as well as liberation and freedom. Some Afro-American women chose to wear their hair as such because of historical attachment. Women also use weaves in order to provide themselves with a means of individual aesthetic choice. In addition, if the hair is to be sown in, then the customer's hair is either corn rowed or braided close to the scalp in a circular style. If the hair is to be used to cover balding, sometimes a small piece of

netting is stitched to the individual's hair, then the tracks are sewn to the nettle with needle and thread. Nevertheless, African women and some men braided and plaited, twisted and decorated their hair to communicate messages of status, age, religion and others. Even throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, well-kept hair was a symbol amongst blacks of self-respect for the race they represented (Wickliffe, 2008:397-398).

Wickliffe (2008:401) further submitted that Afro hairstyles served as a symbolic connection to Africa and also to affirm to younger generations that being black was beautiful. Today, the importance of hair goes beyond the realm of attachment to ancestry and also serves as a symbolic connection to politics, culture, and social meanings, as well as being a visual statement about individuality in the black community. Eicher *et al.* (2008:7-8) and Eicher and Evenson (2015:6-10) proposed that hair can also be modified in volume and proportion, either temporarily or permanently. Application of hair thickeners, such as mud or the attachment of hairpieces also increases the volume of hair temporarily. Hair volume may increase permanently through medical treatments to implant hair on a balding head or through treatments with medications such as *minoxidil*, which prevents the hair loss of natural balding. Shape and structure of parts of the body can be transformed in several ways. For example, dressed hair and trimmed beards take on many different temporary shapes as a result of some treatments.

2.5.2.2 Body tattooing as a permanent adornment

Adekunle, Okunkiyi and Daramola (2006:25) submitted that markings in the form of tattoos are not unusual among the Yoruba, a tribe in Nigeria. These are usually produced on the abdomen and arms, and they are black. As shown by Mascia-Lees and Sharpe (1992:147), although tattoo styles are different, western tattoos tend to literalise the vision of the body as a surface or ground onto which patterns of significance can be inscribed. The relationship between western tattoos and the body is mostly one of self-contained images which relate to the body as imposition probably suggest that western imagery of culture is something imposed from outside. Mascia-Lees and Sharpe (1992:147) maintained that "cultural values emerge as the result of an inscription on the body, understood as a medium, indeed, a blank page; in order

for this inscription to signify, however, that medium must be destroyed.” They further explained that most western tattoos perceive the skin as a uniform surface onto which a preconceived pattern is imposed, some patterns are designed to be applied to specific parts of the body such as the heart, the upper arm or the back. In contrast, other styles that are non-western portray an even more complex relationship between bodily form and surface pattern. This kind of abstract tattoo follows and highlights aspects of bodily form.

Furthermore, Eicher and Evenson (2015:10) described tattoos as a type of body modification that can be categorised as either a concealed or unconcealed surface design. They showed that some tattoos are often made on areas of the body that are covered from sight where they are seen only by close friends or sometimes only by the individual who has them. Generally, tattoos are intended to enhance personal or group identity. For instance, members of particular gangs in various parts of the world use tattoos to identify themselves to other members. However, at the Nazi Concentration Camps during World War II, tattoos of identification numbers were used strictly as personal identities of prisoners.

Hockings (1979:152-153) stated that female tattooing has historical significance in Asia, as according to the Badanga legend, it was adopted when the Badanga women fled into the hills from Muslim pursuers. It was believed that the tattoos would make women look like tribals and not the caste Hindus and would cease to be tempting to Muslim men. Tattooing also became a mark of female maturity. It marked the fact that a girl was entering a marriageable age. Among the Badangas, tattoos have less significance today and are therefore seldom performed. In addition, at their time of heightened popularity, tattoo designs were based on the girls’ preferences, but commonly they were a cluster of simple marks in the centre of the brow and a horizontal line beside each eye. A design could also be added on the back of the hands in some cases. At other times it was fashionable to have double rows of dots around the upper arms, a cluster of dots on the shoulders, stars or other designs on the right forearm, a spot on the chin, and a double row of dots across the upper chest. Boys are not tattooed, however, there is one instance where their bodies are permanently scarred. At the same age as the girls are tattooed, the boys are branded on the shoulder and forearm. It is believed that through this, the boys portray strength in their future milking and churning activities (Hockings, 1979:153).

Workman and Freeburg (2009:138) proposed that in America, adolescents with tattoos and/ or body piercings (compared to those without) were more likely to have engaged in risk-taking behaviours and higher degrees of involvement in the areas of gateway drug use, hard drug use, sexual activity, suicide and disordered eating. Moreover, body modifications, including piercings, were found to be associated with risky behaviours such as drug use, cigarette smoking and alcohol use. As a result, individuals with body piercings (compared to those without) are more likely to be violent. A significant correlation was found between numbers of tattoos and body piercings and a tendency to react with anger, especially verbal expression of anger among adolescent girls.

Trollip, Cuenod and Shactler (1995:122) and Workman and Freeburg (2009:136) defined a tattoo as a permanent design made on the skin by pricking with a sharp object and ingraining a permanent pigment in the wounds. They further observe that tattoos result in the modification of the colour and texture of the skin. Tattoos and other forms of appearance anomaly are ways to project a disassociation with the conventional culture. The Tsonga from South Africa made tattoos by using sharp objects such as a bunch of four needles to prick the skin following a particular design. A wet paste made from ground charcoal is rubbed into the wounds. Thorns or a sharpened metal were used before needles to make incisions in the skin. "The Chopi, Valenge and Tsonga tattoos communicated the following: Tear tracks tattoos were therapeutic and religious; saliva tracks prevented derision; the forked branch of the mafurreira oil-bearing tree has cultural value; a sacred wand cut from mangwa shrub has sacred significance; the cock's comb has a sacred and ethnicity significance; a forked branch symbolises the support of heavy branches of a sacred variety of mafurreira tree; a pole of the nhlene tree symbolises the radiant energy of the sun and portrays fashions of different districts" (Trollip *et al.*, 1995:122).

In the case of the Basotho, warriors made little marks in the form of upside-down V that was rendered permanent by tattooing. The tattooing was earned through an act of bravery. The girls and women adorned their faces with tattoos. They made lines around both eyes and down their cheeks to the chin. The six tattoos (*linyao*) were three lines down each cheek from ears to the chin and one from the forehead down the nose bridge (*leamohela*). Another variation was a thin cut made from the forehead along the nose bone to the nose, joining another cut above the eyes. Another cut was

from the nose to the jaws. Although *leamohela* was done mostly by women, some men did it. *Litubatubi* were round tattoos, the size of a button appearing as black rounded marks on both cheeks. Tattoos enhanced women's beauty (Mokorosi, 2017:34; Segoete, 2001:14-15; Casalis, 1997:136, 147; Sechefo, 1904:19).

2.5.2.3 Scarification

Scarification is done by making cuts on the skin with a sharp object, reopening of wounds at intervals causes raised keloid scars. Different lotions prepared from leaves of trees are rubbed into the wounds. Some lotions soothe the wounds while others irritate them, resulting in raised keloid scars. Scarification and tattooing practices among the Tsonga are a symbol of group identity that served to distinguish the Tsonga from Pedi and Venda peoples of South Africa. The Tsonga faces were adorned with incised tattoos and scars. Scarification (*tinhlanga*) is no longer common as it is practised only by the older generation. The Tsonga scar their skins by running a thorn of the knob thorn tree (*Acacia nigrescence*) through the skin and then cutting the skin with a razor (Trollip *et al.*, 1995:122). Before razors were available, a reed called *xikwana* that has extremely sharp edges was used. In the past, the scars would be reopened before particular ceremonies in order to renew and intensify the markings. In order to prevent bacterial infection, scarification was done only in winter. Tattooing and scarification were common among peoples that lived in the regions with moderate climate as a form of body beautification. The Machopi of the region bordering the Indian Ocean was famous for tattooing and scarification practices. Here, scarification was part of the rite of passage for girls. Peer pressure also influenced girls to undergo the practice as girls with smooth skins were teased by their peers. Body scarification among the Tsonga carried the following meanings: Honouring the body and enhancement of sexuality; prevention of derision; status; sacred significance and beautification. The younger generation has little exposure to the traditional culture and values and the meanings of such dress symbols (Trollip *et al.*, 1995:122-131).

Berns (2008:280; 2015:241) submitted that scarification of women in the Ga'anda culture (*Hleeta*, "scarifying") is highly elaborate and contributes significantly to an understanding of their social and art history. The Ga'anda girls experience a lengthy program of body and facial scarification, *Hleeta*, completed in a series of biennial

stages. At each stage, prescribed areas of the girl's body are cut in increasingly elaborate patterns. *Hleeta* also determines the timing of the suitor's continuing bride wealth payments, which escalate as the scarification becomes progressively more extensive and complex. In addition Berns (2008:282-284) indicated that the patterns worked during each stage of *Hleeta* are typically rows of closely placed cuts that scar to form slightly raised "dots" somewhat lighter than the surrounding skin and she described the *Hleeta* as follows:

The first set of markings, called hleexwira ("scarification of the stomach"), consists of two concentric, bisected chevrons above the navel. That the first cuts made draw attention to a young girl's womb emphasizes her reproductive potential. The second stage of Hleeta, hlepa?nda (sic) ("scarification of the forehead"), entails the incision of four or five horizontal lines extending from ear to ear, the number of lines determined by the height of the girl's brow. The third set of markings hlee'berixera ("cuts on the forearm"), is incised and involves more elaborate patterns of compact designs. The most distinctive element is now of forked branches aligned over horizontal lines. This motif, which will be called Design A, is one of the few repeated elsewhere on the body, and whenever it occurs, the syntax its two component parts is always the same. The fourth stage of Hleeta requires repetitions of Design A to be made across the top of the thighs and buttocks (hleefelca) and at the base of the neck. On the nape, another distinctive, repeated motif is introduced, consisting of a lozenge or chain of lozenges framed by vertical lines called Design B. The fifth stage of Hleeta is done when a girl is around thirteen or fourteen, called njoxtimeta ("cutting in places"). A column of short horizontal lines is cut down the center of the torso, branching at the top; more lines are worked at the shoulder and upper arm, framing another unit of Design B. Before the final phase of scarification begins, each girl must have her ears pierced and her upper and lower lips perforated. In March of the year when a girl's scarification is to be completed, the front of her thighs (hleefedata) are first marked with rows of vertically linked lozenges alternating with vertical lines (kwardata), a continuous multiplication of Design B. Kwardata shows that a contract of marriage has been officially "sealed" and prohibits any other young man from approaching the girl.

Berns (2008:282-284) further observed that two months later, the girl undergoes *hleengup* ("cicatrization all over"), which involves filling in the areas of the body still left

unmarked: the chest, the sides of the torso, the lower abdomen and the back. This is a far more extensive phase of scarification than any the girl has previously experienced; it is likely that the prolongation of *Hleeta* over a number of stages prepares a girl physically and emotionally for this final ordeal. Berns (2008:284) and Trollip *et al.* (1995:122-131) indicated that among the Tsonga in South Africa, scarification was practised primarily by young girls in preparation for initiation while on the other hand, Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992:11) submitted that for the Tiv of Nigeria, designs of scarification, are a requisite for beauty among both females and males, varied by sex like with the Tsongas the designs had erotic connotations. The practice of tattooing has declined today among young girls. As a result of social change and acculturation, few girls feel compelled to undergo initiation. Consequently, scarification and tattooing practices have lost value. There are modern beauty ideals that young girls have embraced. Previously, in Mozambique, there were possibilities to choose between three different styles of tattooing created an ever even greater choice as observed among women aged 30 and older. Red soil (*keketsu*) and mostly modern cosmetics have been used to decorate the face with tattoo patterns that reflect various regions (Trollip *et al.*, 1995:130). These authors note that many of the beliefs and values associated with body markings have lost importance due to social changes. The role that they played in rites of passage has been reduced to nothingness by modern social developments to the extent that non-participation in these practices by the individual members of the younger generation is an expression of the adoption of new standards of beauty and fashionableness. The new beauty ideals adopted are the result of acculturation influenced by contact with western culture and conversion to Christianity. Existing body markings are no longer regarded with sacred or ritual importance but largely serve to distinguish old or traditional and modern group identity. A difference between tattooing and scarification is depicted in Figure 2.3.



Figure 2.3: A Fulani woman with a tattoo around her mouth (left) and hleeta scarification (right) (Sources: Hunter n.d. and Balmaseda 2008:s.p. respectively)

2.5.3 Body supplements

Eicher and Evenson (2015:13) and Eicher *et al.* (2008:15) and described body supplements as “those items that can enclose the body, be directly attached to the body, held by the wearer or held for the wearer by another” and they can be temporary or permanent. Body supplements can create impressions about characteristics of the body, completely obscure the body, or simply emphasise it by allowing the body to be openly visible or highlighting some features of it. Women who wear costume jewellery, for example, change earrings daily to match their clothing, whether or not ears are pierced. These earrings supplement the body temporarily, in contrast to a supplement such as a navel ring or nose pin that are not changed. A Body enclosure is any supplement that surrounds a part of the body, whether or not it covers the body. For example, both a necklace and a neck scarf enclose the neck, but only the scarf covers it. Enclosures can take several forms;

1. Wrapped: scarves, ribbons, belts. Flat and unsewn garments like Roman togas, Indonesian sarongs and headscarves or items like hair ribbons, figure belts, sashes and bandanas are examples of wrapped enclosures. Some jewellery items can be made into a long rope of beads or metal links with ends unattached and thus forming a wrapped body enclosure by wrapping or tying around a body part. Indian sari, turban and headgears are wrapped enclosures.

2. Suspended body enclosures hang from some part of the body: ponchos, necklaces, bracelets, earrings. Ponchos and chasubles are suspended from the shoulders, and so are necklaces that hang from the neck and bracelets from the wrists. Earrings hang from the ear lobes. In some parts of India, little girls suspend a piece of jewellery around their hips with an ornament hanging in front to cover their private parts.
3. Pre-shaped body enclosures: hats, shoes, sandals and belts, jewellery. Jewellery made of metals and beads may be reshaped enclosures used as decoration in the form of rings, necklaces and earrings.

In the past Basotho infants wore *mathapo* around their necks to hold the neck in position. *Mathapo* were rings made from a plant that has broad leaves like pumpkin or *khapumpu*. They were sealed with red ochre and attracted a great deal of dirt while on the infant's neck and were somewhat unhygienic (Mokorosi, 2017:33; Mats'ela, 1990:46).

4. Combination-type body enclosures are very loose garments with a minimum of shaping to exact body dimensions. Many types of enclosures are worn in combination such as the Indian women's sari ensemble which is a combination of pre-shaped blouse and the wrapped sari (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:13-14; Eicher *et al.*, 2008:15-17).

Attachments to the body are worn as accessories or jewellery. Inserted attachments include hair pins, combs, barrettes, flowers and earrings which may be pushed into the hair or a hole in the earlobe. False hair may be inserted during weaving to increase length or volume of hair. Rings pierced on ears, navels and lips and studs on noses are examples of insertions. Accessories can also be pressure fastened or attached with an adhesive.

- Pressure fastened: pressure fastenings are used to clip or hold attachments onto various parts of the body. Clip earrings are examples of pressure fastenings. There are hair fasteners that provide ornamentation, especially for girls and women.
- Adhered or glued attachments: false moustaches, false eyelashes, and false fingernails. These are affixed by using glue or mastic. Contact lenses may be

used to modify the colour of the eye or to correct vision and fall into this group of body supplements (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:17-19).

Inserted attachments may require body modification such as the piercing of ears for insertion of some kinds of earrings. Some items of dress in various cultures belong to attachments to body enclosures since they may be attached to the supplements that enclose the body. Often these are additions that play a decorative or informational role in dress. Inserted attachments to the body enclosures include cuff links, broaches, pinned-on corsages or boutonnieres, stud buttons for men's dress shirts and military or police medals inserted into uniform to indicate rank. Pressure fastened accessories are clipped attachments to the body enclosures such as men's ties or clip-on bow ties and held objects are handbags and purses, backpacks, briefcases, walking sticks and umbrellas used by individuals or held over a master by a servant (Eicher & Evenson, 2015:20).

In addition to the categorisation of body supplements provided by Eicher and Evenson (2015:13) and Eicher *et al.* (2008:15), facial creams and powders are also used as temporary body supplements. George, Ogunbiyi and Daramola (2006:23) show that in ancient Egypt, people painted their faces and dyed their hair. Cleopatra painted her eyelids with different colours and covered her face and neck with white chalk. She used golden dye on her cheeks and a red one for her lips. In the Yoruba culture various oils are used for skin adornment. These oils include *adin eyan*, *adin agbon* and *ori* made from palm kernel, coconut and *shea* butter respectively. *Tiro* when ground with charcoal is used as eyeliner and applied to eyelashes and eyelids. *Efun* which is a white powder-like substance obtained from grinding of the fruit of some trees, is used on babies (George *et al.*, 2006:24).

For skin adornment, Basotho women used *khokhotsi* which is a yellowish kind of soil dug out of the earth. The yellow soil was mixed with water and applied on their faces as a facial treatment for themselves and their infants. It was also used as a face powder. It was believed to soften the skin and remove soft burns from the infant's body. Other creams were *pilo*, *sekama*, *phepa*, *letsoku* (red ochre) and *mafura* (fat). Women applied fat on themselves and also red ochre, and those who did not use ointments were unpopular. The different kinds of fat were *mafura a lefehlo* (curdled or butterfat, *mafura a khomo* (ox fat) and *mafura a nama* (fat from animal meat). *Mafura*

or fat was very symbolic to the Basotho as a guest would be provided with a small container of fat called *selibelo* before sleeping to rub the weary limbs. The gesture was a mark of hospitality. A new bride before leaving her family to join her husband's family would among other gifts also be presented a *selibelo* (Mokorosi, 2017:48; Casalis, 1997:136; Ellenberger, 1997:276; Sekese, 1991:14-15; Sechefo, 1904:16). Mokorosi (2017:48) noted that when the maternal uncle spat on some fat and then applied it on the body of his sick nephew, healing immediately occurred.

2.5.3.1 Beads as a form of body supplement

Beads are small, colourful, and symmetrical. They are standardised, inexpensive units that can be arranged in almost endless configurations and are often in familiar forms of necklaces and bracelets as well as on anklets, headbands and headdresses. In most cases, beads reflect the culture of which they are a part and communicate profound social, political, economic and religious information about the people who have made and worn them. Africans manufactured beads from different materials and used them for different functions in society. These included ornamental such as jewellery, clothing or hairstyling, as symbols or signifiers of social status and power as well as for ritualistic and spiritual aspects of life. The ways in which beads may be used to define a particular group's concept of beauty. Both the selection of individual beads and the combinations and assemblages are informative. In some societies like the Maasai, beauty can be rewarded with beads. In East Africa, a beautiful Maasai woman will be courted with beads, and the accumulation of beads on her body in itself will enhance her beauty (Dubin, 2006:17-18; Handler, 2009:5).

Some psychiatrists attribute bead adornment to feelings of security connected with the eye and sight. "The eyes may be a basic clue to the elemental power of rounded objects... It is with the eyes that mother and child communicate before speech develops and the meeting of the eyes serves as an adjunct to speech whenever language fails... we begin life with this relatedness to eyes; we are protected by seeing, we feel secure when there is light. Eyes have been described as shining, laughing, dancing, glowing, glaring, gleaming- like beads- and are, like beads, coloured blue, green, grey, brown and golden" (Dubin, 2006:19).

Beads form an integral part of peoples' dress. They are used on clothing or as an adornment of the body, by stringing or attaching them in a series. During the Neolithic period, beads were used for adornment of self or of clothing, and the practice was based on the much more ancient use of shells, teeth, vertebrae of fish, reptiles and mammals. In African societies, adornment, with beads, communicates cultural values in a symbolic language that expresses rank, religion, politics and artistic attitudes. Beads are central to the lives of all Africans- from hunting-and-gathering peoples of the Southern Kalahari Desert to wealthy Nigerian and Ghanaian villagers, and that their ability to reflect their cultural heritage is still more pronounced in Africa than in any other part of the world. Throughout Africa, there is the use of organic materials for adornments such as seeds, nuts, shells, bones, tusks and teeth. The earliest known African beads are disk-shaped forms of ostrich eggshells. Today, the ostrich eggshell is still used for some bead making in East Africa and also in the Kalahari Desert (Dubin, 2006:122).

Pokornowski (1989:114) stated that waist beads are commonly worn by Yoruba children. Pokornowski further demonstrated that for the Yoruba, special colours and types of beads were associated with a particular Yoruba god, a practice begun by the deity Obalufon. Also, the wearing of these beads varied according to the locality. Furthermore, beads also carried symbolic messages related to age, sex and status roles. For example, amongst the Yoruba, the village chiefs wore beads around their neck, wrist and ankles while ordinary chiefs wore beads around neck and wrist only.

In Southern Africa, the Ndebele children wear a bead necklace and a single strand of white beads around their waist before they are ready to wear dress items that cover their private parts (Morris & Levitas, 1987:s.a.). The Ndebele, Zulu and Xhosa women have demonstrated an outstanding passion for personal adornment and the skill in bead craft among the Southern Africa cultures (Trollip, 1994:33). Pokornowski (1989:105-106) submitted that for the Zulu society, beads marked changes in status through different life stages of both males and females. A special type of beads was reserved for royal use, and a Zulu who wore these without the king's consent was put to death.

Among the Lovedu tribe, beads played a part in the rites of ancestral worship and were highly revered as ancestors might bring about a curse of illness on a loved one as a

reminder that their beads were to continue being worn to assure their continued prestige in their after-life. With the Tsonga, as soon as a child had lost his incisors, a white bead was tied to one of the hairs above his forehead, and it was believed this would help the rest of the teeth to come through normally. They believed that if this were not done, the child would not become intelligent. They also wore large white beads in their hair or hung short strings of small beads from the head to indicate possession by spirits. Moreover, beads indicated the aesthetic tastes of those wearing them. Morris and Levitas (1987:s.a.) proposed that in Southern Africa, beads form a typical dress for diviners, witchdoctors and herbalists. Figure 2.4 shows a group of Basotho traditional spiritual healers known as *mathuela* girded in beaded regalia performing their ritual dances before spectators. Also a Mosotho male initiate shown displaying beads over his blanket. In this case, the beads are used as a form of supplements with a meaning.

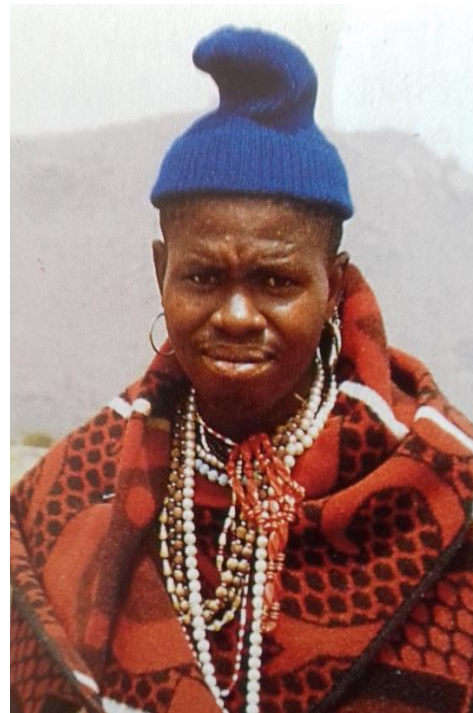


Figure 2.4: A traditional spiritual healer (*lethuela*) in full beaded regalia (left) (Source: Gill, 1993:147) and an initiate (*lekoloanyane*) displaying the status with beads and earrings (right) (Source: modified from Gill, 1993:44)

Pokornowski (1989:114) showed that Yoruba girls wore only waist beads until puberty, where they would be presented with a garment to be worn together with the beads. Also, beads played a significant role when a woman was old enough to marry, forming

a substantial part of her dowry and remaining an important part of her property. This means that among the Yoruba beads served many functions. An individual expressed his or her personal, aesthetic preferences within cultural guidelines. To underline the significance and use of beads among African cultures Sekese (1983:6), advanced that among the Basotho, for purposes of dress supplement and adornment, beads have played an essential their cultural dress practices. For instance, when the bride was on her way to the groom's home, it was customary for her and her party to sit along the way as they got closer to the home. During this process, the groom's relatives went to meet them accompanied by young girls who offered beaded articles to the bride for them to proceed to the groom's home.

The top seam of the *morepo*, an outer garment for Basotho women worn as a shawl during the day, was bordered with beautiful bead-work of large blue beads called *litona* (Mokorosi, 2017:48). Some head adornment included wearing or fastening from the head under the chin an attachment, for example, hoofs of the antelope for dancing activities. Earrings and an ivory bracelet signified status, as well as a kind of cockade of glass beads which was worn around the neck (Casalis, 1997:151-152; Sechefo, 1904:17).

Mokorosi (2017:34) submitted that Basotho men used reeds of different colours to make necklaces and bracelets while women wore jewellery such as earrings, bracelets and leglets made of brass. There were several kinds of beads worn as ornaments (e.g. ancient Venetian and Egyptian beads). Men adorned the head with *lenyetse* (dreads). For dancing, men adorned their bodies with glass beads and copper rings around the neck, arms and ankles (Mokorosi, 2017:34; Segoete, 2001:14-15; Casalis, 1997:136, 147; Sechefo, 1904:19). Men also wore a copper anklet (*boseka*), *litjobo* made from cow tail (*lechoba*) and on the head adorned himself with *sekola* or *tlokola* made from feathers. To give shine to the hair, women used *selibo* (*sekama se phatsimang haholo*). They also wore bracelets (*lipetja*) around their arms. Rubber and copper bracelets and *lechoba*, a traditional hand-held adornment are examples of some of the artefacts that are still being used are shown in Figure 2.5.



Figure 2.5: Rubber and copper bracelets (left) as arm adornment and lechoba (right) which is used by men and traditional healers for adornment and to chase away flies (photos by author)

2.5.4 Symbolism and meanings of dress

According to Pheto-Moeti (2005:13), clothing determines the extent to which one may be accommodated into a society, a place one goes to, and an activity one undertakes. Clothes affect the action of the wearer to a large extent, and they may also determine the role the person plays in society. Davis (1992:4-13) submitted that,

Clothing at the collective level symbolically places people in a structured universal lifestyle, thus becoming a communication medium. What differentiates clothing as a form of communication from speech is that meaningful differences between clothing signifiers are not nearly as distinctly defined and standardised as are the spoken sounds employed in spoken words. Clothing's meanings are interpreted culturally in the same way about which common understandings can be presumed to exist. For example, the food people eat, the music they listen to, their furniture, health, beliefs and the totality of their symbolic universe, is cultural. Through clothing, people communicate something about their persons and as a group, this puts them symbolically in some structured universe of status claims and life-style attachments.

Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992:4) indicated that the meanings communicated by objectively identifiable symbols and properties of dress are determined by the person's subjective interpretation. Moreover, a symbol is a more complex and abstract sign that

carries and passes information about values, beliefs and emotions (Pheto-Moeti, 2005:15-16). Kaiser (1990:42) showed that symbols transmit meanings for people and are used to define or represent people's realities. They help to initiate responses, provide guidance, organise behaviour, focus attention on important elements in a social situation and enable individuals to act accordingly. They further enrich the way people perceive everyday life. Symbols are used to provide some degree of continuity and structure from one social context to another.

Among the Yoruba, the symbolism of beads, their colour, material, size and shape, and the area on the body, helped the individual to communicate non-verbally his religious beliefs, either as worshipper or priest, and to establish identity, indicating sex, age, wealth, and status. Some societies used beads as a symbol to provide a feeling of unity between the various subgroups, to validate the authority of the king, and to explain the differences in rank among the rulers and confirm their succession. The changes in the shape and material of the symbol of Yoruba ruling power, the crown, indicate the "receptiveness to change and the emphases on wealth and status, which are basic to Yoruba culture" (Pokornowski, 1989:114).

Magwaza (2001:25), demonstrated that the Zulus use symbols as a means of communication that is non-verbal, yet visually descriptive and decorative. A Mosotho girl dressed with *thethana* symbolised innocence and any cautiousness of movement was an indication of suspicious behaviour that she has started defiling herself (Sechefo, 1904:16). The Basotho hat is called *mokorotlo* and is made from woven *Danthonia macownia* (*moseha*), which is a type of grass. It is cone-shaped and looped at the top (Tyrrell, 1968:104). *Mokorotlo* is also called *molianyeoe* (arbitrator) and was used as a symbol for making peace, because it was worn by the chiefs when arbitrating over peoples' conflicts. Chiefs were culturally trusted as the unifiers and peacemakers by the community. The Basotho hat with *seanamarena* blanket worn over *Seshoeshoe* dress by women or over ordinary trousers by men is regarded as a complete identity symbol for Lesotho in any international gathering. *Mokorotlo* was originally for men only, and the number of loops at the top represented status (Mokorosi, 2017:48; Tyrrell, 1968: 104). *Seanamarena*, *mokorotlo* and *kuoane* are worn for special occasions or to signify a rite of passage (Fig. 2.6).



Figure 2.6: A student displaying seanamarena and Basotho hat on a cultural day (left) (Photo by researcher). A shepherd wearing kuoane (right) (Source: Mokorosi, 2017:33)

2.5.5 Dress and appearance

Dress and the body have meanings that are relative to culture and historical times. Meanings are created by individuals living from day to day within cultures and interacting daily with the objects and materials of dress. Some of these meanings develop as people hear others talk about the way people look, see other people dressed in certain ways, and react to them on the basis of their appearances. Meanings of dress and appearances are created, maintained and modified as individuals deal with dress and the people wearing each style of dress (Damhorst, 2008:5).

Roach and Eicher (1992:13-14) observed that the term “appearance” as used in dress incorporates the body features, movements, and positions, as well as the visible body modifications and supplements of dress, but does not consider dress properties such as touch, odour, taste and sound. Kaiser (1997:5) proposed the following definition for appearance:

Appearance refers to the total composite image created not only by clothing but also by the human body and any modifications to the body that are visually perceived. This concept enhances understanding of clothing by also considering related processes of body modification – including dieting, hairstyling, using cosmetics, tattooing and piercing. Appearance is similar to

the “big picture” that we see when we observe ourselves and other people in everyday life; it is a context in and of itself. Therefore, it is important to study clothing within the context of appearance appreciating that clothes are generally viewed in conjunction with bodies which are themselves modified.

Dress and appearance are worthy of studying because they are full of essential meanings. They provide the most immediate and clear visual information about age, gender ethnicity, social status and social roles (Damhorst, 2008:2).

Damhorst (2008:5) further proposed that people assign meanings to dress and develop shared consensus about what it symbolises through day to day living within cultures and interaction with objects and materials of dress. These meanings are created, maintained and modified with time. Meaning is created through the global transfer and transformation of dress through various media; fashion magazines, movies and television. These media contribute greatly to the transfer and transformation of meanings of dress around the world. Meanings may constantly change as people of diverse ages, shapes, roles and backgrounds decide to wear the same style. The occasions and activities for which they wear a particular style influences meanings assigned to the style. The time and the number of adopters are important factors in the development of dress meaning. Television is playing a significant role in transferring the western styles of dress to the young generation around the world. People are culturally diverse throughout the world in the way they dress; and the meanings they assign to dress vary accordingly, as a result of networks and connections such as business, political, media, electronic, migratory, family, and friendship. This influence over different cultures is happening rapidly (Damhorst, 2008:9). Clothing’s meanings are interpreted culturally in the same way about which common understandings can be presumed to exist. On the contrary, it is through its open-ended interpretation that dress which is commonly accepted in one’s culture may be considered inappropriate or immodest in another. This is because meaning is attached to symbolic attire by individuals with different beliefs, cultures and attitudes (Damhorst, 2008:5; Kaiser, 1997:42).

A role that a person plays in society may generally be determined from his or her dress. At community and cultural level, because of its symbolism, dress becomes a powerful communication medium. The meaning of dress is therefore developed in how people perceive and react to others on the basis of appearance and the message it

communicates to them. Some of these meanings develop as people hear others talk about the way people look, observe each other dress in certain ways, and react to people wearing different styles of dress (Davis, 1992:4, 13).

Damhorst (2008:9) submitted that communication through dress varies from culture to culture. For example, western practices of cosmetic surgery, tattooing and body tanning may be regarded as strange by other cultures. Thus dress that is acceptable in one's own society may be considered inappropriate in another culture. Muslim cultures, for example, have strict rules regarding the dress for women, especially the use of the veil to cover the head and face. In their case, exposure of the head and arms by women in other cultures during hot weather is seen as immodest. Dress may reflect many aspects of cultures, including the ways in which people think, organise themselves, behave toward others, and make things. Individual choice in dress is strongly shaped by culture. Dress is one of the several nonverbal and unwritten modes of communication. It serves as a background while other forms of communication either verbal or nonverbal are taking place. Contrary to many other forms of communication, dress often tends to be stable or unchanging for many hours of the day. Dress, then is usually a non-discursive behaviour rather than behaviour that dynamically changes or unfolds moment by moment as do words in a conversation or movement in a dance. It is the first impression that registers in the minds of viewers. Also, a broader definition of communication emphasizes that dress is the production and exchange of meaning. A wearer puts clothing, hairdo, accessories, and grooming together to produce an appearance and may assign meanings of that assembled appearance (Damhorst, 2008:68).

Dress in traditional cultures changes slowly over time and incorporates long used symbols with significant meanings. For example, in Korea the dress worn by a bride and groom reflects hundreds of years of tradition. The colours, patterns and shapes of garments are highly meaningful to Korean people. Dress indicates qualities or meanings more abstract than the actual physical objects of the dress. For example, dress makes visual proclamations such as "the wearer is competent at his or her job", "this person is fashionable", "this person is Nigerian", or "I idolize Michael Jackson". Many dress messages are such that people might feel a bit uncomfortable having to pronounce them upon first meetings with others verbally. Dress can be a sign or symbol that refers to and stands for meanings not inherent of the material or object.

As a whole, the physical body, when dressed reflects the “social body” or surrounding societal system (Damhorst, 2008:2, 69, 75).

2.6 THE IMPACT OF RELIGION AND MODERNISATION ON DRESS

2.6.1 Acculturation

Acculturation can be defined as cultural change resulting from cultural contact. It can also be defined from a socio-cultural perspective, as the occurrence when people of different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact and a change in the cultural patterns of either or both groups takes place. During this process, new cultural values may be adopted, resulting in a new identity or a change in dress conventions. Diversity exists in how people adapt to cultural contexts (Albrecht *et al.*, 2014:26). Acculturation may occur through separation, assimilation, integration and marginalisation. Kaiser (1990:534) opined that acculturation is an ongoing process by which members of a distinct culture internalise the values and behavioural patterns of a majority society but are not admitted to intimate groupings.

Separation: Albrecht *et al.* (2014:26) observed that within a certain context, individuals may identify strongly with their ethnic identity. This strategy is referred to as the separation strategy as members of a minority culture choose to hold on to their ethnic identity, rather than adopting the national identity of the country they are living in. These individuals prefer limiting their interaction with the dominant culture, and instead, prefer close relationships with people from their original culture. In this manner, they hold on to their original values, rituals and religion. Basotho comprise minority groups such as the Xhosa and the Ndebele, and the study will seek to establish their level of acculturation.

Integration: An individual can have multiple cultural identities within his or her mind. Such an individual chooses in his or her mind from a combination of ethnic and national identities. In this manner, hybrid identity is developed. Such an individual maintains his or her original culture while interacting with other cultures on a daily basis. This strategy has the most favourable outcomes for an individual wanting to fit into the mainstream society, while still feeling committed to his or her heritage (Albrecht *et al.*, 2014:27).

Assimilation: Is to increase identification with the mainstream culture at the cost of one's ethnic or national identity such as has been the case with African cultures that have become westernised. The extent to which this is true for Lesotho and attitudes towards cultural practices is an interest for this study. In assimilation, the values and behaviours of the mainstream culture are adopted to blend into the cultural environment. Kaiser (1990:534) submitted that in assimilation, individuals' culture or subculture are accepted into major social institutions and more personal groupings.

Marginalisation: This occurs when an individual does not identify with either original culture or the mainstream culture. Such an individual is described as being in a state of frustration and instability (Albrecht *et al.*, 2014:27). Technology plays a major role in cultural change and may, in fact, be considered to be the foundation or building block for a culture's social structure and ideology (Kaiser, 1990:534).

Perani and Wolff (1999:46-47) indicated that the introduction of cotton factory cloth and European style garments changed consumption patterns and created competition for indigenous industries. However, the availability of European clothing does not always implicate the abandonment of indigenous styles of dress. It has instead encouraged innovative blends of the old with the new. In Southern Africa, the Ndebele took advantage of new materials to develop a modern form of the woman's beaded wedding apron (*jocolo*). In recent years beads have been sewn into canvas instead of leather. In some cases, beading is completely abandoned and instead a plastic is used as a backing for patterns made from coloured electrical tape, plastic, rickrack and lace. Therefore the plastic wedding apron can be perceived as a pragmatic adaptation by women to a changing society. Another adaptation is murals and beadwork of the aeroplane, seen on a *pepetu*, a *mapoto* and the body ring of a young girl (Knight & Priebusch, 1977:43).

In some instances, the western clothing was carefully blended with the cultural ideas as was the case of Sechele, who was the ruler of Bakwena in current south Botswana. He wore a European style suit made of leopard skin which was a symbol of authority. Gender is important concerning dress. The rate at which both men and women have adopted the western dress has varied. From the western perspective, the need to change African dress was primarily for sexual morality. At the same time, it offered women some liberation from male domination. Nevertheless, the struggle about

women's dress as part of social politics has continued, and it is believed that men have kept women subordinate to certain dress traditions to maintain their patriarchal control (Ross, 2008:171).

For some cultures, adaptation to western dress was a protracted and differentiated process. The Xhosa people of the Eastern Cape were resistant to the imposition of the European attire by the British. The spread of Christianity from around 1850 facilitated the adoption of the western dress affecting some Xhosa, Tswana and Zulu cultures for example. Through the influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries, western clothing became a mark of Christianity in Kwazulu-Natal around the same period (Ross 2008:94-95). When members of one religion convert members of a foreign culture, usually the resulting religion is influenced by the host culture (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:37).

2.6.2 Religion

Religion is a set of beliefs, symbols and practices based on the idea of the sacred and refers to what people define as extraordinary and inspiring, a sense of awe and reverence. It provides faith, values, beliefs and guidelines for specific behaviours and different religions rise out of different cultures. In the context of religion, dress should present not just a humble state of mind, but reveal by its simplicity that the wearer does not spend more time on the adornment of the body, but instead devotes greater time and money on the less privileged. This religious attitude is prevalent in the habits of religious orders; their ample, loose robes humble often coarse fabrics, are both unappealing and protection against the temptations of the world. They further observe that dress acts as a visible symbol for the precepts of fundamentalism, including the fact that the religion's principles govern all aspects of fundamentalists' lives. In religious societies, women's roles were frequently more "traditional" with individual needs and beliefs, relinquished to the greater good of the family and religious group (Samovar *et al.*, 2013:37; Miller-Spillman & Michelman, 2008:449-450). In addition, Bradly and Homberger (2015:317) highlighted the importance of dress as a symbol of religious identity and belief, history and tradition marker and a non-verbal form of communication of ideas and concepts.

The influence of religion on dress and adornment is likely to be incidental for the general population and coercive only for the dedicated who join religious orders or the priesthood. Rules of conduct within religious groups include requirements for dress that clearly distinguish religious leaders from followers. Followers who have no dress for everyday use may have dress for certain ceremonies and rituals that declare their religious affiliation at the same time that differentiate them from their leaders. With the Hare Krishna followers, for example, daily dress identifies a whole community of believers, visibly setting them apart from the general society and emphasizing the intensity of their beliefs and their rejection of doctrines of others. In the case of Dalai Lama of Tibet, facial paint or robes embellished with arcane symbols, a leader's identity which may become a living icon, are used for differentiation (Eicher & Roach-Higgins, 1992:17)

Horn and Gurel (1981:33) posited that another form of identification that is used by many religious groups include clerical collars and Buddhists' robe that distinguish the wearers from the general population and also identify them to their followers. Some examples of religious groups that mandate modern dress are Muslims, Orthodox Jews, Mormons and Mennonites. Dress is a visible symbol of one's beliefs. Clothing on its own does not have a particular religious meaning. The meaning is culturally defined by society. Cultural norms and expectations surrounding the meaning of being a man or woman are closely linked to appearance. For example, in many Muslim societies, the practice of woman's veiling quickly identifies gender as well as the cultural meaning of being a woman in that society (Michelman, 2008a:154).

In Southern Africa in contrast to western societies, in tribal societies, nakedness is acceptable as the understanding of the concept of dress is different. For many religious ceremonies, the naked body is prepared by going through a process of purification and strengthening. Often an animal bladder which is responsible for purification in the animals' body, is worn by the person that is undergoing purification. For instance, a young girl after menstruation is required to adorn her hair with a goat's bladder for purposes of purification. On the other hand, when she gets married, she may be required to wear again a bladder of a goat that has been ritually slaughtered for ensuring that the ancestors will bless the marriage. These rituals are part of rites of passage (Morris & Levitas, 1987:s.a.).

Trollip (1994:33) from her study of the Ndzundza-Ndebele advanced the relationship between religion and morality as, “religious behaviour may be defined as that involving right behaviour between man and the supernatural; moral behaviour as the right behaviour between man and his fellow man... in practice, religion supports and gives authoritative backing to the moral code.” This relationship is paramount in the African value system. In terms of family moral code, rules that govern the appropriate behavioural patterns between a woman and her husband’s relatives are clearly demarcated. The behaviour code (*hlonipha*) stipulates taboos, avoidance and respectful behaviour. A married woman has to observe the *hlonipha* rules towards her parents’ in-law and all other members of their clan.

Many of the rules are related to dress code. For instance a married woman (*makoti*¹) should cover her shoulders to show respect to the ancestors of the husband. A failure to observe this is punishable by the ancestors with infertility, deformed children or severe drought. Also urbanization, education, Christianity and age are major factors that have played a significant role in the adoption of the western/ modern dress. The partial acceptance of Christianity has resulted in a dual belief system which is reflected among others in the dress practices. Although Christianity prohibits traditional dress, some Ndzundza-Ndebele women have maintained the culture of *hlonipha* by wearing an *umtshurhana* (small blanket) over their western dress to cover their shoulders as required for married women. Married women show their status by wearing blankets and the way of wearing conveyed a specific meaning. Khau (2012) has shown the importance of *makoti* and women dress adhering to the expected norms of respect (*tlhompho*) among the Basotho.

2.6.3 Modernisation

Trollip (1994:33-35) observed that contact with Western/modern society changed the lifestyle of Ndzundza-Ndebele. Their values shifted to individual-oriented values, and their ideology changed due to the acceptance of Christianity. Married women wore blankets as part of their traditional or Western/ modern attire. Blankets proclaimed the

¹ In Sesotho, the phrase strictly applies to a newly married woman. It becomes a new name for the woman until she gives birth to her first child and then she will earn a new name after the name of the child. She will be called the mother of

married status of the wearer because the way a blanket was worn also conveyed meanings. Blankets functioned as important symbols to proclaim ethnicity, as the Ndzundza only wore blankets in certain colour combinations decorated with specific designs. In this way, blankets acquired symbolic meaning, symbolising the life phase as well as activities and ethnicity.

The *Ikhiba* represents the transformation level in the process of cultural authentication where symbolism is applied, structural identification with certain status role sustained and differentiation of the role of the creator emerges. *Ikhiba* is a much desired garment worn by Ndebele and Pedi. They consider it the “best” garment, which is worn during weekends when visiting friends. It also functioned to identify group members. A married female is obliged to cover her shoulders - this is the way of life of the Ndebele, and they do this in fear of ancestral spirits. The Ndzundza accepted the blanket as a part of traditional attire because of its comfort, convenience and the availability of blankets as opposed to the scarcity of skins. Female adornment with beads also signified married status and items linked to beliefs in ancestral spirits and objects with supernatural powers, e.g. *Isithikulu* (a bead string with traditional medicine supplied by *Nyanga*). The importance of these symbols was manifestations of earlier beliefs and values. The old people adhered more strictly to their traditional beliefs and values than the younger. The loss of status and prestige is ascribed to punishment by the ancestral spirits when a person fails to conform to group norms. An *Isithikulu* was also worn because it was believed it had healing power. The influence of a Western lifestyle resulted into fewer opportunities for children to wear traditional dress and less encouragement from parents to uphold traditional practices (Trollip, 1994:35). Figure 2.7 shows how dress is used to differentiate status among the Ndebele-Ndzundza females.



Figure 2.7: Ndzundza and Manala Ndebele cultural dress depicting married women (left) and young maidens (right) (Source: Pinterest, n.d.)

Knight and Priebusch (1977:43) contend that a variety of beaded garments indicated a girl's progression from childhood to womanhood, and the first beaded garments fringes of string or animal skin with the top decorated with beads, is called a *gashi*. It is worn as a tiny covering by very young children, boys as well as girls. *Pepetu* – is worn by young maiden. The *jokolo* is a five-panelled apron worn on important ceremonial occasions by married women. The *mapoto* indicated married status, and it is beaded. The *nyoka* is a bridal costume. The ceremonial beaded blanket is a traditional garment. This blanket gives dignity to the Ndebele women. These women also cover their necks with brass and beaded rings and their legs encircled with brass rings. Before the current blanket, the Ndebele wore a cape made of animal skins called a *linaka* edged with white beads. Older pieces of beadwork are on skins. The *jokolos* and *mapotos* were cut from animal skins on to which beads were sewn. The traditional colour for the Ndebele is white incorporated with symbolic motifs in beads of red, blue, green and orange (Knight & Priebusch, 1977:43).

Mkorosi (2017:35) and Pheto-Moeti (2005:33) concurred that western dress was introduced to the Basotho with arrival of the missionaries in 1833 and from that time wearing of traditional dress began to decline. The introduction of Christianity which

was ironically referred to as *bojakane* (cultural migration) by those who were resistant, led to the adoption of wool and cotton clothes, primarily the blanket and *Seshoeshoe* dress as part of Basotho traditional attire. The acceptance of the western blanket in Lesotho was as a result of the presentation of a blanket as a gift to King Moshoeshoe I, by a British businessman named Howel in 1860. Nowadays, blankets are worn at most major national activities such as political rallies, cultural celebrations, church, weddings etc. They are typically worn over western clothing (Mokorosi, 2017:38; Karstel, 1993:187, 195).

Compared to the rest of the Bantu speaking groups in Southern Africa, Basotho are renowned for extensively developing social cultural significance around the blanket such that it has become part of their cultural identity. Basotho blankets are manufactured from 90% pure wool and 10% cotton, thus can be worn throughout all seasons. They keep the body at an even temperature, do not absorb water in the rain and are tolerant to fire to some extent. Basotho also wear them purely for their warmth. Young brides were encouraged to wear a shawl around the hips in order to stay warm until a child was conceived (Karstel, 1993:187). Over time, the Basotho blanket has developed and become unique in quality and varieties available in the market. Originally, the motifs were western. Blankets bearing Sesotho motifs or those originated by local groups have become common, such as those bearing the Basotho hat (*mokorotlo*), knobbed stick (*koto*) and crocodile (*koena*). The Basotho assign meanings to blankets based on their names, colour, motif or finish. A blanket has a status symbol and is significant to various rites of passage. For example, for male initiation, a blanket called *Moholobela* was worn during the preparation stage and wearing a *Lekhokolo* blanket was proof that a young man has reached manhood. Another blanket was needed for the bride as a wedding blanket (Karstel, 1995:202; 1993:187). *Lilala* was a special warm and colourful blanket for children. Not every family could afford to buy *lilala* for their children. For a child to be adorned with one signified prestigious status (Khau, 2012:95).

The Basotho are known by a variety of colourful blankets as their traditional attire. One of their early popular blankets was called *Sandringham*, and they called it *moholu* (stomach) because of its texture that looked like the inside of the stomach of a slaughtered animal. It was also known as *qibi* or *konyana* because of its texture. The *Sandringham* name was given after the Royal Palace of *Sandringham* in England as

maintained by Mokorosi (2017:37) and Karstel (1995:204-205). Another important blanket was *serope sa motsoetse* (the thigh of a new mother), which was a thick warm blanket used by nursing mothers. It was also known as magician or “monkey nut” (magnet) because of the static electricity produced by the fluffy wool which was associated with magical powers. *Serope sa motsoetsoe* “served as an affirmation of an individual’s position in society and as a signifier of achievement” (Khau, 2012:99). *Moholu* and *serope sa motsoetsoe* are depicted in Figure 2.8.



Figure 2.8: *Moholu* (left) (Source: Mokorosi, 2017:37) and *Serope sa motsoetsoe* (right) (Source: Photo by author)

The most popular Basotho blanket is the Victoria (*lefitori* or *lesolanka*). The blanket was designed in honour of the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria of England in 1897. It is also called *seanamarena* (swearing by the chief) as it was originally only affordable to chiefs and the wealthy. *Seanamarena* has over the years been designed with a variety of motifs that are symbolic to significant Basotho historical events. These blankets have since become part of every-day life. Being dressed in one reveals status and a mark of cultural identity. It is a pass-out gift for the male initiates who can afford it (Mokorosi, 2017:38; Karstel, 1995:205). Another admirable blanket is the *Letlama* shawl for women. It is a heavy shawl that serves the purpose of a blanket. Men are supposed to wear only the brown or fawn colours, not the grey which is the most

beautiful. *Letlama* is another name for Moshoeshoe I, and it means to fasten or unite. It is however believed the name of the blanket originates from the way the tassel was tied or fastened (*ho tlama* in Sesotho). It expresses different meanings in several different rituals and is presented to newly-weds as a gift at the wedding (Karstel, 1995:205).

Basotho women wear headscarfs and long sleeve garments as a tradition to show respect (*ho hlompha*). Women wear blankets to cover their shoulders as a sign of respect to the male in-laws. Notwithstanding, wearing of the *Seshoeshoe* outfit, a blanket, and a headscarf by a Mosotho woman is a significant form of national identity. The Basotho blanket is worn with a safety pin made for that purpose which acts as a fastener, and the way both men and women fold the top part before securing with the pin is different. Khau (2012:101) suggested that not only is there a difference between how men and women wear the blanket, but also, newly married women wore it differently from women who had children. "Basotho wear blanket stripes vertically and believe that to be for prosperity." The acknowledgement of blankets by Basotho and the aesthetic value attached to them makes them the most important gifts offered to visitors (Mokorosi, 2017:43). Apart from being significant as a part of national identity, a blanket is important for several cultural practices:

- The blanket is an essential part of bridal gifts by friends and family (*ho phahlela*).
- It is presented to the bride as a welcome gift by the husband's family at the time of reception.
- It is presented to the daughter by parents after traditional cleansing following the death of her husband or child.
- It is generally presented to a nephew/niece (*mochana*) as an initiation pass-out or wedding gift by the maternal uncle (*malome*).
- Should a nephew/ niece experience the misfortune of having his/her clothes burned by fire, a blanket becomes part of the compensation by the maternal uncle (*ho ts'ola mochana*).

Basotho wear blankets for virtually every cultural social activity. Families wear them when attending funerals and during traditional family meetings (Mokorosi, 2017:43-45). Furthermore, for young men, *ts'ea* or loincloth has been replaced by *leqapha*

made from unbleached sheeting from which they graduate to wear pants. *Ts'ea* is either covered with a blanket or with the upper part bare depending on the weather. Herd-boys wear grey blankets (*mathokoa*) to cover their bodies and gumboots to protect their feet. Western clothing is now generally worn by both men and women, and traditional clothes where they still exist are reserved for cultural occasions (Mokorosi, 2017:33, 53). The blanket to Basotho people symbolises more than a dress artefact but is synonymous with the definition of a married woman herself (she is regarded as a blanket that is supposed to keep the man warm). Furthermore, Basotho girls had a practice of elongation of the inner labia before menstruation as a blanket for the purposes of satisfying a man during sexual intercourse (Khau, 2012:103). Basotho blankets are very varied; Figure 2.9 shows the new *Sandringham* (*moholu*) manufactured by Aranda (A), a shawl – one of the gift blankets to the bride (B), *letlama* – the fringed type generally for women and the unfringed for men (C) and *seanamarema* (D).



A



B



C



D

Figure 2.9: (A) Newest version of Sandringham manufactured by Aranda (B) Shawl, the first blanket for the bride (makoti) (photos by author) (C) Letlama, fringed type generally for women and unfringed for men (Source: Aranda, n.d.) (D) Red Seanamarena (Source: modified from Karstel, 1993:192)

Sekese (1983:3) observed that when a girl has been proposed for marriage, a messenger is sent to engage her (*Ho mo kopa le ho mo beeletsa*). The messenger will request the girl's father for a private talk. He tells the girl's father that he has been sent to ask for her daughter's hand in marriage (*ho kopa mohope oa metsi* – a request for a water drawing gourd). He would then show him a cow and say, "This is the mouth that I am speaking through" (*Khomo ea pula-molomo* – The cow that will open the mouth of the in-laws to be). The messenger would then be taken to the girl's mother by her father and then present the matter in the presence of the messenger. If the family agrees with their daughter, the messenger will be conspicuously rubbed with fat. This was a sign that they had acceded to the request. When the messenger returns to the family that sent him, they will know whether he is bringing good or bad news before he speaks. A cow was used to indicate that the girl is engaged instead of a ring that is used today. If a cow was not available, a hoe or a beading article was used. When the dowry or bride price has been paid (agreed number of cattle) in the evening the betrothed were united by sprinkling them with the gall from *khomo ea mahali* (bridal cow) that was slaughtered for the purpose (Sekese, 1983:5).

In addition, during the marriage rituals, the spouses were smeared with the gall of an animal that was killed and the fat of the entrails was rubbed with a special medicine and made into a collar which was hung around the neck of the bride, descending to

the chest. This symbolised the purity of the maiden due to the whiteness of the fat. Wristlets were also made of fat and were medicated and placed around the wrists of both spouses and were solemnly committed to the care and protection of their ancestors (Ellenberger, 1997:275-276). Sekese (1983:68) advanced that during the month that the woman notices that she is pregnant (*letlali*), she will no longer shave her head. At the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy, she is taken to her parent's home where a piece of an old sheep or ox skin is used to cover her belly (*ho bipa*). Traditionally, a pregnant woman wore a blanket and wrapped a shawl around her hips. When she has delivered and ready to be sent to her in-laws, a cow or sheep is slaughtered, and a *khoetsa* – a piece of skunk's tail or a claw of some appropriate wild animal is fastened by the in-laws around her neck such that it rests on the throat (It is said that the *khoetsa* is on the heart). The tail is tied together with skunk's clawed limbs. At this time called *koroso* – home sending, her hair that had remained unshaven is woven into *lenyetse* (dreads). The first shaving of the baby's hair is called *ho bolla*. It is a ritual done at *mohasoeng* that is, the woman's home (grandparents of the baby) and a cow called *mohasoa* is slaughtered (Mokorosi, 2017:47).

Rosenberg (2002:7) showed that Basotho youth today were not keen to wear cultural attire such as *seanamarena* or *mokorotlo* as they consider these to be for older adults. The youth admitted to being influenced by television and other forms of media and therefore preferred the western styles as portrayed in countries such as South Africa and the United States of America.

CHAPTER 3 :

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The theoretical framework forms the basis from which all knowledge is built for a research study. “It serves as the structure and support for the rationale for the study, the problem statement, the purpose, the significance and the research questions” (Grant & Onsaloo, 2014:13). The theoretical framework provides an anchor for the literature review as well as for the methods and analysis. It is the “blueprint” for the whole dissertation investigation. It operates as a guide on which to build and support the study, and further provides the structure to define how one will philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically, and analytically handle the study as a whole. The theoretical framework consists of the selected theory (or theories) that supports the researchers’ thinking for the purpose of planning and understanding of the research topic, including the concepts and definitions from that theory that are relevant to the topic (Bezuidenhout, 2014:55; Grant & Onsaloo, 2014:13).

This chapter presents and discusses the overarching theory of symbolic interactionism by George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). In particular, the chapter seeks to clarify the concepts of symbol and meaning as they relate to the study. Perspectives in symbolic interactionism, i.e. symbolic and contextual perspectives are covered. Furthermore, the theories of dress that form the focus of the study are elucidated. Finally, the conceptual and theoretical framework are graphically summarised.

3.2 SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

This study is premised on the theory of symbolic interactionism developed by George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). The basis of the theory is that meanings are derived from gestures. He proposed that there is an indefinite number of signs or symbols which may fulfil the function of what is termed “language”. By studying the movements of a person’s body, one can receive some message sometimes even when the owner is not aware (Mead, 1934:15). Mead postulated that “what language seems to carry is a set of symbols answering to certain content which is measurably identical in the

experience of the different individuals. If there is to be communicated as such, the symbol has to mean the same thing to all individuals involved. If several individuals respond in different ways to the stimulus, the stimulus means different things to them” (Mead, 1934:54). While it is true that for a group, the symbol has to mean the same thing, if the response from a stimulus is received differently by people, the stimulus means different things to them. If the stimulus means different things to them, then there is communication or meaning. Mead submitted that “meaning is implicit – if not always explicit – in the relationship among the various phases of the social act to which it refers, and out of which it develops. Furthermore, its development takes place in terms of symbolisation at the human evolutionary level. We have seen that the nature of meaning is intimately associated with the social process. Meaning involves this three-fold relation among phases of the social act as the context in which it arises and develops. This relation of the gesture of one organism to the adjusted response of another (also implicated in the given act) and to the completion of the given act – a relation such that the second organism responds to the gesture as indicating or referring to the completion of the given act” (Mead, 1934:76-77). Mead (1934:78-79) presented his understanding of symbolisation and meaning as follows:

Symbolisation constitutes objects not constituted before, objects which would not exist except for the context of social relationships wherein symbolisation occurs. Language does not simply symbolise a situation or object which is already there in advance, it makes possible the existence or the appearance of that situation or object, for it is a part of the mechanism whereby, that situation or object is created. The social process relates the responses of one individual to the gestures of another, as the meanings of the latter and is thus responsible for the rise and existence of new objects in the social situation, objects dependent upon or constituted by these meanings. Meaning can be described, accounted for, or stated in terms symbols or language at its highest and most complex stage of development (the stage it reaches in human experience) but language simply lifts out of the social process a situation which is logically or implicitly there already. The language is simply a significant or conscious gesture. Meaning is a content of an object which is dependent upon the relation of an organism or group of organisms to it.

Mead (1967:s.p.; 1934:81) proposed that “Meaning arises and lies within the field of relationship between the gesture of a given human organism and the subsequent

behaviour of this organism as indicated to another human organism by that gesture. If that gesture does so indicate to another organism the subsequent (resultant) behaviour of the given organism, then it has meaning." This is explained by "the relationship between a given stimulus as a gesture, and the later phases of the social act, of which it is an early (if not the initial) phase, constitutes the field within which meaning originates and exists. Meaning is thus a development of something objectively there, a relation between certain phases of the social act, it is not a psychological addition to that act, and it is not an idea as traditionally conceived."

When people's gestural meanings assume identical meanings to them and to others, that results in the development of a "significant gesture" or a "significant symbol." It is important to note that naturally human beings arrive at the meaning of objects or phenomena during social interaction. This means that every society or group develops its own system of significant symbols which become part of the group membership and the organisation of its activities (Plummer, 1991: xi; Blumer, 1981:146; McPhail & Rexroat, 1979:458; Mead, 1964: xxii). Lewis (1976:349) delineated the meaning of any significant symbol as provided in its performance. Lewis observed that the problem is not in the interpretation of the meanings of acts, but in arranging them in such a way as to develop one image of the social position of the actor. Mead (1964: xxii) further submitted that any group membership is characteristic of symbols that are developed during the life of the group, and are internalised within the membership and thus affect each individual's actions. Miller (1973:298) demonstrated that meanings could be communicated between people by significant symbols or gestures alone. Mead (1964:163; 1967:81) indicated that meaning originates from the relation between the gesture of a given human being and the subsequent behaviour of this human being as reflected to another human by that gesture. If the gesture portrays to another human, the resultant behaviour of the given person, then it has meaning.

Aksan, Kisac, Aydin and Demibuken (2009:902-903) proposed that symbolic interaction is one of the several theories in the social sciences. It is a dynamic theory in that, objects feature meaning within themselves, and people formulate their activities in line with their assessment of themselves and others and objects surrounding them. They showed that new symbolic interactionism is much more different and has a synthetic perspective than that of the period of Mead (1863-1931), Cooley (1864-1929) and Blumer (1900-1987). Cooley's contribution to symbolic

interactionism is underlain by the three main elements as postulated by Hensley (1992:7-8) citing Cooley (1902:152) and are related to the study:

1. The imagination of our appearance to the other person
2. The imagination of his judgment of that appearance
3. Some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification.

The above elements are important in so far as each is capable of generating a meaning either by self or those with whom there is interaction.

Symbolic interactionism has been used as a label rather than a distinctive approach to the study of human group life and conduct. It has more subscription than formulation. It is a down to earth approach to the scientific study of human group life and conduct. Interactionists assume that human beings create the worlds of experience they live in. They do this by acting on things in terms of the meanings things have for them. These meanings come from interaction, and they are shaped by the self-reflections persons bring to their situations (Denzin 1992:1, 25). Aksan *et al.* (2009:902-904) have noted criticisms against symbolic interactionist model. Symbolic interactionism is largely deprived of real social envision, and it does not present a societal picture or theory since it is perceived as a thing only in the minds of people.

3.2.1 Core ideas of the theory of symbolic interaction

Charon (1998:27) presents the following as the five core ideas of the theory of symbolic interaction:

- (a) Symbolic interactionism focuses on the nature of social interaction, the dynamic social activities taking place among persons.
- (b) Human action is caused not only by social interaction but also results from interaction within the individual.
- (c) Humans do not sense their environment directly but instead, define their situations as they go along in their action.
- (d) Human beings are not controlled by what happened to them in the past. They are not simply playing out personality traits they developed early in their lives. Their actions are always caused by what happens in the present situation, more specifically, how they define what is happening at a particular moment.

- (e) Humans, unlike other animals in nature, can take an active part in the cause of their own action.

Charon (1998:32) posited that Mead recognised society as a developing process characterised by continuous social interaction. Charon submitted that everything about individuals changes and is not static due to the active mind. For this reason, Mead advocated the understanding of the mind. McKinney (1955:115) based on Mead submitted that “mind is the presence in behaviour of significant symbols. It is the internalization within the individual of the social process of communication in which meaning emerges. It is the ability to indicate to one’s self the response (and implicated objects) that one’s gesture indicates to others, and to control the response itself in these terms”. Charon (1998:41) proposed that the symbolic interactionist perspective takes the use of symbols and relates it to all that is human. The symbol becomes the central concept of the entire perspective.

3.3 THE DEFINITION OF A SYMBOL

A symbol is an object that has meaning for someone. In dress, for example, symbols are more tangible and visible than any other forms of human behaviour such as a gesture (Kaiser, 1985:184). Black mourning attire is a symbol for grieving someone who has passed away. Basotho hat (*mokorotlo*) is symbol for the national identity of Basotho and so is *seanamarena* blanket commonly known as Basotho blanket. *Seshoeshoe* dress serves as a national identity for Basotho women (Tyrrell, 1968; Pheto-Moeti, 2005; Maposa, 2012; Mkorosi, 2017). Mead (1934:54) showed that a symbol is a stimulus that is received and interpreted to mean something by a group of people. Based on the understanding of Mead that symbols are social, meaningful and significant, Charon (1998:47-48) indicated that symbols originate or are developed from interaction and do not occur in nature. They are a result of an agreement between people, and that is why they are social (Mead, 1967:81; Mead, 1964:xxii). Symbols are identified with a specific meaning. A national flag is a symbol of patriotism and holds a special meaning to a nation. A symbol is “any object, mode of conduct, or word toward which [people] act as if it were something else. Whatever the symbol stands for constitutes its meaning.” Symbols are significant as Mead has shown in that the meaning is not only for the actor who receives them but also to the user. Someone

who uses symbols is intentional about their use. Symbols are meaningful to those who portray them and are used with a purpose to give meaning to others. The entire human world is made up of symbols that have been arbitrarily assigned meaning (Charon, 1998:48-49).

3.4 THE MEANING OF SYMBOLS

Mead (1967:76) and Mead (1964:164) proposed that “meaning is implicit if not always explicit in the relationship among the various phases of the social act to which it refers, and out of which it develops, and its development takes place in terms of symbolisation at the human evolutionary level. The nature of meaning is associated with the social process as it thus appears, that meaning involves this three-fold relation among phases of the social act as the context in which it arises and develops. This relation of gesture of the organism to the adjustive response of another organism (also implicated in the given act) and to the completion of the given act – a relation such that the second organism responds to the gesture of the first as indicating or referring to the completion of the given act.”

“Symbolisation constitutes objects not constituted before, objects which would not exist except for the context of social relationships wherein symbolisation occurs. The response of the organism to the gesture of another in any given social act is the meaning of that gesture and also is in a sense responsible for the appearance or coming into being of the new object or new content of an old object to which that gesture refers through the outcome of the given social act in which it is an early phase,” (Mead, 1964:165; 1967:78). Meaning can be described, accounted for, or stated in terms of symbols or language at its highest and most complex stage of development (the stage it reaches in human experience) but language simply lifts out of the social process a situation which is logically or implicitly there already (Mead, 1967:79; 1964:166; Mckinney, 1955:148).

Mead (1967:79-81) proposed that the language symbol is simply a significant or conscious gesture. Meaning arises through communication. It is to the content to which the social process gives rise that this statement refers, not to bare ideas or printed words as such, but to the social process which has been so primarily responsible for the objects constituting the daily environment in which we live: a

process in which communication plays the central part. Meaning involves a reference of the gesture of one organism to the resultant of the social act it indicates or initiates as adjustive responded to in this reference by another organism is the meaning of the gesture (Mead, 1967:81; 1964:158-159; McKinney, 1955:148). There is the language of speech and the language of hands, and there may be the language of the expression of the countenance. What is essential to communication is that the symbol should arouse in one's self what it arouses in the other individual. It must have that sort of universality to any person who finds himself in the same situation (Mead, 1967:147-149).

Mckinney (1955:148) proposed that meaning, according to Mead is a function of the social act. It is derived from a relationship within the social act. Mead ascribed two characters to meaning: participation and communicability. Trollip (1995:150) submitted that in studies that deal with the form and meaning of dress symbols in relation to acculturation, symbolic interactionism offers an appropriate perspective. It is noted that dress is not just a passive reflection of a social structure. It plays a crucial role in social interaction since it can be used to manipulate appearance. It is in this sense that symbolic interactionism serves as the framework for this study.

3.5 SYMBOLIC INTERACTION PERSPECTIVE

Perspectives are a set of symbols. Reality is understood from symbols, and people see according to their symbolic framework. The symbolic framework operates as a guide to what people see and how they interpret it, including what they miss in any given context (Charon, 1998:53). The process of how an action is derived from an interpretation of perspectives in symbolic interactionism is presented in Figure 3.1.

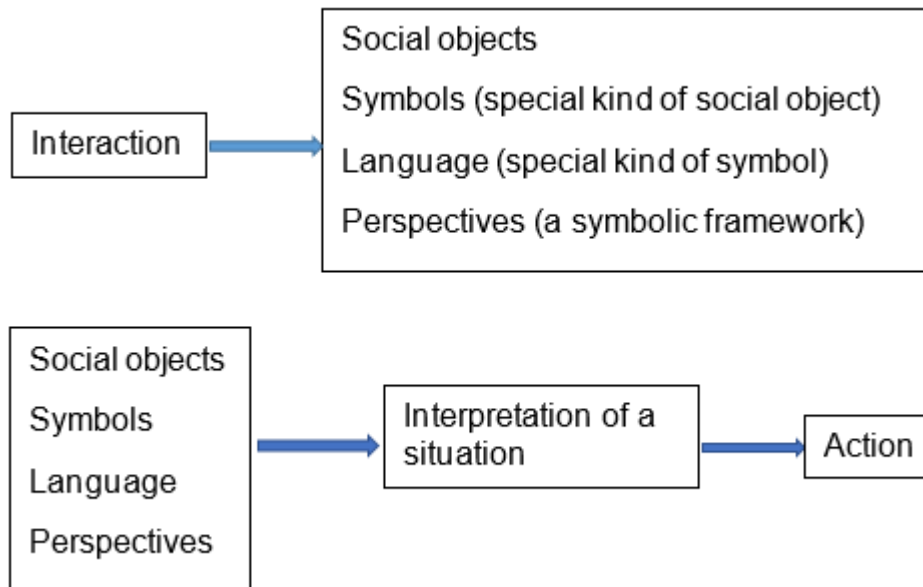


Figure 3.1: Movement of information from interaction to action (Source: Adapted from Charon, 1998:53)

The emphasis is that through interaction, the perspective of reality is developed and people should act in response to that reality (Charon, 1998:61). Mead (1964:167) described this development of meaning process as threefold or a triadic relation between gesture, adjustive response and a resultant of the social act which gesture initiates. Therefore, meaning is content of an object which is dependent upon the relation of an organism or a group of organisms to it. Figure 3.2 is an illustration of how the study, following symbolic interactionist approached the concept of meaning in dress and appearance.

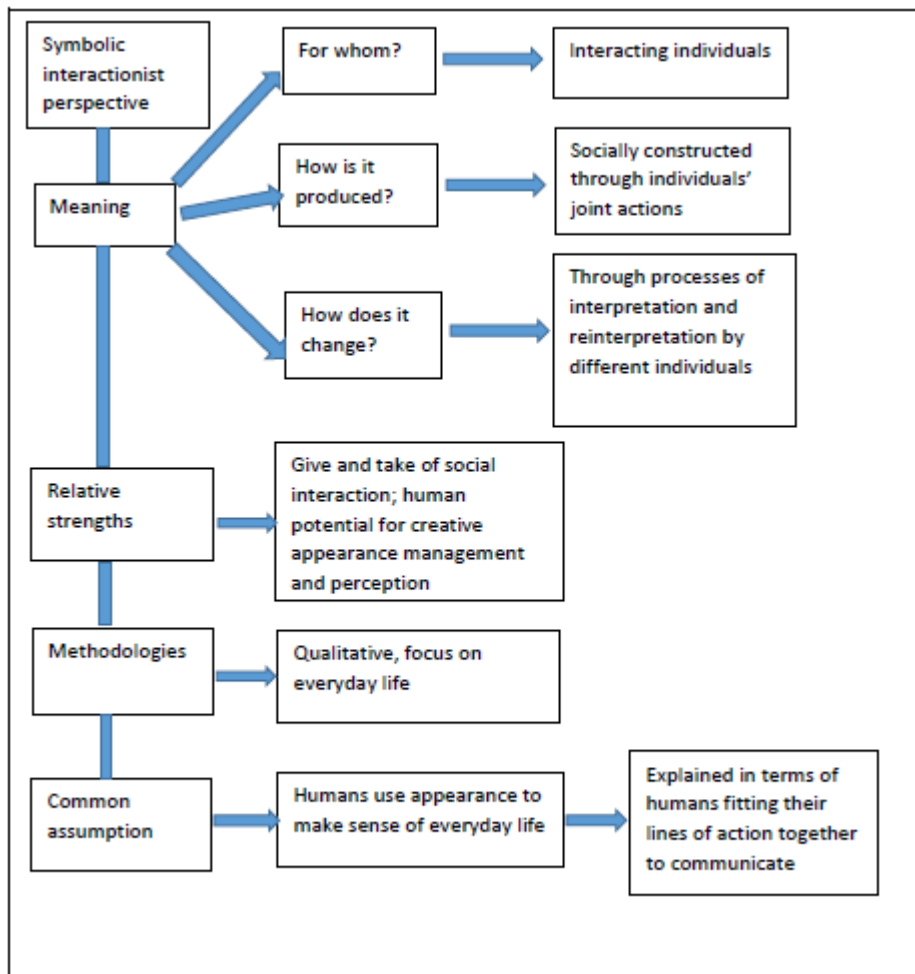


Figure 3.2: Symbolic interactionist perspective (Source: adapted from Kaiser, 1990:56)

Kaiser (1993:42) stipulated that the symbolic interactionist perspective addresses both appearance management and perception. For this reason, its major focus is a two-way interaction. It is a perspective that is aligned with the study of social actions and social objects. Based on people's joint actions, meanings assigned to dress in given social circumstances are socially constructed or collectively defined. Charon (1998:41) noted that the symbolic interactionist perspective associates the use of symbols to all people. The symbol is regarded as the core concept of the entire perspective. Aksan *et al.* (2009:903) presented three core principles in symbolic interaction perspective as meaning, language and thinking. Language provides means or symbols for debating meaning and thinking principle. Symbols differentiate social relationships between humans from the level of communication of animals. People provide meaning to symbols and express the meaning through language. Symbols, therefore, form a

foundation of communication. Finally, thinking changes people's interpretation of symbols.

Derizin (1992:xiv) and Kaiser (1990:41-45; 1993:42), outlined the following assumptions of symbolic interaction perspective:

- Meanings assigned to dress are manipulated and transformed through an interpretive process. Meaning associated with dress is not static, given a different context, meaning is amenable to change.
- Meaning associated with appearance symbols results from social interactions with others. Meanings are not passively received. In a group setting, to develop meaning there must be consensus among the group members. Because humans are creative and dynamic, they change meaning according to context and this is accepted as normal for symbolic interactionist perspective.
- Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.
- Humans create their own realities in part, by managing their appearances.
- To fit their lines of action together, people use symbols. Symbols have shared meanings for people, they may or may not be physical. For example, dress symbols may be concrete or material objects (artefacts). Symbols are used to define or represent people's realities and symbols help to initiate responses, provide cues to behaviour, organise behaviour, focus attention or critical elements in a social situation, and allow organisation of actions. Symbols enrich the way everyday life is viewed. They serve to provide some degree of continuity and structure from one context to another, as well to provide some variety and change, because of the way people are able to manipulate them.
- People act towards each other on the basis of the meanings their appearance hold. People use cues provided by their appearances, interpret them, and attempt to organise their actions toward them accordingly. Dress may already have meaning given to it by designers with suggested potential context for wear. However new meanings may arise based on new contexts. For example, in Lesotho blankets were designed for cultural identity, but now they have acquired new meaning for group identity (e.g. famo). Also an earring was designed as an accessory to enhance female beauty, but in the Lesotho context, male initiates use earrings for identity.

The study is about the use of meanings and symbols in cultural dress. Symbolic interactionism (SI) was used as method of inquiry because the researcher is part of the community under investigation and was able to study the individuals by being in contact with them. As a result, the researcher was able to obtain the inside view of the participants. The advantage of this approach was that data collected was extremely rich, fascinating and grounded in everyday context. Mixed methods were used in which the subjects were engaged quantitatively through questionnaires and this was followed up by in-depth interviews whereby participants were free to provide meaning of their own. SI recognises that no one method is capable of demonstrating the truth conclusively and therefore readily amenable to mixed methods approach.

3.6 CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

Kaiser (1990:58) submitted that the contextual perspective framework leads to study how people manage and perceive appearances in everyday life, within the context of actual social situations including the broader cultural or historical setting within which they exist. Figure 3.3 shows how components of the symbolic interactionist contribute to another framework emphasising context. A contextual approach enhances understanding not only of appearance from people's viewpoints but also the familiarity of those viewpoints within a culture or a community. It enables people to focus upon situation dynamics and to explore the meaning of dress within their larger contexts. The process of contextualising allows for the perception of changes in the meaning of dress as contexts merge into one another. "Clearly, one historical context leads to a new one, one cultural context influences another one as there is intercultural contact, and one social context influences people's interpretations of another one" (Kaiser, 1990:59). Kaiser (1990:59), further noted that context serves a pervasive backdrop that interact with people's own actions and interactions.

People themselves create contexts such that there is a dynamic relation between individuals and the contexts in which they are found. Culture is one broader context within which appearance styles arise and influence social processes. Culture does not exist strictly to dictate meanings to individuals instead social-psychological focus that integrates culture in this regard enables researchers to explore how individuals

influence and are influenced by the cultural process. People of all cultures adorn themselves with some form of dress one way or the other (Kaiser, 1990:3).

The study was carried out within the theoretical framework of the symbolic interactionist and contextual perspective (Kaiser, 1990:39). Culture provides a shared symbolic order within which people interpret and develop meaning. A cultural perspective enables people to view the meanings of dress as they develop over time (Kaiser, 1990:48). Trollip *et al.* (1995) noted that the cultural perspective includes the way meaning is produced by the interchange between two opposing forces. In their study where the influence of social change on scarification and tattooing practices was investigated, these forces were observed as traditionalism and modernism. In this study, an additional force of Christianity was further investigated in the cultural dress practices of Basotho.

3.6.1 Contextual perspective assumptions

Kaiser (1990:60-61) presents the following assumptions for the contextual perspective:

1. Meanings of dress are altered and enhanced by the contexts within which they are found. People's choice of dress is associated with their individual experiences and social relations. It has been shown from the symbolic interactionism that meanings are derived from everyday life perceptions including how people define situations. For this reason, context is important as why interactions lead to certain outcomes.
2. Meanings of dress are derived from a dynamic process of historical and fashion change. As historical contexts evolve into newer ones, they produce three contexts related to time; the past – where meanings of dress were initiated; present – where situational conditions or social relations sustain or modify their present meanings; and the future – where new meanings and consequences are yet to be discovered. The study sought to investigate the meaning and symbolism of Basotho cultural dress practices in the past, at present and the implications to the future generation if the original meanings were to be lost.
3. Social life is a complex mixture of confusion and continuity. The complexity arises when people's appearances are observed and their meanings

interpreted. Continuity and changes in meaning may be understood through the social psychology of dress. A multipronged approach to the study of dress is likely to capture the broad human experiences and behaviour. That kind of approach integrates person's thought processes and interpretations with social interactions and cultural processes and forms. A symbolic interactionist perspective points to the subtlety by which meanings are socially constructed as people maintain their interpretations and lines of action together. The perspective also notes that some meanings are provided for people before they interact. Some cultural dress practices such as for example a black mourning gown or cloth has been a practice among Basotho for many years. The meaning is provided by the society and family members who encourage that the practice be observed according to how it was passed to them.

4. Discovery about the meanings of dress is an exploratory process of change and continuity. A contextual approach promotes the idea of studying phenomena through active participation, in order to have the insight to untangle transitions and continuities. Discovery is therefore a continuous process of confirming, modifying, and reconstructing theories. A contextual framework of inquiry suggests an innovative and critical use of methods. This framework has led to question whether any one method could demonstrate the truth conclusively.

Figure 3.3 demonstrates how the meaning of appearance was imbedded and understood within the Basotho cultural and historical context.

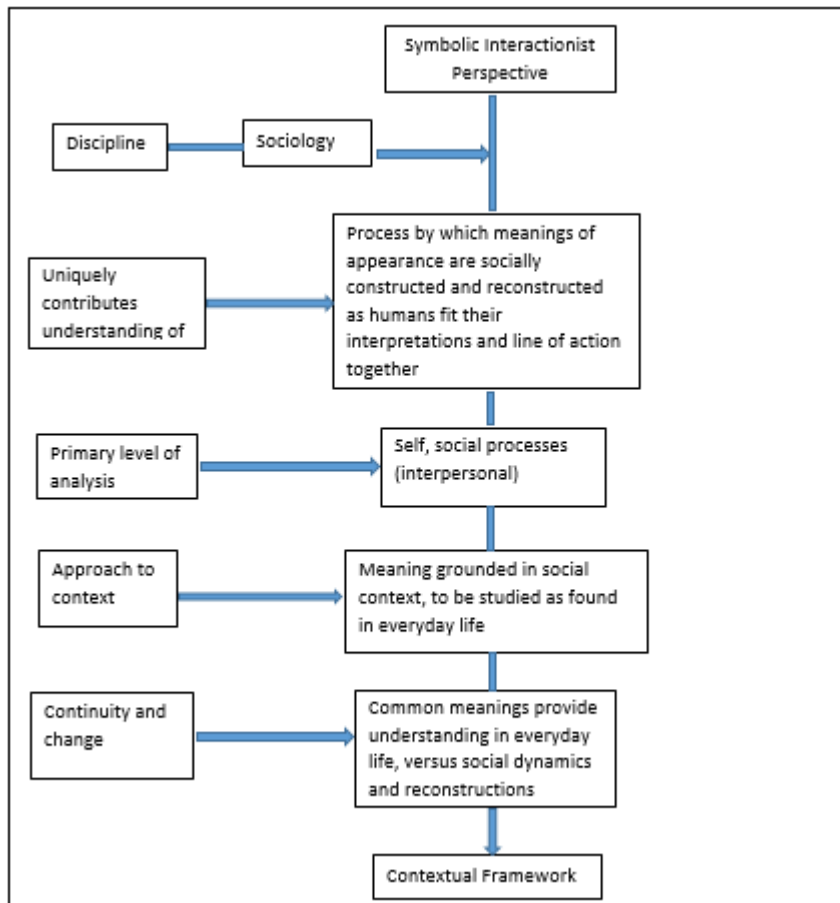


Figure 3.3: Contextual framework (Adapted from: Kaiser 1990:59)

The assumptions of the contextual perspective were used as a framework to gather and analyse data about the following categories concerning dress practices using the quantitative and qualitative approaches:

(a) Age groups:

- Toddlers
- Children
- Teenagers
- Youth
- Middle-aged
- Elderly

(b) Rites of passage: This covered Basotho dress practices that have to be undertaken during the following passage of rites rituals:

- Menstruation (*ho hlapa/ ho ea khoeling*)
- Orphan (*khutsana*)
- Initiation (*lebollo*)
- Marriage (*lenyalo*)
- Pregnancy (*mokhachane*)
- Widow (*mohlolohali*)
- Mourning (*thapo*)

(c) Cultural dress practices

(d) Body modifications and supplements

(e) Cultural dress artefacts

Figure 3.4 is a schematic illustration of the study framework.

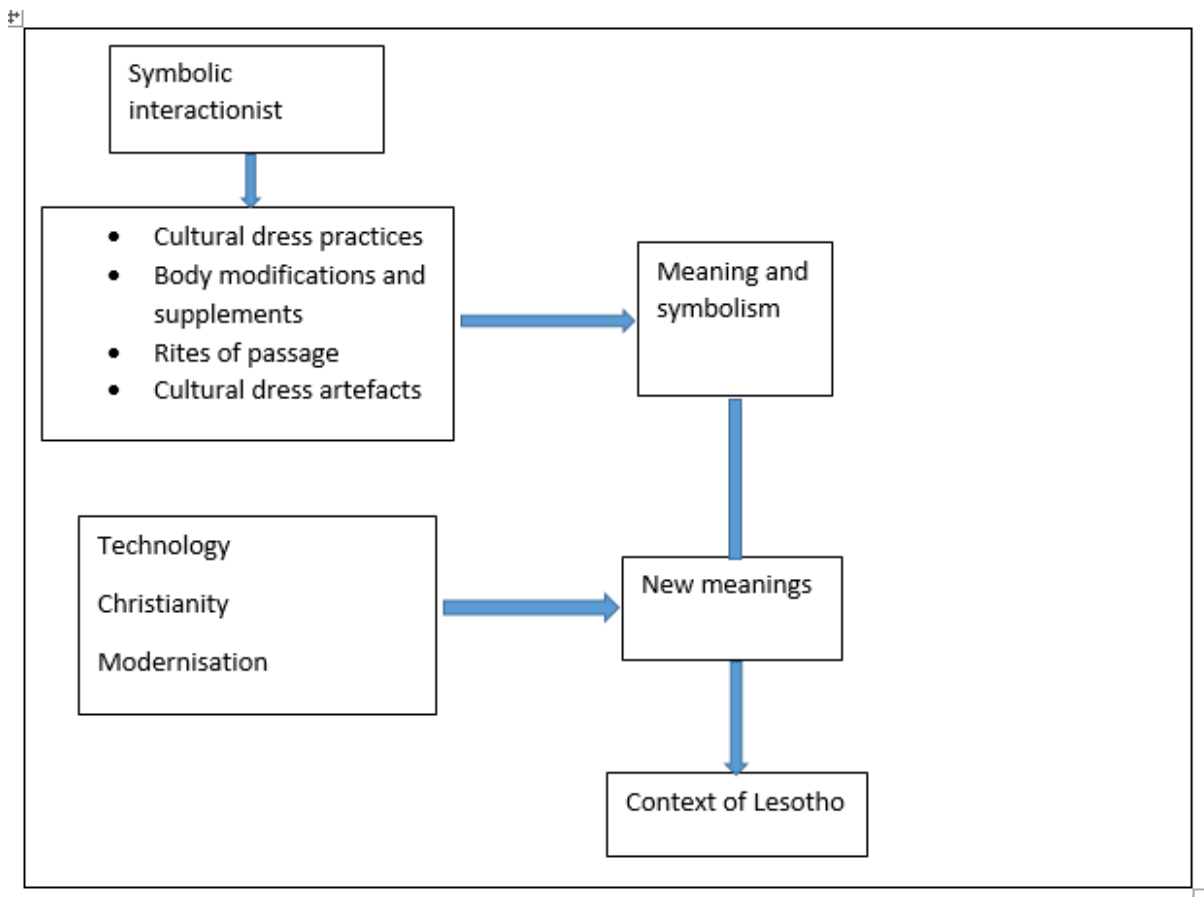


Figure 3.4: Study framework

3.7 DRESS THEORIES

3.7.1 Modesty and immodesty

The modesty theory suggests that people first wore clothing to cover their bodies to hide their shame. The modesty theory is derived from the Christian biblical explanation of clothing which indicates that coverings were initially worn by Adam and Eve to cover their nakedness, because of intuitive shame. This theory is based on the idea of morality. This explanation suggests that people are instinctively ashamed of nakedness. Modesty is socially learned, not instinct, and this is demonstrated by the fact that children under the age of two or three are happy and comfortable when they are naked. They only begin to appreciate that to be undressed is socially acceptable only in certain social contexts as they grow older. What is considered modest in one culture may not be acceptable in another. However, the immodesty or sexual attraction theory, on the other hand, proposes that individuals wore clothing in order to attract attention rather than to conceal sex organs. Although this theory may be an attractive possibility, it is not universally accepted (Kaiser, 1990:15).

3.7.2 Adornment

Kaiser (1997:4) defined adornment as “any decoration or alteration of the appearance”. The process of adornment is multipurpose and is beneficial as an explanation of motives in dress only in relation to the social context. The concept of adornment is based on the fact that people make themselves more attractive by adding beauty to themselves and thus managing the impressions that are given off to others. The basic motive to adorn the body has been explained by a variety of social purposes; extension of the bodily self, sexual attraction, and status expression. Adornment is classified into two primary forms which are corporal and external. The corporal forms of adornment are those involving some moulding or manipulation of the body. The external forms include any clothes or other ornaments or decorations that are attached to the body (Kaiser, 1985:36-37).

Body modifications and supplements can be classified according to their respective properties. For example, skin can be transformed by tattooing (modification), which alters its colours (property) and surface design (property). Body piercing not only

modifies the body's skin but allows for a ring to be attached to the body (Miller-Spillman, 2008:14).

The adornment theory relates to the decorative use of clothes and other forms of modification for purposes of display, attraction or aesthetic expression. This is fundamentally done by adding beauty to self and thus managing impressions that are given off to others. Protection theory indicates that protection is an important function of clothing. Protection may be for purposes of weather, sports or occupation (Damhorst, 2008:9; Kaiser, 1990:16; 1997:5-17).

3.7.3 Protection and Utility

One of the importance of dress is that human beings use clothing to protect themselves from environmental elements. The use of dress or adornment for psychological protection has a long historical and cross-cultural tradition. For instance, many cultures have used symbolic clothing or adornment to ward off evil spirits (Kaiser, 1985:52). Again according to Hockings (1979:155) in the Badaga society, an individual's position is sharply defined through the symbolic offer of protection and adornment by the transfer of clothing gifts at the time of a wedding. The gifts make a statement about status differences within the family that are important.

For this study, derived from the theoretical foundations laid by the symbolic interaction theory, the focus was primarily on Kaiser's application of symbolic interactionism on dress. The modesty theory, the immodesty or sexual attraction theory, the adornment theory and the protective theory, were employed to address the meaning and symbolism of Basotho cultural dress practices. Figure 3.5 is a schematic presentation of the theoretical framework of the study.

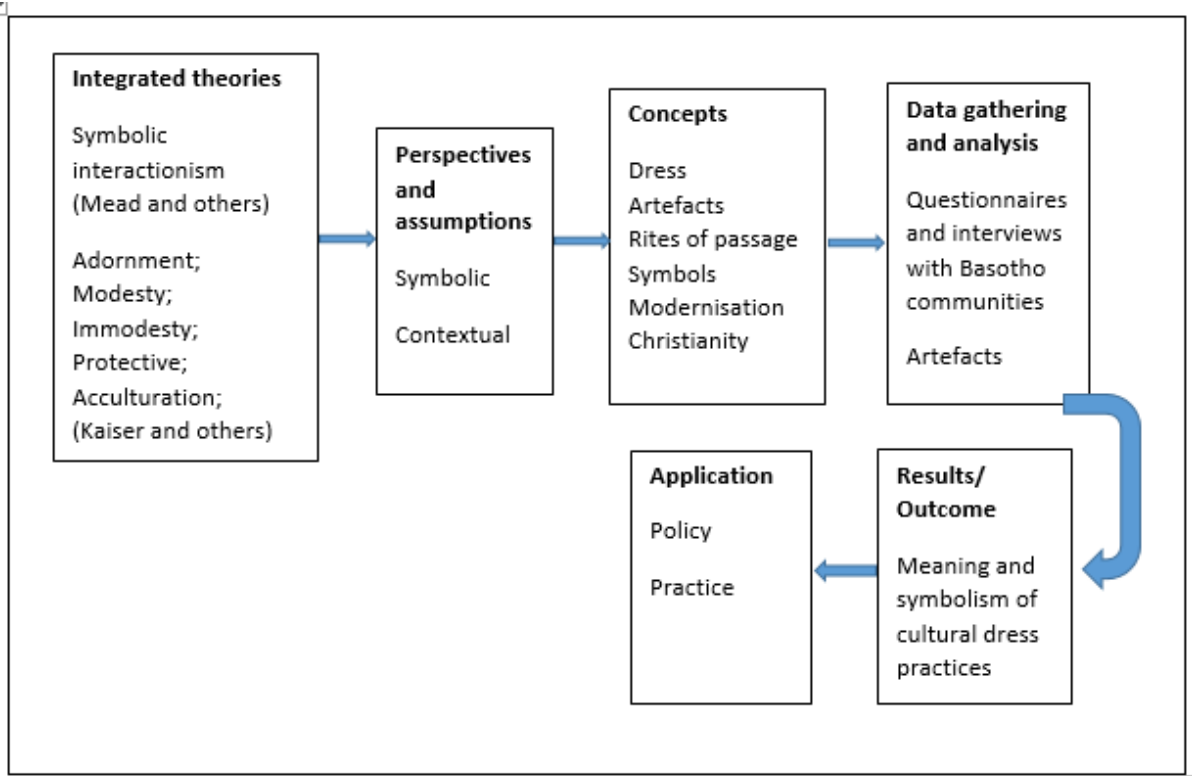


Figure 3.5: Representation of the theoretical framework of the study

CHAPTER 4 : METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a detailed account of how the study was conducted. The research design is explained as well, and the sample population and methods. It discusses data collection techniques, analysis, presentation, interpretation and validation procedures within the context of the mixed-method design where a quantitative approach is blended with a qualitative approach (Ivankova *et al.*, 2006:3).

Table 4.1 provides an outline for the methodology and research design.

Table 4.1: Outline for the methodology and research design

Title	The Meaning and Symbolism of Cultural Dress Practices in Lesotho	
Epistemological paradigms	Postpositivist; constructivist and pragmatic	
Methodological paradigm	Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative)	
Research design	Explanatory sequential mixed method	
Selection of participants	Quantitative (phase 1)	Qualitative (phase 2)
	<p>Random sampling</p> <p><u>Staff and students</u></p> <p>From a list of 200 staff members, 180 participants were randomly sampled for a sample size of 132. From a list of 590 students, 300 participants were randomly sampled for a sample size of 233.</p>	<p>Volunteer sampling</p> <p><u>Staff and students:</u> Focus groups made up of five Sesotho language lecturers and seven Sesotho language student teachers.</p> <p>Purposive sampling: Focus Groups</p> <p><u>Quthing ha Mosuoe:</u> Village chief and gatekeeper identified five Basotho and six Thembu elderly persons.</p> <p><u>Botha-Bothe ha Belo</u></p>

		Village chief and gatekeeper identified two Basotho nine Ndebele elderly persons
Development of research instruments	Researcher developed a questionnaire; closed and open-ended questions; likert scale e.g. info on scales and coding; pretesting	Researcher developed focus group interviews; in-depth interview schedules
Data collection methods	Self and group-administered questionnaires	Focus groups discussions; Group interviews; artefacts and photographs
Data documentation	Data captured in Microsoft Excel and Statistical Analysis System (SAS)	Field notes and audio recordings; transcriptions and collection of artefacts
Data analysis	Descriptive statistics; bivariate cross-tabulations; frequency counts and percentages	Note-based analysis, used coloured pens and thematic coding; Done manually
Ethical considerations	Letters of permission to undertake study; informed consent and voluntary participation; confidentiality and anonymity; ensured participants protection	Letters of permission to undertake study; informed consent and voluntary participation; confidentiality and anonymity; ensured participants protection
Quality criteria of the study	Validity; reliability	Conformability; dependability; transferability and credibility

(Adapted from Tsakeni, 2015:63-64)

4.2 MIXED METHODS APPROACH

Mixed methods is an approach that is driven by pragmatism. The approach provides real answers to real world problems. Mixed methods overcome the misconception that either quantitative or qualitative approaches are completely sufficient on their own. Among other advantages, the approach possesses the flexibility in usage that reflects

the changing and integrated nature of the world and the phenomena under investigation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011:26). Cohen *et al.* (2011:26), further submitted that mixed methods, “Is a way of thinking, in which researchers have to see the world as integrated and in which they have to approach research from a standpoint of integrated purposes and research questions.” The mixed-method comprises the following three primary sequential forms: convergent parallel mixed method design, explanatory sequential mixed method design and exploratory sequential mixed method design (Creswell, 2014:220).

An explanatory sequential mixed design was used this study to gather data to address the research questions on “The Meaning and Symbolism of Basotho Cultural Dress Practices in Lesotho.” The aim of this study was to investigate meanings, symbolic and cultural practices of dress of different age groups, rites of passage and traditional activities of the Basotho. It also sought to identify factors that influence these cultural practices and their value in contemporary Lesotho. Explanatory sequential mixed method was used because the design involved multiple approaches. The approach widened the scope of understanding phenomena under investigation by incorporating different quantitative and qualitative methods. It also allowed for verification of information from the quantitative survey by the qualitative survey. In this approach, triangulation allowed for the determination of convergence, corroboration and correspondence of results from quantitative and qualitative surveys. The results of the first phase were used to direct the qualitative component of the second phase to clarify issues raised by the quantitative results. The credibility and integrity of the findings were enhanced (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017:111-112; Makara, 2016:110-111). Creswell (2014:224) submits that “the explanatory sequential mixed method approach is a design in mixed methods that involves a two-phase project in which the researcher collects quantitative data in the first phase, analyses the results and uses the results to plan (or build onto) the second qualitative phase.” Thus, the quantitative results provide a guide to the type of participants to be purposefully selected for the qualitative phase and the nature of questions to be asked of the participants.

The results of both the quantitative survey and qualitative interviews are integrated at some point (Creswell, 2014:225; Ivankova *et al.*, 2006:5). For the quantitative category of this study, a questionnaire was administered for the collection of data. The respondents were selected, employing random sampling in which each member of the

population is equally likely to be chosen as part of the sample (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:133). The qualitative phase involved purposefully selected focus group discussions and interviews, and the qualitative data in the form of open-ended interviews helped to explain the initial quantitative results in more detail. The choice of a mixed-method design is based on the argument that neither qualitative nor quantitative methods are adequate to capture the trends of a situation independently. Mixed methods capitalise on the strengths of both (Ivankova *et al.*, 2007:277; Ivankova *et al.*, 2006:3).

4.2.1 Explanatory sequential mixed method design

The explanatory sequential mixed method design entailed the following steps:

1. Quantitative: Delineation of area of study/or establishment the population frame and sample size

The summary of explanatory sequential mixed method following Creswell (2014:220) where a quantitative phase is followed by a qualitative phase as adopted for this study is shown in Figure 4.1.

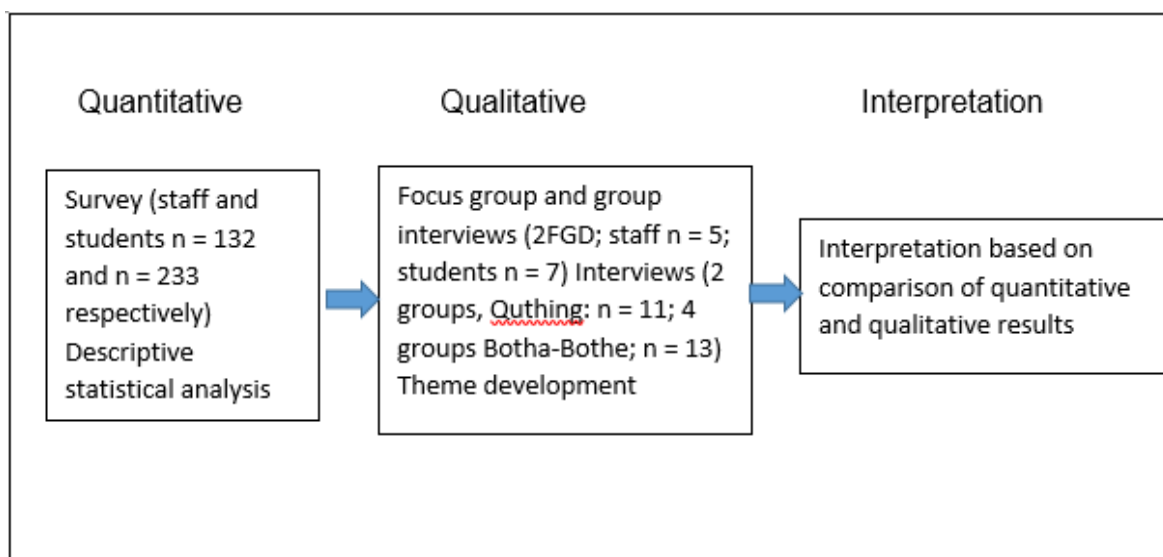


Figure 4.1: Summary of explanatory sequential mixed method designs (Source: Adapted from Creswell, 2014:220)

The study used the explanatory sequential mixed method design because the researcher needed to strengthen the results of the quantitative study with the results

from the qualitative data in order to have a better understanding of the research problem. Through this approach, the shortcomings of each approach were minimised (Creswell, 2014:218). In this sequential design, the data collection in the second phase was not conducted until the first phase results had been obtained (Creswell, 2014:230-231).

4.2.2 Philosophical Worldview of the study

The design for the study can be succinctly summarised following Creswell (2014:5) in his discussion of the framework for research, as shown in Figure 4.2.

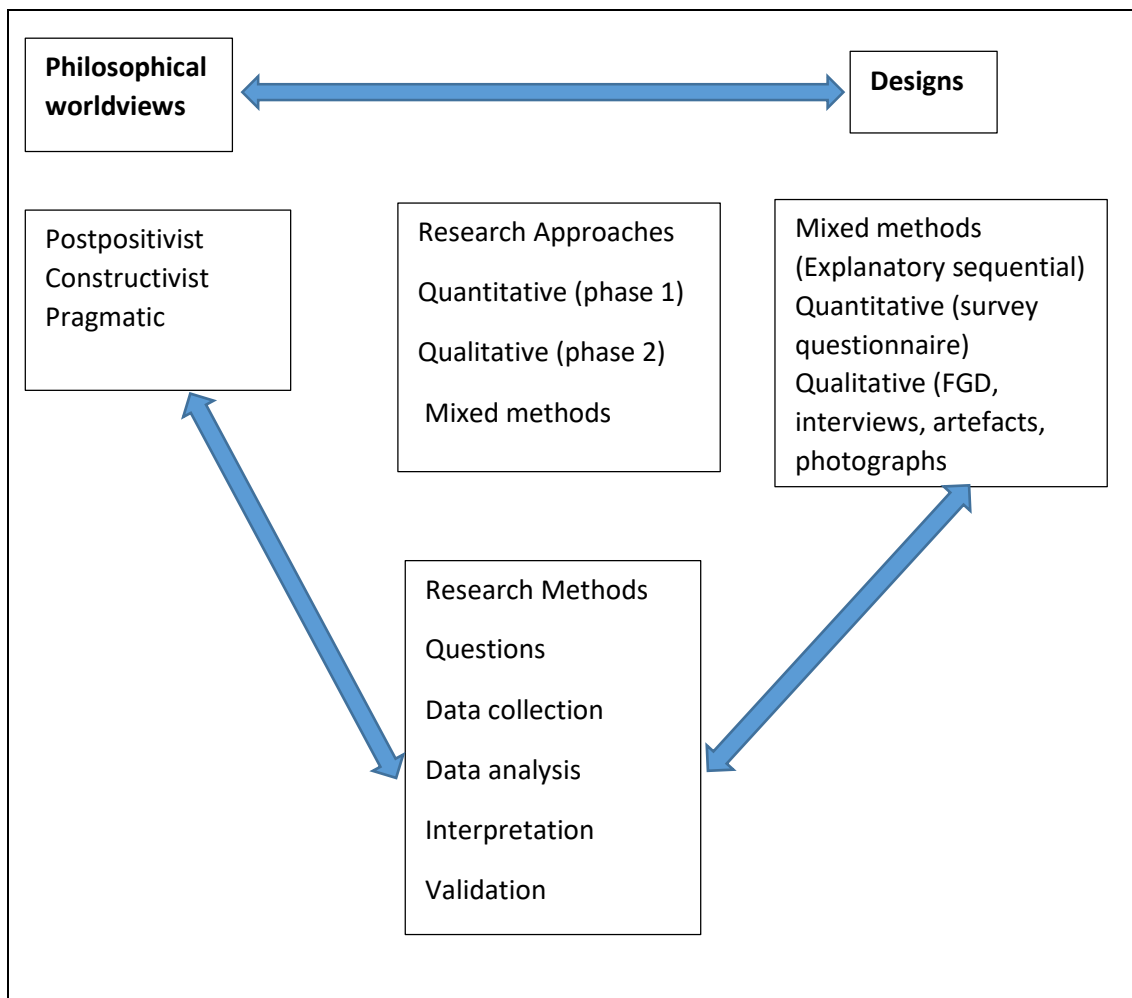


Figure 4.2: Interconnection of worldviews, design and research methods as they relate to the study (Source: Adapted from Creswell, 2014:5)

The quantitative phase of the study employed the postpositivism philosophical paradigm. In postpositivism quantitative researchers reduce phenomena to model things and to test a theory. They undertake observation and measurement of things and verify assumptions of the world (Creswell, 2014:5). Postpositivism or positivism is rooted in science since it uses a systematic, scientific approach to research. Furthermore positivism is based on organised methods that combine deductive logic with precise empirical observations of individual behaviour in order to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws that may be used to predict general patterns of human activity (Makara, 2016:93-94). Makara (2016:95-96) submitted that quantification of positivism methodology referred to the variables that can be expressed in terms of numbers and frequencies and also used mathematical tools to reveal significance for drawing conclusions. The positivist research approach explains in quantitative terms how variables interact, shape events and cause outcomes. Positivist research relies heavily on quantitative methods in which data primarily consists of numbers and measures, and where analysis is done through statistical methods.

The qualitative aspect of the study used the constructivist approach to derive meanings from objects or things (Basotho cultural practices). Constructivism focuses more about finding out what different perspectives perceive of phenomena. There are multiple truths and are socially constructed. Theory can be generated by collectively trying to understand the world better (Tsekani, 2015; Creswell, 2014:5). The researcher relied on the participants' views to obtain the meanings and symbols of the Basotho cultural dress practices. The information was gathered from interaction with the participants through focus groups and interviews. Creswell (2014:8-9) submits that meanings gathered from participants are as a result of their interactions with other people, within a given context through historical and cultural norms in operation (they are not imprinted on the individuals), hence social constructivism.

The open-ended questions for the qualitative phase were designed in such a manner that the participants could share their views. Human beings are born into a world with meanings that are culturally inherited. The development of meanings always occurs in a social context through community interaction (Creswell, 2014:8-9). Nolan, Macfarlane and Cartmel (2013:16) describe constructivism as occurring at the end of

the scale, as the meaning and knowledge are constructed through the interactions with the world.

The study also adopted a pragmatic worldview by not focusing on methods but instead emphasising the research problem. A variety of approaches were employed to understand the problem. Pragmatism provided the philosophical basis for research and was used to understand the research problem better, hence the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Creswell (2014:10-11) observes that “for mixed methods research, pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews and different assumptions as well as different forms of data collection and analysis”. Pragmatism encourages mixing of methods and integration of research results (Teddlie & Tashakkari, 2013:147).

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is defined as “a plan or blueprint of how a researcher intends to conduct a research study. It focuses on the end product, formulates a research problem as a point of departure and focuses on the logic of research” (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:132). There are three possible research designs: quantitative designs, qualitative designs and mixed methods designs. In this study, the researcher employed a mixed-method design.

4.4 SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

The target population of the study comprises of the Lesotho College of Education (LCE) non-academic, academic, retired staff, and third-year students, situated in the Maseru district. LCE is the only teacher training college with the mandate to admit and develop teacher trainees from all the ten districts of Lesotho. The researcher is an employee at LCE and found it convenient to engage the staff and students for the study. The staff represented the middle-aged and the students represented the youth. For verification of quantitative findings from the first phase of the study and follow up, elderly people from three other districts formed part of the population audience. The elderly people were from the districts of Quthing and Botha-Bothe which were selected based on results of the quantitative phase of the study and Leribe which was selected

based on the rich collection of cultural dress artefacts. Among the several minority groups that make up the Basotho nation, the Ndebele and Thembu respondents indicated some unique cultural differences that prompted the researcher to follow up on these groups during the qualitative phase of the study. The Ndebele in Lesotho are concentrated at Ha Belo in Botha-Bothe in the north of Lesotho while the Thembu are concentrated mainly in Quthing in the South of Lesotho.

4.4.1 Quantitative sampling

The two groups of the target population (staff and students) formed the quantitative part of the study based on several demographic characteristics relevant to the research including; nationality, gender, age, education and occupation. The staff population at LCE Maseru campus was 200. Using The Survey System which is an interactive online sample size calculator, it was determined that a sample size of 132 was required for a population of this size at a 5% confidence interval and a 95% confidence level (Creative Research Systems, 2012).

A list of college staff employees was obtained from the college administration numbered 1 to 200. To cater for sample mortality, a higher sample of 180 was randomly selected from the population. A random number generator was used, i.e. 180 numbers between 0 and 201 were randomly generated, and the names of the individuals against these numbers were earmarked for sampling. The third-year student population for the 2018 academic year was 590. As was in the case with the staff, it was determined that a sample of 233 at a 5% confidence interval and a 95% confidence level was required. In the case of the students to obviate sample mortality rate a sample of 300 was selected. The same sample selection procedure, as was done for the staff, was followed.

The sample was determined, as shown in Table 4.2. Strydom (2005:185) posits that larger samples result in more representative and accurate conclusions yielding more accurate predictions than smaller samples, though that happens at a higher cost.

Table 4.2: Determination of sample size

Population	Confidence interval (margin of error)	Confidence level	Sample size
200	5%	95%	132
590	5%	95%	233

4.4.2 Qualitative sampling

As a follow up to the quantitative findings, a qualitative survey was undertaken in the second phase to gather qualitative data. Focus group discussions were formed with the participants who were part of the quantitative survey in the first phase. The focus group discussions were to provide information to address gaps found in the quantitative results. In addition, focus group interviews as another method for obtaining qualitative data were made from the non-participants of the quantitative survey. These comprised of elderly people that were made of a combination of Basotho and two minority groups of the Ndebele and the Thembu which are part of the Basotho community. The three groups were to provide in-depth information about their cultural dress practices that emerged from the quantitative survey and to confirm the quantitative results and the focus group discussion results.

The researcher employed a purposive sampling technique to establish two focus group discussions, one for the staff and the other one for the students. Barbour (2018:70) submits that the number of focus groups is the discretion of the researcher based on the comparisons that he/she wishes to make. Two groups that have similar characteristics offer a stronger ground for the researcher to conclude specific patterns from the data. The staff focus group was made up of five members, while that of the students was made up of seven students.

A purposive sample is one in which people are selected on the basis that they can provide information about research problems under investigation. Data from a purposive sample is not statistically generalizable to a broader population, but it may be indicative of what the wider population thinks, believes and how they act (Singleton, 2014:70). In purposeful sampling, focus groups with a minimum of three participants and a maximum of twelve participants has been proposed as appropriate (Creswell 2014:190; Maree & Pietersen, 2007:177; Nieuwenheis, 2007:8, 79, 90; Krueger &

Casey, 2000:73). However, Barbour (2018:71) contends that “the requirements on the researcher to identify individual voices and seek clarification and further exploration of any differences in views that emerge and make larger groups, if not impossible, then exceedingly demanding to moderate and analyse”. The focus groups size for the study was therefore deemed adequate for the study. The numbers allowed every participant to share their insights so that there was a diversity of perceptions (Kellmerit, 2016:44).

The researcher approached the Sesotho Department and requested for voluntary participation of members in the study. The students’ focus group was organised through the Sesotho specialisation class representative who identified volunteers. Both the staff and students that were selected were part of the population that participated in the quantitative survey of the first phase. Staff members from the Sesotho Department and their students were deliberately selected with an assumption that they were more knowledgeable than other departments in matters related to the Basotho culture and dress practices. In addition, it was believed that they would show greater interest since the issues addressed by the study were relevant to their curriculum.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION FOR SEQUENTIAL EXPLANATORY MIXED METHOD DESIGN

Based on Creswell (2014:224), in this study, data collection proceeded in two distinct phases with robust quantitative sampling in the first phase and with purposeful sampling in the second qualitative phase. One major challenge of this strategy was to plan adequately what quantitative data to follow up on, and what other participants to gather qualitative data from in the second phase. The key idea is that qualitative data collection builds directly on the quantitative results. The same individuals in the initial quantitative sample were used in order to follow up and explore the results in greater depth through focus group discussions. However, the elderly from the selected villages were not part of the initial quantitative results but were found necessary to validate the results. The key strength of the design is the idea of explaining how the variables interact in more depth through the qualitative follow up (Creswell, 2014:224).

In this study, a survey approach was used to collect quantitative data from the staff and students. For the follow up qualitative data, two focus group discussions were conducted, and the in-depth interview schedule was used to gather data from the selected participants from Quthing and Botha-Bothe districts. Photographs of artefacts were obtained from Leribe and Maseru districts. Where artefacts were not obtainable, photographs of the artefacts were taken as part of data collection for analysis.

4.5.1 Questionnaire/ instrument development

An English-language questionnaire as a data collection tool was developed by the researcher for LCE staff and students. The survey tool comprised of closed and open-ended questions together with Likert scales and statements. The questionnaire was long enough to incorporate all the questions, so that a situation would not arise later where information was missing. Questions were appropriately structured based on the study research questions (Delpont 2005:170). Types of scales used to the items on the instrument included continuous scales (e.g. strongly agree to strongly disagree) and categories scales (e.g. yes/no; rank from highest to lowest importance). Open-ended questions allowed respondents to answer in detail, qualifying and clarifying responses. They were coded for statistical analysis. Closed questions offered respondents a choice among answers provided (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:377; Delpont, 2005:174).

The questionnaire consisted of two sections to collect information from the respondents (Appendix 4B).

Section A: General information (Demographics):

This section consisted of closed questions to gather information on the demography of the participants (question 1 to 8.3).

Section B: Perceptions of various aspects about cultural dress practices in Lesotho:

This section consisted of closed and open-ended questions to gather information on:

- Perceptions concerning Basotho cultural dress practices addressed by closed and open-ended questions (question 9 to 11.2).
- Impact of religion and modernisation on Basotho cultural dress practices addressed by closed questions (question 12.1 to 12.6)

Cultural dress artefacts were addressed by closed and open-ended questions (question 13.1 to 13.3).

4.5.2 Pre-testing of the instrument

Pilot testing of the questionnaire was undertaken to ensure that any errors are rectified at minimal cost and thus improve the chances for success of the research (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:402; Delpont, 2005:172; Strydom, 2005:210). The researcher also intended to determine how long it took to complete the questionnaire. Were the questions framed in a non-ambiguous manner? Such shortcomings would be revealed and help for adjustment of the final instrument. To pilot this study, twenty students and six staff members (three academic and three non-academic) from two campuses of the college (Maseru and Thaba-Tseka) were used, since they have similar characteristics as the target group of respondents (Strydom, 2005:205).

Pretesting of the instrument was undertaken with both Lesotho College of Education staff of Maseru and Thaba-Tseka campuses. Four of the staff members were from Maseru, and two were from Thaba-Tseka. For the students, the group consisted of first and third-year students from Thaba-Tseka campus and first-year students from Maseru campus. There were fifteen students from Maseru and five from Thaba-Tseka campuses. Students made some helpful comments on several questions and statements in the questionnaire.

For example, open-ended questions which were left unattended during this session were modified to closed questions using the contributions from the participants. Questions with similar responses were combined, and the same was done with open-ended questions that were too technical and which were changed to closed questions. Time was also noted as to how long it took the respondents to complete the questionnaire (Bell, 1999:127-128). These modifications were done before the final questionnaire was administered.

4.5.3 Quantitative data collection (Phase one)

Data in quantitative research was collected using a questionnaire. The objective of using a questionnaire was to obtain facts and opinions about a phenomenon from people who are knowledgeable on a particular issue, extract information from a large number of people and obtain information relatively cheaply without physical presence (Maruyama & Ryan 2014:396; Leedy & Ormrod, 2013:191; Cohen *et al.*, 2011:377; Delport, 2005:116). The following types of questionnaires were used:

- Self-administered questionnaires to the academic and non-academic staff
- Group administered questionnaires to students

The self-administered questionnaires were handed to the respondents who completed them on their own. In some instances, the non-academic staff requested for assistance and clarification from the researcher as they completed the questionnaires. For other staff members further clarifications on the questionnaires were done by the researcher where it was necessary during collection after the agreed period.

In the group-administered questionnaire, each respondent completed the questionnaire independently and the questionnaires were returned through class representatives (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:377; Delport, 2005:168-169).

The questionnaire was accompanied by a cover letter that explained the purpose of the survey and encouraged the indulgence of the respondents. The letter included information on how the respondents were selected and their assurance of anonymity and confidentiality, as well as the contact details of the researcher (Appendix 4A). Clear instructions and directions for completing the questionnaires were provided (Delport, 2005:170). Both staff and students if they consented to the cover letter, they would willingly sign the consent form before they received a questionnaire (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:377).

In consideration of research ethics, research participants chose to participate by signing a consent form voluntarily. The randomly selected students assembled in two groups, and the researcher presented clarifications regarding the consent form and the questionnaire as well as the background of the research. The students were given consent forms and questionnaires. The consent forms were collected, and the students were expected to return the questionnaires within a month. Signed consent

forms were used to track the return of questionnaires. All the sampled staff members were presented with the consent form and the questionnaire. The administration was done through the assistance of lecturers and class monitors

4.5.4 Qualitative data collection (Phase two)

For Singleton (2014:69), data in qualitative research is unstructured, and the focus is on language and meanings rather than on numbers. The data that is used includes transcripts of people's words, audio and video recordings, photos and pictures. Data is collected during interviews and focus group meetings. Singleton (2014:69) further submits that "data collection techniques used in qualitative research include in-depth, face-to-face, interviews (both structured and unstructured) open-ended responses to survey and visual materials. Field notes can also be taken. Data is descriptive, and the focus is on the meanings people have about their experiences, feelings and beliefs". It may further be necessary to establish a protocol for recording information (Creswell, 2014:189). Creswell (2014:190) further shows that interviews may be audiotaped and later transcribed as well as the focus group discussions. A focus group is defined as a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher. They are used as a supplementary source of data. They are used in order to provide insights into the meaning and interpretation of results (Greeff, 2005:300). In data recording, the researcher records information from interviews and makes notes. These should incorporate interpretations, emotions, preconceptions and expectations (Greeff, 2005:298). In this study, the focus groups for staff and students were audio-recorded and transcribed. Group interviews for the elderly were also conducted. They were audio-recorded, transcribed and themes formulated for both focus groups and interviews.

4.5.5 Focus group discussions

The qualitative data gathering instruments comprised of a tool for the focus group discussion and a tool for group interviews. Both the focus group discussion and the group interview schedules comprised open-ended questions addressing gaps identified from the quantitative results.

The pre-testing of the tool was undertaken with four retired LCE staff members residing in Maseru. From the pre-testing, a tool was developed to assist in data capturing (worksheet for capturing field notes). This was undertaken to solicit comments on the wording of questions, to establish missing and confusing questions so that modifications are made for the main study (Strydom, 2005:10).

The focus group discussions were held with the Sesotho Department staff and students at the college as a follow up to the quantitative analyses that were undertaken. The teaching staff in the Department were females, and the students included both males and females. As observed by Greeff (2005), during the focus group discussion, specific open-ended questions were asked to clarify some issues that emanated from the quantitative survey. The questions addressed cultural dress practices, body adornment and supplements, rites of passage, artefacts and the impact of Christianity and modernisation. The questions were in English, but respondents were allowed to talk in either English or Sesotho so that they could freely express themselves. The discussion was audiotaped and transcribed in English. Emotions of respondents were observed, and notes kept in a notebook. Probing was used to clarify some of the answers.

4.5.6 Focus Group Interviews

Interviews were conducted according to ethnicity within the same community (e.g. Basotho group and Thembu group) from two villages of purposefully selected districts of Botha-Bothe and Quthing. In Leribe, photographing of the artefacts from an individual's collection had been done by the researcher.

Group interviews were employed with selected individuals of 65 years and above who had been identified as knowledgeable in the areas of interest for the study. The interview schedule was translated into Sesotho because it was aimed at the elderly village people.

The field assistants in the two districts were graduates of LCE who lived in the selected villages and served as liaisons or gatekeepers, in organising the participants and making the necessary clearance with the village chiefs and meeting logistics.

The interviews were conducted in two villages in two districts in order to follow up the quantitative analyses by focusing on the impact or influences of cultural dress practices of two minority groups, the Thembu in Quthing and Ndebele in Botha-Bothe. In both selected villages, the interviewees were intentionally a mixture of members of the two ethnic groups and some Basotho to facilitate easy comparisons and contrasts of the cultural dress practices. In the Quthing district, the interview was conducted on 15th February 2019 at Ha Mosuoe village.

The researcher reported at the chief's place and learned that because of age and health issues, the participants would not be able to meet at one location. Consequently, there would be two groups for the interviews. The research team introduced itself to the first group, which was made up of three men and three women of the Thembu tribe. Team members were introduced, including the research assistant whom the participants knew and the relationship with the researcher was that of a former teacher, and this played an important role. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and requested permission to proceed by asking them to sign the consent forms, including permission for recording the interviews and the taking of photographs as may be necessary. Each participant was assigned a number to link it with individual data for purposes of anonymity and confidentiality in data capturing since they were all expected to contribute to the interview. The second group comprised of three Basotho women and two men. The same procedure as for the first group was followed.

The interviews in Botha-Bothe took place at a village called Ha Belo on 8th March 2019. The research team introduced itself to the chief of the area. It was discovered that there had been a miscommunication of the venue. The elderly who were more than 65 years could not make it to the identified venue. An arrangement was made to interview three families (two intermarried couples and two Basotho women married to Ndebele men) at their homes. Yin (2011:140) observes that there are occasions when interviews may be planned or unplanned. The interview of individual families was not planned in this study. The village is located on a hill and the families to be interviewed, were situated on one side and across a valley in a rugged terrain motor abled by four-wheel-drive vehicles only, this necessitated the research team to walk from one home to another. The other group on the upper part of the hill was composed of the Ndebele,

three men and four women who were allocated numbers and interviewed as a group after signing the consent forms.

4.6 DATA DOCUMENTATION

4.6.1 Quantitative data

For capturing and documentation of quantitative data, Microsoft Excel and Statistical Analysis System (SAS) package were used. Data captured in Microsoft Excel was exported SAS for analysis.

4.6.2 Qualitative data

4.6.2.1 *Field notes*

A worksheet was developed to capture individual interview responses per question, and participants were given numbers for identity and anonymity purposes (Appendix 6C). Two assistant researchers captured field notes, which were compared with the worksheet completed by the researcher. To complement these two data collection approaches, an audio recording was made. During field recording, the researcher noted the tone of interviewees, emphasis made, speed of delivery, and continuity of speech and speakers' mood (Nolan *et al.*, 2013:95; Krueger & Casey, 2000:131). The field notes were thorough, and the assistants' notes and recordings were used to fill the gaps that the researcher had made in the field note-taking.

4.6.2.2 *Collection of artefacts*

As a follow up from the quantitative analysis, photographs of the artefacts were taken during qualitative data collection wherever it was possible. In some instance, only descriptions of the artefacts were given by the interviewees. They were described in terms of what they are and their make-up (Workman & Freeburg, 2009:42-43). Photographed artefacts were listed in a table and described accordingly. Mahobong village in the Leribe district had been identified for artefacts collection. In this area, the researcher had identified a person who has a vast collection of Basotho cultural dress

artefacts. As a result of financial limitations, the planned interviews in this area were cancelled. However, the researcher had an opportunity to take photographs of some of the artefacts.

4.7 ANALYSIS OF MIXED METHOD DATA

The quantitative and qualitative databases are analysed separately in this approach. The quantitative results are used to plan the follow-up. The importance of this approach is that the results of the quantitative data do not only inform sampling procedure but also point towards the type of qualitative questions to ask participants in the second phase. The questions are general and open-ended. This approach is attractive because one database builds on the other. Nonetheless, because it is spaced over time, sufficient time is required, which may not always be the case (Creswell, 2014:224).

In this study, for each of the research questions, quantitative data were analysed and presented. The results from focus group discussions and those from the interviews on follow-up qualitative questions were then compared with the quantitative results. New additional information, which was brought about by the qualitative data was noted, and the beginning of the process of mixing results from the datasets commenced (Kent 2015:264). The quantitative and qualitative data analysis strategies were combined and integrated (Teddlie & Tashakkari, 2013:155).

4.7.1 Quantitative data analysis

The raw quantitative data was captured in Microsoft Excel and was analysed at the Department of Mathematical Statistics and Actuarial Science, University of the Free State using Statistical Analysis System (SAS) procedure FREQ (SAS, 2017). Data was categorised, ordered and summarised to obtain answers to research questions. Bivariate statistical procedures were employed to analyse the survey data. Frequency counts assisted in the analysis of the survey. Specific demographic data were cross-tabulated with certain dependent variables to establish the existence of relationships. The demographic data used to determine relationships was gender, age and occupation (staff or student). Existence of relationships were tested with a Chi-square

test. As was discussed under sub-section 4.3.1 – quantitative sampling, the data was collected at a 5% confidence interval and a 95% confidence level. Therefore, there is statistical significance at $P = 0.05$. Smaller P-values indicate “greater” significance. The smallest P-value printed out by the SAS software is 0.0001, and if the P-value is even smaller, it is indicated by $P < 0.0001$.

Singleton (2014:68) proposes that findings may be presented by the use of tables, charts and graphs. Presentation of results was made in the form of tables, charts, graphs and associations where it was found appropriate (Kruger *et al.*, 2005:227-231).

4.7.2 Qualitative data analysis

Niewenhuis (2007:98-122) proposes that qualitative data analysis is based on an interpretive philosophy that is aimed at examining the meaningful and symbolic content of the data. It attempts to show how interviewees express an understanding on a specific phenomenon by interrogating their perceptions, attitudes, understanding, knowledge, values, feelings and experiences as a way of estimating their conception of the phenomenon. The process of inductive analysis of qualitative data is used with the view of allowing the research findings to be derived from major themes that make up the raw data. This is achieved by establishing categories of information required from the data in advance. Data was categorised according to the following themes guided by the research questions: Basotho cultural dress practices; body adornments and supplements; rites of passage; impact of Christianity and modernisation; and artefacts (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). Fouché (2005:271) emphasises the descriptive aspect of the approach for the phenomena under investigation. Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data (De Vos, 2005:333). De Vos (2005:335) further submits that data analysis in a qualitative study can be done in two steps. The first step involves analysis at the research site during data collection. The second step is analysis away from the site following data collection. The researcher adopted the two-fold approach. Singleton (2014:69) and Creswell (2014: 194) elucidate that a researcher codes data and looks for themes and short material.

In this study, the researcher analysed data manually; an approach known as note-based analysis (Barbour, 2018:126; Krueger & Casey, 2000:131). This involved the

use of coloured pens that were used to aid in thinking about the data conceptually, instead of a descriptive way. The coloured pens were used to identify similarities from the quantitative and qualitative as well as differences in perceptions by the different age groups and new or emerging ideas not anticipated and yet confirming and clarifying the quantitative findings. The data was grouped according to the research questions and the sub-questions from the quantitative instrument. Audio recorded data was transcribed as a back up to both the field notes by the researcher and the research assistant (Krueger & Casey, 2000:131).

4.7.3 Analysis of artefacts

Artefact analysis comprises the study of things like material items made by people to respond to their needs at a particular period. Specific characteristics that were studied include the type of artefact, i.e. whether it is a shoe, hat, and jewellery, used material, such as leather, cotton, grass, metal and others. Their unique qualities, including colour, shape, texture, messages, as well as what the artefact is used for (Workman & Freeburg, 2009:42-43). For the artefacts of this study, the analysis is in the form of a table providing the photograph, the name, material used, function and symbolism or meaning.

4.7.4 Interpretation and presentation

Presentation of the quantitative data was done by means of tables and figures. Qualitative data were presented using photographs and excerpts. In mixed methods research, the follow-up results form part of the discussion. The interpretation follows the reporting of first phase quantitative results and reporting of second phase qualitative results. It employs a third form of interpretation which is how the qualitative results help explain the quantitative results. The two databases were not merged, instead interpretation of quantitative data for a particular research question was followed by interpretation of a qualitative data on the same research question. The qualitative data interpretation helped to provide more depth and insight into the quantitative results. The presentation of the results from the two phases were followed

by a discussion that explained how the qualitative results clarify the quantitative results (Creswell, 2014:224).

4.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In 2017, the researchers submitted the research proposal to the Ethics Committee of Natural and Agricultural Sciences for approval. The application was approved in November 2017, and the ethical clearance number UFS-HSD2017/1235 was provided to enable the researcher to begin data collection (Appendix 1). After receiving the clearance, the researcher supported by the supervisor applied to the senior management of the Lesotho College of Education for permission to select members of the college staff and students since the college had been chosen for the study (Appendix 2). The permission to undertake the study at the college was granted (Appendix 3). In order to collect data from the participants, i.e. college staff and students for the first phase, the researcher addressed the students and explained the purpose for the study and requested that those who were to participate in the study could complete the consent forms and receive the questionnaire. In connection with the staff, the researcher visited selected staff in their offices, explained the purpose of the study to individual staff members and requested them to complete the consent form if they were willing to participate. In doing this exercise the researcher tried as much as possible to respect the site and to cause minimum distraction (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:19). The privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of the participants were also taken into consideration. Raw data (questionnaires) were safely kept by the researcher. As observed by Cohen *et al.* (2011:90-91), the questionnaire did not contain any information specific to the identities of the participants. The researcher also ensured that the information provided would remain between the participant and the researcher and would not be publicly discussed and linked to specific participants (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:90-91). Permission to conduct interviews in the two villages that formed part of the study was granted by the village chiefs. In addition to the ethical considerations applied to participants in phase one, participants in phase two of data collection by focus group interviews were given numbers for identity. In addition, during the interviews some of the participants who had signed the consent forms volunteered

to have their photographs taken in order to demonstrate various dress types and dress artefacts that are part of the study (Appendices 5B and 6D).

4.9 QUALITY CRITERIA OF THE STUDY

4.9.1 Quantitative research validity and reliability

Letters for permission (college and university ethics clearance) to undertake the study, signed consent forms, staff and student lists, and pre-testing of questionnaire formed part of research credibility. The terms validity and reliability are commonly applied in quantitative research (Koonin, 2014:253). Delport (2005:160) submitted that “validity refers to the degree to which the instrument is doing what it is intended to do.” That is, is the instrument measuring the concept in question or is the concept measured accurately? In quantitative research, validity is improved through cautious sampling, proper instrumentation and suitable statistical treatments of the data (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:179). Appropriate sample procedures were followed for the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. The sample sizes were adequate for the two approaches employed by the study (Creswell, 2014:225). The validity and reliability of the survey scale items were established through pre-testing. In order to ensure that the questionnaire return rate attained minimum sample size requirement, more questionnaires were distributed than the required sample size (Koonin, 2014:254; Invankova *et al.*, 2006).

4.9.2 Qualitative research validity and reliability

In qualitative research, validity is based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher and participant or readers of an account. Other terms used in qualitative research that address validity are trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility (Creswell, 2014:201). Koonin (2014:253) has advanced in the case of qualitative research where the objective is to provide a deeper understanding of a phenomenon and not a generalisation of results, the concept “trustworthiness” is preferred to reliability and validity. Although the terms reliability and validity are still used to some extent, the understanding is not similar for quantitative research. The understanding relates to trustworthiness, which

encompasses credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Koonin, 2014:253).

The researcher increased the credibility of the results of the study by pretesting both the focus group discussions and the group interviews in order to revise schedules by taking into account pilot participants' comments and by employing triangulation through the use of more than one research method (Koonin, 2014:258; Bell, 1999:144). The focus group tool was piloted with six students and six staff members, both male and females. Group interviews schedule tool was piloted with four retired LCE staff members, both males and females. The research design allows for the integration of the quantitative and qualitative dataset results after analysis and thus demonstrate dependability. The researcher has attempted to fully describe the research design for purposes of confirmability (Koonin, 2014:253).

As was the case with the quantitative survey, there were letters for permission (college, village chief and university ethics clearance) to undertake the study and signed consent forms. In addition to these were Audio recording of interviews, field notes, photographs of artefacts and collected samples of artefacts that contributed to the trustworthiness of the study (Cresswell, 2014:201).

Findings from the staff and students' focus group discussions which were a follow up of quantitative survey were verified by the findings from the elderly focus group interviews, thus deepening the understanding of the results of the first phase. These findings were integrated with the quantitative results and enabled the researcher to establish corroboration by triangulation of the two approaches (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017:111). In this study, the quantitative survey results facilitated the development of the qualitative tool through which issues, that were not adequately addressed or clarified in the first phase of the study were addressed. Also, new issues that had a bearing on the first phase of the study were followed through the qualitative phase, thus enhancing the reliability of the mixed approach. The strength one method compensated for the weakness another (Bazeley, 2018:72; Mukherji & Albon, 2015:37). Artefacts were used to illustrate some of the quantitative results. Nolan *et al.* (2013:135) posited that triangulation involved the use of multiple and mixed data collection methods and thus facilitated the strengthening of mixed methods' reliability, validity and confidence in the results.

4.10 LIMITATIONS

4.10.1 Limitations of the quantitative method

A number of the questionnaires were only partially completed by the respondents, thus reducing the validity of the results. The nature of sequential mixed method that entailed a combination of more than one method improved the quantitative data collection by a follow up with focus groups and interviews. There were potential errors related measurements such as the bias of people responses on a rating scale which are apt to be influenced by their interpretations. The error is due to the imperfect validity of the measurement instrument. For ethics, students completed the consent forms and questionnaires, which were administered to the group according to the number of the consent forms. To obtain the required sample of returned questionnaires from the student population the researcher had to plead with the students. As the questionnaires were anonymous, it was difficult to follow-up on who had not returned their questionnaires. As a result, more questionnaires were administered to improve the return rate. This was different with the staff as the researcher was able to make a follow up to specific offices and maintained a record of returned questionnaires. In some cases, the respondents misplaced the questionnaires which necessitated reprinting and re-administration, increasing the cost for the research. The data was collected at the researcher's place employment. This is likely to have influenced the respondents' responses in that in the case of the students, they could have felt pressurised by the researcher's position as their instructor to participate. Similarly, the members of staff could have participated because the researcher was a familiar person to them. Conversely, there was the possibility that the non-response could have been deliberate due to the familiarity with the researcher and therefore could have contributed to some bias on the data collected.

4.10.2 Limitations of the qualitative method

Limitations with the group interviews were that there was no anonymity as the researcher administered the interview. Also, there was potential to influence the participants through leading questions. The participants themselves influenced each other's responses resulting in some bias in the results. The research assistants were not adequately trained in note-taking and this could have compromised quality of data

collected. It was a challenge to translate the interview schedule from English to Sesotho. It required engaging an expert to do the translation. Since the field notes and audio recordings were made in Sesotho, they had to be re-translated to English. Where there the recorded information was not clear the researcher made follow ups through the telephone with the research assistants and sought clarity. Time and budgetary costs for travel to the selected villages for data collection were also a limitation necessitating one visit per village. In Quthing, the challenge was the language. Although the Thembu spoke Sesotho fluently, they mentioned some of their dress artefacts in Xhosa, resulting in spelling difficulties. The research assistant acted as an interpreter since she belonged to the same community. One other challenge was the roads, which were bad, and the two groups were far apart from each other. During the first interview, which was held in the open-air, unexpected rain disrupted the interviews to some extent.

In Botha-Bothe, the first challenge was the miscommunication regarding the venue, and this had to be re-arranged at the spot on the day of the interview. The re-arrangement was costly in terms of time, which was not originally budgeted. The terrain was unforgiving, and spelling of the Ndebele words was a challenge. The language challenge was obviated by consulting language specialists for assistance. A thunderstorm disrupted the interviews because of the sound it made on the corrugated iron roofing. For both of the interviews, Xhosa and Ndebele speaking people were required to cross-check spelling of some of the words.

The original plan to conduct interviews at two other districts of Mokhotlong and Thaba-Tseka could not be carried out due to limited resources. In Leribe, there were no interviews conducted due to unplanned commitment of the research study liaison person and there was sufficient time to take photographs of the artefacts. It was challenging to collect any artefacts for analysis in the selected villages.

CHAPTER 5 :

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the collected data from questionnaires, focus groups and interviews is presented, analysed and discussed. The chapter is divided into the following sections in relation to the research questions:

Section A: Presents and discusses the demographic data of staff and students of LCE.

Section B: Presents and discusses the findings of data that was collected under the theme, "The perceptions of both younger and older respondents in relation to Basotho cultural dress practices."

Section C: Presents and discusses the findings of data that was collected under the theme "Participants' awareness of the meanings and symbolism of cultural dress practices of different rites of passage."

Section D: Presents and discusses the findings of data that was collected under the theme "How cultural dress practices are valued as part of identity in everyday life?"

Section E: Presents and discusses the findings of data that was collected under the theme "What is the impact of modernisation and Christianity on the Basotho cultural dress practices?"

Section F: Presents and discusses the findings of data that was collected under the theme "Cultural dress artefacts with meaning and symbolism that are still valued."

The presentation of results is in the form of tables and bar charts showing frequencies of measured statements and ranks of importance. Analysis and interpretation of quantitative and qualitative data was undertaken separately but integrated for results in each of the sections focusing on the different survey groups, i.e. the staff, the students and the elderly.

Where it was feasible, the associations of binary demographic variables with the questionnaire responses were investigated through descriptive statistics. For the statistical analyses, the significance level was set at 0.05. Gender associations

considered comparisons between all the males and females regardless of whether they were staff or students; for the age category comparison was between ages 18-35 and 36-65, regardless of whether it was a staff or a student; and for occupation all staff were grouped together (i.e. lecturers, support staff) versus students, hence the category “Group”, and a comparison was made between staff and students.

5.2 SECTION A

5.2.1 Demographic information

Table 5.1 depicts the following demographic information about the respondents; gender (Q1), age (Q2) occupation (Q3), education (Q4), marital status (Q5), clan (Q6), religion (Q7), place of birth (Q8), length of stay at a place (Q8.1) current location (Q8.2) and district or dress colour (Q8.3) (See Appendix 4). The purpose of gathering this data was to establish significant differences between responses of the respondents and their demographic characteristics. The respondents’ perceptions of cultural dress practices were believed to be influenced by the selected demographic variables.

Table 5.1: Demographic characteristics of respondents

Variable	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Gender (Q1)				
Male	47	35.34	50	21.46
Female	86	64.66	183	78.54
Total	133	100	233	100
Age (Q2)				
18 – 20			13	5.58
21 – 35	20	15.04	211	90.56
36 – 50	64	48.12	8	3.43
51 – 65	49	36.84	1	0.43
Total	133	100	233	100
Occupation (Q3)				
Student			233	100
Lecturer	74	55.64		
Administrative/ support staff	59	44.36		
Total	133	100	233	100
Highest Education (Q4)				

Variable	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Never attended school	1	0.75		
Completed primary	2	1.5		
Completed secondary education	15	11.28	204	87.55
Completed tertiary education degree/ diploma/ higher certificate	93	69.92	29	12.45
Other degrees/diplomas	22	16.54		
Total	133	100	233	100
Marital status (Q5)				
Single	17	12.78	161	69.10
Married	89	66.92	63	27.04
Living together with committed partner	1	0.75	7	3.0
Divorced/Separated	12	9.02	1	0.43
Widowed	14	10.53	1	0.43
Total	133	100	233	100
Clan identity (Q6)				
Mokoena	28	21.37	33	14.16
Mofokeng	25	19.08	53	22.75
Lekhokhoa	6	4.58	3	1.29
Motlokoa	4	3.05	8	3.43
Motaung	14	10.69	34	14.59
Mohlakoana	14	10.69	19	8.15
Mosia	7	5.34	23	9.87
Motsoeneng	1	0.76	3	1.29
Mophuthing	1	0.76	6	2.58
Motlounng	4	3.05	10	4.29
Mokhatla	3	2.29	27	11.59
Letebele	22	16.79	7	3.0
Other	2	1.53	7	3.0
Total	131	100	231	100
Religious belief (Q7)				
Christianity	130	98.48	228	98.7
Traditional African	1	0.76	2	0.87
Not religious			1	0.43
Other	1	0.76		
Total	132	100	231	100
District of birth (Q8)				
Maseru	46	34.59	63	27.04

Variable	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Botha-Bothe	8	6.02	13	5.58
Leribe	20	15.04	38	16.31
Mokhotlong	3	2.26	10	4.29
Thaba-Tseka	6	4.51	14	6.01
Qacha's Nek	4	3.01	6	2.58
Mohale's Hoek	8	6.02	18	7.73
Quthing	5	3.76	9	3.86
Mafeteng	19	14.29	25	10.73
Berea	14	10.53	37	15.88
Total	133	100	233	100
Length of stay in district of birth (Q8.1)				
5 years or less	9	6.77	10	4.29
6 – 10 years	4	3.01	3	1.29
11 – 15 years	4	3.01	5	2.15
16 – 20 years	14	10.53	26	11.16
More than 20 years	102	76.69	189	81.12
Total	133	100	233	100
Current area of stay (Q8.2)				
Rural area/ village	13	9.77	88	38.1
Town/ city	120	90.23	143	61.9
Total	133	100	231	100
District's dress colour identity (Q8.3)				
Blue	49	37.69	72	31.86
Red	8	6.15	35	15.49
Yellow	24	18.46	33	14.6
Green	24	18.46	39	17.26
Maroon and Gold	19	14.62	36	15.93
Other	6	4.62	11	4.87
Total	130	100	226	100

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233)

Many of the respondents in Table 5.1 (both staff and students) were females (64.66% and 78.54% respectively). Male respondents were 35.34% and 21.46% respectively. For the staff, the age of 36-50 was regarded as the middle age (48.12%), and the older staff members were aged above 51 (36.09%). The majority of the students were

between 21-35 years (90.56%) and fell within the youth range. More than half of the staff (55.64%) were lecturers, and the support staff comprised 44.36% of the staff respondents. Two thirds of the staff (66.92%) were married while just more than two thirds of the students (69.10%) were still single. The majority of both staff (98.48%) and students (98.70%) were Christians. Furthermore, most of staff (76.69%) and students (81.12%) had lived in their district of birth for more than 20 years. Majority of staff (90.23%) stayed in a town or city as opposed to students (61.9%). Twelve clans were represented in the study. Within the staff respondents, about a fifth were Bakoena (21.37%) and among the students, the Bafokeng (22.75%). Some clans like the Baphuthing are generally small at the national level and had very few staff (0.76%) and students (2.58%). All ten districts of Lesotho were represented in the study, although it was carried out in the Maseru district. Generally, districts that are very remote from Maseru had a low representation at the college.

5.3 SECTION B

5.3.1 Perceptions of younger and older respondents in relation to the Basotho cultural dress practices

In this study, staff members serve as a proxy indicator for "older" respondents while students represent the "younger" respondents or the youth. The first research question is stated below, and the data collected is presented, analysed and discussed.

“What are the perceptions of both the younger and older respondents in relation to Basotho cultural dress practices?”

With respect to the overall study question on the perceptions of both the "younger" and "older" people in relation to Basotho cultural dress practices, the respondents were asked the following questions:

1. In general, do you think it is necessary to preserve Basotho cultural dress practices for future generations or not? (Q 9.1)
2. Indicate which of the following listed cultural dress practices, in particular, are still enforced by culture (Q 9.2)
3. Please explain why you believe that the items you selected should be still enforced by culture (Q 9.3)

4. Which of the listed cultural dress practices still exist today? Please list such examples? (Q.9.4)

The focus group discussions comprised of the “younger” (18-35 years), the “older” (36-65 years), and the “elderly” (> 65 years), participated in the interviews. Members of the focus groups discussions were drawn from the quantitative survey respondents while the elderly were from selected villages in two districts of Lesotho as discussed in section 4.5.6 of chapter four. The findings from the quantitative data and qualitative data were integrated in the analysis and interpretation of the results.

Figure 5.1 presents the opinions of both staff and students concerning the necessity of preserving Basotho cultural dress practices for future generations (Q 9.1). The opinions were presented in terms of responding in the affirmative (Yes), negative (No) or the indication of uncertainty, by both staff and students.

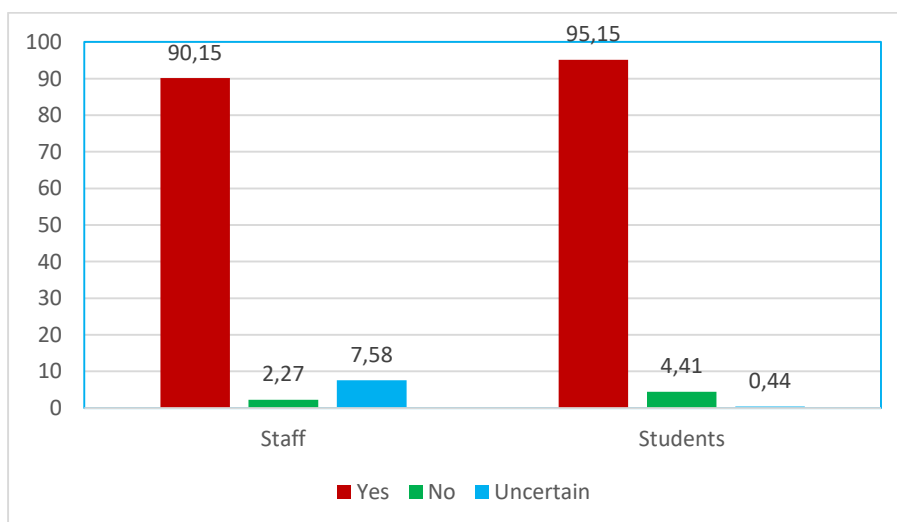


Figure 5.1: Indication of preservation of Basotho cultural dress practices by respondents

Figure 5.1 shows that both the staff and students (90.15% and 95.15% respectively) were of the opinion that it was necessary to preserve Basotho cultural dress practices for future generations. Further probing through focus group discussions highlighted some practices that were significant for preservation:

Mourning band and mourning dress must be worn to mourn a deceased person. Men should wear blankets when attending cultural engagements such as negotiating bridal price with the bride’s family (ho thethesa bohali). Married women should cover their heads and shoulders in the presence of male in-laws

and the son in-law should cover his whole body in the presence of his mother in-law. He should not expose his arms or legs. The groom's family should present Seshoeshoe dress, head cloth (tuku) and seanamarena blanket as gifts to the bride. Men should cover their arms, remove their hats and should not wear short pants at formal institutions such as church and courts of law. Also, women should not wear pants or mini-skirts to the chief's court. Red ochre (letsoku) should continue being used by initiates. [Staff and Students FGD]

Table 5.2 presents an indication of dress practices that were traditionally enforced by culture. The respondents were to indicate their perceptions regarding the necessity for preservation of the cultural dress practices for future generations listed in statements 9.2.1 to 9.2.14 as shown in the table.

Table 5.2: Opinions of respondents on the necessity for preservation of Basotho cultural dress practices for future generations

Cultural dress practices	Staff opinions						Student opinions					
	Yes		No		Uncertain		Yes		No		Uncertain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
9.2.1 <i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to bride as gift by the groom's family	133	100	0	0	0	0	221	95.67	6	2.6	4	1.73
9.2.2 Women covering their heads at funerals	113	84.96	12	9.02	8	6.02	200	86.21	24	10.34	8	3.45
9.2.3 Women not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants	107	80.45	15	11.28	11	8.27	183	79.91	34	14.85	12	5.24
9.2.4 Women not wearing mini-skirts	63	47.37	49	36.84	21	15.79	117	51.77	81	35.84	28	12.39
9.2.5 Women not wearing pants to church	91	68.42	28	21.05	14	10.53	173	75.88	30	13.16	25	10.96
9.2.6 Women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress	101	78.29	19	14.73	9	6.98	174	75.65	30	13.04	26	11.3
9.2.7 Wearing of Basotho blanket	99	74.44	22	16.79	10	7.63	179	77.16	33	14.22	20	8.62
9.2.8 Covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws	74	55.64	34	25.56	25	18.8	159	68.24	50	21.46	24	10.3
9.2.9 Covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws	67	50.38	46	34.59	20	15.04	154	66.96	50	21.74	26	11.3
9.2.10 Mourning practices (shaving, mourning dress, etc.)	88	66.67	28	21.21	16	12.12	163	70.87	37	16.09	30	13.04
9.2.11 Putting on pink cloth for first pregnancy (<i>selapa</i>)	76	57.58	32	24.24	24	18.18	149	64.50	52	22.51	30	12.99
9.2.12 Wearing of <i>thethana</i> by girls	53	40.15	62	46.97	17	12.88	93	40.43	104	45.22	33	14.35
9.2.13 Wearing of loin cloth (<i>ts'ea</i>) by boys	45	34.09	66	50.0	21	15.91	93	40.97	101	44.49	33	14.54
9.2.14 Initiation graduates to receive a new blanket	91	69.47	19	14.5	21	16.03	167	71.98	38	16.38	27	11.64

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.2 the data shows that most staff and students indicated that a *Seshoeshoe* dress given to the bride, was a welcome gift by the bride groom's family (100%, 95.67% respectively) and also that women were to cover their heads at funerals (84.96%, 86.21% staff and students respectively). Furthermore, most of staff and students (80.45%, 79.91%) agreed that women should not be allowed to visit the local chief while wearing pants. In concurrence with these results, the findings from the focus group discussions indicated that;

Covering of heads by women and not being allowed to wear pants at chiefs' courts are examples of the practice of hlonipha [respect] which is common among Africans. Other examples of the hlonipha practice are the wearing of a pink cloth for a first pregnancy (selapa), covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws, as well as covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws. In the past it was mandatory for a man to wear a jacket when visiting the in-laws. Failure to this was regarded as disrespect and attracted a fine. Nowadays this practice is no longer strict since any long sleeve top is tolerated and in many cases no one gets bothered about how the son in-law is dressed when visiting his wife's family to the extent that some wear short sleeve T-shirts and short pants. [Staff and Students FGD]

In the Ndebele (Ndzundza) culture like that of the Basotho, a married female was expected to cover her shoulders, and the practice further suggested submission and respect to ancestors whom no one dared to offend (Trollip, 1994:35).

Another element of hlonipha practice is that both men and women have to convey a sense of respect at formal institutions like the church, chiefs' court and the magistrate court by wearing formal dress. For instance, men are not allowed to enter the chief's office or the magistrate court wearing short sleeve shirts, short pants or a hat. Men will not wear a hat in church and in some denominations men are expected to wear long sleeve tops and long pants. On the other hand, women should not wear pants when visiting the chief and should cover their shoulders in church. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees]

Quthing interviewees reinforced that the bride, the groom and the mother in-law had to observe certain *hlonipha* practices through the way they dressed. Quthing Thembu

Interviewee 3 observed, “Yes, you see, the Thembu women, always cover their heads. We always wrap *ibhayi* or a towel around the waist. We also cover our shoulders with either *ibhayi* or a towel. My son in-law must wear a jacket or a blanket to cover his arms when he comes to visit.”

Makoti covers her head and shoulders in the presence of her father in-law. She will never hand anything directly to the father in-law, whether food or water to avoid physical contact. If by any chance the son in-law visits the mother in-law unexpectedly and she happened to have not covered her arms, perhaps performing some chores outside the house, she will literally run into the house to pick some cloth and throw over the shoulders to show respect to the son in-law.

[Quthing Mosotho Interviewee 9]

More than two thirds of respondents (66.67%-78.29%) staff and (70.87%-75.68%) students were obtained with respect to the following variables: women dressing in *Seshoeshoe* dress, wearing of Basotho blanket, initiation graduates receiving a new blanket, women not wearing pants to church and mourning practices (shaving heads and mourning dress). Wearing of a blanket as traditional dress practice is not typical to Basotho alone.

Trollip (1994:35) demonstrated that the Ndzundza accepted the blanket as part of their traditional attire because of its comfort, convenience and availability since animal skins were no longer widely available. Mkorosi (2017:43, 47) submitted that for the Basotho, a blanket is culturally significant for several reasons: It is an important part of the bridal gifts by friends and family (*ho phahlela*). It is presented to the bride as a welcome gift by the husband’s family at the time of reception. Alternatively, it is presented to the daughter by parents after traditional cleansing following the death of her husband or child. It is also an initiation pass-out gift to a nephew or niece (*mochana*) or wedding gift by the maternal uncle (*malome*). Widows wear mourning shawls as part of mourning outfit. Staff (40.15%) and students (40.43%) indicate that girls should wear *thethana* [short loin skirts made from twisted daisy fibre]. In addition, staff (34.09%) and students (40.97%) showed that boys wear loincloth (*t’sea*). However, both staff (50%) and students (44.49%) indicated that *t’sea* should not be enforced.

Similarly, staff (46.97%) and students (45.22%) indicated that *thethana* should not be enforced.

Wearing of t'sea and thethana are reserved for national cultural ceremonies. Basotho cultural dress practices should still be enforced in order to preserve, restore, conserve and maintain Basotho culture for future generations. This is important because of the significance of the meanings carried or symbolised by these practices to Basotho. Enforcing the cultural dress practices will facilitate Basotho knowledge of their cultural roots or origins and sense of identity. Cultural dress practices instil patriotism and provide national and gender distinction or differentiation. Furthermore, the practices provide an avenue for displaying national norms, values and morals and are essential in cultivating an appreciation of one's unique national identity even though young people are modernised and have no interest in culture. There is a Sesotho saying: "Ha u sa tsebe moo u tsoang teng u ke ke oa tseba moo u eang teng" [If you do not know where you are coming from you will not know where you are going]. Because of the young generation's departure from observing cultural practices, some of the Basotho morals and values are declining. For this reason, enforcing and protecting the cultural dress practices would lead to the betterment of future generations. Also there is a Sesotho proverb that says, "Sechaba se se nang moetlo sea timela" [a nation without a culture perishes or becomes extinct]. Perhaps time has come for Basotho people to retrace their steps and know who they really are, and that is by embracing and preserving their culture. [Staff FGD]

Students made the following observation:

Basotho should have a choice and should not be bound by culture because modern trends which we are part of such as Christianity, conflict with cultural practices. People should be allowed to exercise their freedom, they should not be forced to observe any cultural dress practices. For example some of the cultural dress practices that dictate dress code for women concerning religious functions like church and funeral attendance are oppressive. Women should feel free to adorn themselves in a way that they feel is comfortable for them. [Students FGD]

Table 5.3 shows an association of respondents by age with responses to the statement "covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top) as a cultural

practice was still being enforced.” The association compared two age groups to determine whether they confirmed that the cultural practice was still enforced by culture.

Table 5.3: Younger and older respondents’ opinions to whether the “covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top)” as a cultural practice was still being enforced (Q2 X Q9.2.9)

Covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top)	Age			
	18 – 35 Years		36 – 65 Years	
	N	%	N	%
Yes, still being enforced	158	65.56	63	51.64
Uncertain	29	12.03	17	13.93
No, not being enforced	54	22.41	42	34.43
Total	241	100	122	100

P = 0.0078

Table 5.3 shows that the younger respondents were proportionately (65.56%) more inclined than the older respondents (51.64%) to confirm that the “covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top)” as a cultural practice was still being enforced. Trollip (1994) proposed that in the Ndzundza-Ndebele culture, a married woman should cover her shoulders to show respect to the ancestors of the husband.

Table 5.4 shows an association of respondents by group with the responses to the statement “covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top) was still enforced by culture.” The association compared the staff and students as two groups of occupation to determine whether they confirmed that the cultural practice was still enforced by culture.

Table 5.4: Staff and students opinions on whether... "covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top)" as a cultural practice was still being enforced (Q3 X Q 9.2.9)

Covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top)	Group			
	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Yes, still being enforced	67	50.38	154	66.96
Uncertain	20	15.04	26	11.30
No, not being enforced	46	34.59	50	21.74
Total	133	100	230	100

P= 0.0020

Table 5.4 shows that student respondents were proportionately (66.96%) more inclined than the staff respondents (50.38%) to confirm that "covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top)" as a cultural practice was still being enforced. Some Ndzundza-Ndebele women continue to observe the culture of *hlonipha* by wearing an *umtshurhana* (small blanket) to cover their shoulders (Trollip, 1994).

Table 5.5 is based on a probing question with reference to Q 9.2, whereby the respondents provided reasons to justify their choice of statements from the list of cultural dress practices 9.2.1 to 9.2.14 as to why the dress practices should still be enforced by culture.

Table 5.5: Reasons for enforcing Basotho cultural dress practices

Reasons for enforcing cultural dress practices	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
To preserve, conserve, Basotho culture; symbol of patriotism and national unity	50	44.64	75	50.34
For national identity, unity and identification of gender	40	35.71	22	14.77
Maintenance of cultural values and norms	13	11.61	49	32.89
Practices should not be enforced, there should be choice and accommodation of new trends	6	5.36	0	0.0
No idea	0	0.0	1	0.67

Reasons for enforcing cultural dress practices	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Respect, values	3	2.68	0	0.0
Culture builds strong family relationships and is passed through generations	0	0.0	1	0.67
Total	112	100	149	100

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.5, the staff (44.64%) and students (50.34%) indicated that Basotho cultural dress practices were enforced in order to preserve their culture as a symbol of patriotism and national unity. Furthermore, staff (47.32 %) and students (47.66 %) express other reasons for enforcing cultural dress practices such as national identity, unity and identification of gender as well as for maintenance of cultural values and norms.

Reasons for enforcing cultural dress practices as perceived by Quthing interviewees:

Cultural practices encourage respect (hlomphe), for example women covering their heads at funerals. The practices are important in demonstrating individual's status or rite of passage, for example gift of Seshoeshoe dress to a bride by the bridegroom's family as a sign of welcome into the new family. This bestowed honour on the bride, and it indicated that she has transitioned into womanhood and was officially permitted to bear children. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees 8 and 10]

A woman wearing *Seshoeshoe* dress and the Basotho blanket provided a typical identity of the Basotho people. An outfit of *Seshoeshoe* dress, the Basotho blanket and the Basotho hat provide a complete national identity for the Basotho (Mokorosi, 2017; Khau, 2012; Tyrell, 1968).

Table 5.6 is based on a further probing question with reference to statements of cultural dress practices in Question 9.2, where the respondents used those statements to produce their own lists of cultural dress practises that still existed. Categories were formulated from the lists of the respondents, and Table 5.6 depicts categorised respondents' responses.

Table 5.6: Respondents' combinations of cultural dress practices that still exist

Combinations of cultural dress practices which still exist according to respondents	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering heads at funeral; women not allowed in chief's court wearing pants; women not wearing pants to church; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; covering head and shoulders in presence of in-laws; mourning practices (shaving heads, mourning dress, etc).	11	9.09	29	14,43
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bride groom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; initiation graduates to receive a new blanket	10	8.26	22	10,93
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; women not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket	21	17.36	31	15,42
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; women not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants; women not wearing pants to church; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/long sleeve top; mourning practices (shaving heads, mourning dress etc.); putting on pink cloth for a first pregnancy (<i>selapa</i>); girls wearing <i>thethana</i> ; boys wearing loin cloth (<i>ts'ea</i>).	5	4.13	2	1.0
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; women not wearing pants to church; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top; mourning practices (shaving heads mourning dress, etc.); putting on pink	6	4.96	3	1.49

Combinations of cultural dress practices which still exist according to respondents	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
cloth for a first pregnancy (<i>selapa</i>); girls wearing <i>thethana</i> ; boys wearing loin cloth (<i>ts'ea</i>); initiation graduates to receive a new blanket.				
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top; mourning practices (shaving heads, mourning dress, etc.); girls wearing <i>thethana</i> ; initiation graduates to receive a new blanket.	2	1.65	8	3.98
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; women not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants; women not wearing mini- skirts; women not wearing pants to church; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/ long sleeve top; mourning practices (shaving heads mourning dress, etc.); girls wearing <i>thethana</i> ; initiation graduates to receive a new blanket.	7	5.79	4	1.99
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants; women covering their heads at funerals; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; mourning practices (shaving heads mourning dress, etc.; putting on pink cloth for a first pregnancy (<i>selapa</i>); initiation graduates to receive a new blanket.	14	11.57	32	15.92

Combinations of cultural dress practices which still exist according to respondents	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants; women not wearing pants to church; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; mourning practices (shaving heads mourning dress, etc.); putting on pink cloth for a first pregnancy (<i>selapa</i>); girls wearing <i>thethana</i> ; boys wearing loin cloth (<i>ts'ea</i>); initiation graduates to receive a new blanket.	20	16.53	23	11.44
<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress to a bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family; women covering their heads at funerals; women not wearing mini-skirts women not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants; women not wearing pants to church; women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i> ; wearing of Basotho blanket; covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws; mourning practices (shaving heads mourning dress, etc.); putting on pink cloth for a first pregnancy (<i>selapa</i>); initiation graduates to receive a new blanket.	12	9.92	15	7.46
All the above	6	4.96	4	1.99
No idea	1	0.83	0	0
Any other, e.g. women covering their heads at funeral; women not wearing mini-skirts; women not wearing pants to church; wearing of Basotho blanket; initiation graduates to receive a new blanket.	6	4.96	28	13.93
Total		100		100

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

The results in Table 5.6 indicate different combinations of cultural dress practices that still exist today, according to the respondents. The highest combined staff and students respondents' percentage is more than a third (40%). These percentages indicated that the following practises were still valued:

- *Seshoeshoe* dress to the bride as a welcome gift by the bridegroom's family

- women covering their heads at funerals;
- women not allowed to visit the local chief while wearing pants;
- women dressed in *Seshoeshoe* wearing of Basotho blanket;
- mourning practices (shaving heads, mourning dress, etc.)
- initiation graduates to receive a new blanket;
- putting on pink cloth for a first pregnancy (*selapa*) and covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws.

The low percentages reflected in the responses was due to low responses to the question as it was open-ended. The focus group discussions indicated that the Basotho blanket and *Seshoeshoe* dress were very important to Basotho.

Basotho blanket is important for warmth and is also a gesture of welcome to the bride. It is a typical symbol of identity for Basotho during international visits. It is also used as a token of appreciation by Basotho to their visitors from other countries. Basotho blanket and Seshoeshoe dress have been affected by modernisation in terms of motifs and styles. [Students FGD]

Seshoeshoe dress, a head cloth, and seanamarena blanket or a shawl were the induction dress for the bride. They were a symbol of womanhood and acceptance by the bridegroom's family. It was important that the length of a Seshoeshoe dress be below the knee. Full length traditional Seshoeshoe dress required more material, the modern design of the dress is more economical. [Staff FGD]

The Basotho blanket was suited for every cultural and social activity, and that was why it was part of the identity of the Basotho. It is worn at funerals, traditional gatherings and family meetings (Mokorosi, 2017: 43, 45; Karstel, 1993:187). The modern Basotho youth were not keen to wear cultural attire as they considered it suitable for older people. They have been influenced by television and other forms of media and prefer the western styles of dressing (Damhorst, 2008:5; Rosenberg, 2002:7). On the other hand, as portrayed by Trollip (1994:35) among the Ndzundza, the older people were stricter in maintaining their traditional beliefs and values than the younger people. For different societies, there is a clear distinction in dress between males and females and deliberate disregard of the norm

attracts a negative judgment (Roach, 1989:416; Storm, 1987:32; Horn & Gurel, 1981:188).

The staff focus group discussions on the issue of the mourning cloth (*thapo*) is presented below. The manner in which the staff focus group presented this matter indicated great sadness and disturbance since the group was made entirely of women, and were sensitive to some of the challenges of this practice.

Mourning dress symbolises a period of mourning for a loved one. It is a practice that affects all women who have lost husbands as they are expected to observe it with its stringent rules. However when men have lost their wives, they do not normally wear mourning band or dress for them. It seems there is bias in observing the thapo culture making us women, to feel inferior. In the past, women were primarily homemakers, mainly looking after children, but now like men they are part of the labour force. Consequently, due to the increased social activities of modern women, they cannot adhere to most of the mourning cloth regulations and yet sometimes they are forced to abide against their will. [Staff FGD]

However, the mourning dress practice (*thapo*) remains an important Basotho cultural dress practice. Mkorosi (2017:47) and Bereng (1987:20) confirmed that while other members of the family observed mourning practice, women, in particular widows had an extensively elaborate mourning dress practice. With the Nda in Zimbabwe, Maposa (2012:156) observed that the women of the deceased's immediate family shaved their heads and wore black laces around their necks or a piece of black cloth was pinned on the left sleeve. The high engagement of women in mourning was further demonstrated by wearing church uniform during the burial ceremony of a uniformed member of a church.

Quthing Basotho interviewees lamented that Basotho boys no longer remove their caps or hats when greeting an adult. There was great sense of regret on the loss that was happening and this was reflected in the tone of the speaker.

Cultural dress practices used to be appreciated by the youth and the elderly. However, there is now a cultural decay and dynamism such that the practices have become unimportant. This is primarily due to the influence of media such as television that promotes attraction to other cultures, especially among the youth.

We are still interested in our cultural dress practices while the young people do not show much interest. Young people do not care about what they wear. For example, young women expose their bodies in mini-skirts because the law favours them and they say they have “rights”. In Sesotho a man would not wear a hat in a house or in church. On the other hand, a woman wears a hat or covers her head most of the time. She covers her head in church. Covering of heads by men and women has been influenced by Christianity. Man should not wear a hat when praying or engaged in a religious function such as when attending a funeral or during a procession to the graveyard. Men remove their hats when addressing a chief as a sign of respect. It was from this ingrained gesture of respect that Basotho men when addressing one another would make a sign of removing a hat even when there was no hat worn and say “likhomo tseo”² as a sign of humility and servitude.
[Quthing Basotho interviewee 8]

Quthing interviewees further expressed the following,

Cultural dress practices are part of Basotho beliefs, and when they are not observed, it is an invitation for evil or bad omens for the family. For example, if a woman does not observe the practice of the mourning attire for her late husband, catastrophes like early frost, drought and family misfortunes are blamed on her.
[Student FGD]

Were there differences or similarities in cultural dress practices among the two Thembu and Ndebele that have been assimilated into the Basotho culture and other Basotho clans? The Basotho, Thembu and Ndebele, shaved their heads and wore either a black mourning gown, a lace or a piece of cloth on the left sleeve. The practice of *hlonipha* where the bride (*makoti*) and mother in-law cover their heads with a head cloth, shoulders and waist with a shawl, and the son in-law covers his arms in the presence of mother in-law was common to the three cultures. Only the Ndebele interviewees mentioned that, “The bride’s induction clothes include a flannel petticoat.” For both the Ndebele and the Thembu, once the bride had been inducted into wearing a head cloth, she was expected to wear it permanently even when she went to bed.

² A herd of cattle – a wish for peace and prosperity

In the Thembu culture, the bride during her induction (ukugunxa), wears iSikhakha³ made from cowhide called urhwaqu, then she changes to wear iSikhakha made from black umbhaco fabric with ncebeta in front. Ncebeta is like an apron. She wears ibhayi on the shoulders directly on the skin. Her head is covered with a black head-cloth and also covered her face like a veil. The way she wears the head cloth is symbolic that she is a makoti [Quthing Thembu Interviewee 1]

Our youth say that cultural dress practices belong to the past. They say the practices were suitable for us who support them. They say to them as the youth, cultural practices are a waste of time. Many young people do not support these practices since they come from families that no longer observe cultural dress practices. Young people perceive the practices as outdated and despise them. They indicate that they live in the democratic dispensation and have rights and that they change with times. They say they belong to the 50/50 and the Beijing era where people have rights. The way young people's behaviour is against the use of dress as a cultural identity of hlomphe, [respect] which is an integral part of the Basotho. I cannot tell my grandchildren some of the things that they need to know about our culture because their mother disapproves! [Quthing Basotho Interviewees 8 and 9]

Wearing of a pink cloth by a pregnant woman (selapa) is a symbol of first pregnancy. The practice is different depending on one's clan, and variations also exist even among members of the same clan. For example, with Bakoena of Monaheng during the practice of ho bipisa⁴, the expecting mother is sent to her family with a new set of clothing. The clothing consisted of a shawl, a sleeping blanket, a Basotho blanket (day blanket), Seshoeshoe skirt and selapa. When she arrived at her home, a sheep was slaughtered for her to establish ho bipisa rite. Her head was shaved and then she was dressed in the Seshoeshoe dress and selapa. She ceased to use any perfume or scented creams and walked barefooted. This practice occurred when she was eight months pregnant. After delivery, she used selapa as a blanket for the infant. When she was due to go back to her in-laws, the set of clothing that she brought had to be replaced with a new set from her parents. She left every piece of clothing that she brought with her mother. The

³ Thembu women's traditional dress

⁴ A ritual undertaken by Basotho women for first pregnancy

clothing was called moroto oa lesea [the infant's urine] that was why it should be left behind when she returned to the husband's home. [Students FGD]

5.4 SECTION C

5.4.1 The meanings and symbolism of cultural dress practices

This section addresses the second research question, which is provided below.

“Are participants aware of the meanings and symbolism of cultural dress practices of different rites of passage?”

Table 5.7 presents various ways of adorning hair as a cultural dress practice among males and females. It includes shaving of hair of an infant, *motloenya*,⁵ plaiting, *tlopo* [long hair left in the centre of the head during shaving], hair styling, hair cut for mourning and *seqoma* [piece of hair left on the back part of the head, above the neck, as a ritual on children born after a deceased sibling]. The purpose was to find out which hair adornments were typical for males or females and those that were favoured by both males and females.

⁵ Hair that is left above the forehead during shaving and styled in different ways by boys.

Table 5.7: Awareness of ways of adorning hair used for the rites of passage practice for males and females

Cultural dress practices	Awareness among Staff						Awareness among Students					
	Typical for males only		Typical for females only		Typical for both		Typical for males only		Typical for females only		Typical both	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Shaving hair of infants	5	3.79	4	3.03	123	93.18	13	5.86	19	8.56	190	85.59
<i>Motloenya</i> hair cut	112	85.50	1	0.76	18	13.74	174	76.65	6	2.64	47	20.70
Plaiting of hair	2	1.55	98	75.97	29	22.48	12	5.45	139	63.18	69	31.36
<i>Tlopo</i> by initiates	95	71.97	13	9.85	24	18.18	164	72.57	11	4.87	51	22.57
Hair styling	1	0.78	61	47.29	67	51.94	1	0.43	159	69.13	70	30.43
Hair cut for mourning	5	3.79	2	1.52	125	94.70	8	3.45	1	0.43	223	96.12
<i>Seqoma</i>	1	0.78	0	0	128	99.22	2	0.89	4	1.79	218	97.32

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.7, the majority of staff (93.18%) and students (85.59%) indicated that shaving the hair of infants was a cultural dress practice for the rites of passage for both males and females. How this practice was performed was clarified by the focus group discussions.

Shaving of an infant's hair, irrespective of whether male or female, was a rite of passage that all infants had to undergo in order to remove and discard the original hair of the infant and to grow new hair for the external environment. Before undertaking the practice, there were strict rules on who might be allowed to see the baby, especially from members of the public. [Staff FGD]

The first shaving of the baby's hair is called *ho bolla* (Mokorosi, 2017:47). Majority of the staff (85.50%) and most students (76.65%) indicated that *motloenya* hair cut was mainly for the males.

The staff (51.94%) indicated that hairstyling was a cultural dress practice for both males and females. On the other hand, more than two thirds of students (69.13%) showed that it was a practice for females. While according to the staff, both males and females styled their hair, the indication from students was that this tendency was much more substantial with females. Both staff (94.70%) and students (96.12%) indicated that a haircut for mourning a family member was done for both genders. When a man had died, a day after his burial the family members and close relatives shaved their hair and wore *thapo*⁶ for a month. Furthermore, as part of the ritual to remove the mourning cloth, family members shaved their heads again (Bereng, 1987:20). Staff (99.22%) and students (97.32%) expressed that *seqoma* hair symbol was a practice for both males and females.

Table 5.8 shows an association of respondents by group with responses to the statement “hairstyling used as hair adornment for rites of passage for males and females.” The respondents were expected to indicate whether hair styling was used by males only, females only or both of them as adornment for rites of passage.

Table 5.8: Staff and students opinions to whether “hair styling is used as hair adornment for rites of passage for males, females or both” (Q3 x Q9.7.5)

Hair styling used as hair adornment for rites of passage for males and females.	Group			
	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Males only	1	0.78	1	0.43
Females only	61	47.29	159	69.13
Both males and females	67	51.94	70	30.43
Total	129	100	230	100

P= 0.0001

The results in Table 5.8 show that the student respondents were proportionately (69.13%) more inclined than the staff respondents (47.29%) to confirm that “hairstyling is used as hair adornment for the rite of passage for females only.” Eicher and Evenson (2015:19) showed that hair fasteners were a type of pressure fastenings for ornamentation especially for girls and women.

⁶ A strip of black cloth or lace usually worn around the neck

The choice for hairstyling has tremendously increased for the black women from using a hot comb to braids, dreads and weaving for purposes of beauty and self-respect (Wickliffe, 2008:397). From the focus groups, it was noted that by nature, females tended to be more preoccupied with making themselves beautiful through among others, adorning their hair. Table 5.9 shows an association of respondents by gender with responses to the statement “*Motloenya* hair cut used as hair adorning for the rites of passage for males and females.” The respondents indicated whether *motloenya* hair cut was used as hair adorning for males only, females only, or both.

Table 5.9: Male and female opinions to whether “*motloenya* hair cut is used as hair adorning for the rites of passage for males and females” (Q1 X Q9.7.2)

<i>Motloenya</i> hair cut used as hair adorning for the rites of passage for males and females.	Gender			
	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Males only	65	67.01	221	84.67
Females only	4	4.12	3	1.15
Both males and females	28	28.87	37	14.18
Total	97	100	261	100

P= 0.0008

Table 5.9 shows that female respondents were proportionately (84.67%) more inclined than male respondents (67.01%) to confirm that “*motloenya* hair cut is used as hair adorning for the rites of passage for males only.” Wickliffe (2008:398) proposed that some men braided, plaited and decorated their hair to communicate among others age and status. From the interviews and focus group discussions, *motloenya* was a typical hair cut contrasting a bald head for male children from childhood to youth stage. The styles of *motloenya* varied with age.

The following table (Table 5.10) is a follow up from Table 5.9, and the respondents had to select hair adornments from this table and provided their meaning or what they symbolised based on their understanding or knowledge. In Table 5.10, information on

what the adornments communicated and what they symbolised were provided by the respondents.

Table 5.10: Meaning and symbolism of hair adornment practices provided by respondents

Hair adornment practices	What it communicates	Symbolism	Staff		Students	
			N	%	N	%
Shaving hair of infants	Rite of passage and welcome of the infant in the family, or mother is healthy enough to be allowed to perform her roles again, and the child can now be seen by the public (<i>motsoetse o tsoela ka ntle lapeng</i>)	- It is an indication that an umbilical cord has fallen, or child is circumcised (<i>o bolotse</i>)	10	8.4	1	0.66
<i>Motloenya</i> or <i>tlopo</i> hair cut	Rite of passage, beauty and identity; means one has graduated from initiation school (initiates)	- Symbol of manhood or womanhood and (male and female initiates) - Identity of being a warrior	3	2.52	0	0
Plaiting of hair and hairstyling	Beauty, fashion or style and rite of passage	- Indication of adolescence	0	0	6	3.94
Hair cut for mourning a family member	Mourning, grief or bereavement; condolences, respect to ancestors; Mark of end of mourning	- Symbolises death or loss of a family member or loved one, removing ties between the living and the dead; - cleansing to thwart bad luck associated with	21	17.65	11	7.24

Hair adornment practices	What it communicates	Symbolism	Staff		Students	
			N	%	N	%
		death (<i>ho tlosa sesila</i>)				
<i>Seqoma</i>	One is born after or succeeds one or more siblings who passed on	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Replacement symbol, indicated by leaving a small section of hair at the back of the head unshaved (<i>sekotlong</i>). It can take 5-8 years of childhood and is left every time head is shaved - Blood is spilled to remove this <i>seqoma</i> 	63	52.9	117	76.98
Other (shaving hair of orphan) - <i>Khutsana</i>	Communicates double orphan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indicated by being smeared with goat or sheep stomach residue and bile [<i>ho tlotsoa ka mosoang le nyooko ea poli kapa nku</i>] 	22	18.49	17	11.19

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

As presented in Table 5.10, a few of the staff (8.4%) had an idea of what the practice meant and symbolised but there were even very few students (0.66%) who indicated that cultural shaving of an infant's hair symbolised that the umbilical cord of the infant had healed or fallen off – infant initiation (*ho bolla hoa lesea*) occurred after about seven days. Some perspectives on infant initiation from the staff focus group discussion and the Quthing interview that demonstrated confirmation and verification between the two data sets.

The practice of ho bolla (infant initiation) entailed allowing the umbilical cord to fall from the naval on its own and then the infant's hair was cut. The dry umbilical cord (Sekhababa or khujoana) was dug into the floor of the house behind the door. It could also be plastered onto the wall or dug under the fireplace. Therefore, the fireplace and the area behind the door in a Sesotho hut were regarded as sacred. In some clans, khujoana was disposed and dug into the homestead rubbish heap (thotobolo). To Basotho, thotobolo, was also regarded as a family's sacred place where non-family members were not allowed. Furthermore, khujoana could be covered with a skin and worn around the neck by the infant. The purpose of this cultural practice was to protect the child against evil, and it was also believed that as the child grew, there would always be a sense of attachment to home and family.

[Staff FGD]

Among some clans like the Bahlakoana, when it was time for the infant's initiation (ho bolla), the mother in-law visited the bride's home to induct the baby according to the clan's ancestral rituals. During hair shaving, a small piece of hair was left on top of the head, looking like it is a fly sitting on the head. After that, the baby was introduced to the outside world by being held up towards the moon while naked at night and it was exclaimed, "Look at your mate over there!" The rite is called kuruetso. [Quthing Basotho Interviewee 11]

Few staff (17.65%) and students (7.24%) knew the symbolism of the shaving of the head as part of a mourning rite. Contrary to the Basotho cultural dress practice where family members and close relatives participate in the mourning rite of shaving the head, Maposa (2012:156) proposed that for the Ndau people in Zimbabwe, it is the women of the deceased's immediate family who shave their heads and wear black laces around their necks. The symbolism of *motloenya* and *tlopo* was known by very few staff (2.52%). From the staff and students' focus group discussions it was observed that, "During the pass-out ceremony for the female initiates, they shaved their hair on the sides leaving hair in the middle of the head (*lenyetse*)". *Lenyetse* was smeared with black cream (*sekama*) and red ochre was applied on the shaved area (Matobo *et al.*, 2009:110; Sekese, 1991:14-15; Tyrell, 1968:91). Many of the students (76.98%) and just more than half of the staff (52.95%) knew the meaning or symbolism of *seqoma*. Staff and students focus groups defined *seqoma* as "A child who is born after one who has died."

The elderly in Quthing confirmed the definition and further noted that,

Seqoma is child who is born after one who has died. The child is a replacement of the deceased and a sign of mourning is continued with the current child. The child's head is shaved and a piece of hair is left at the back of the head. The piece of hair at the back is called seqoma and it is a symbol that the person was born after one who passed on. [Quthing Basotho Interviewee 10].

The follow up below confirms the results of the quantitative survey.

Removal of seqoma is a symbol of cleansing and ending the mourning pain caused by the deceased child. In performing the rite to remove seqoma, the child's hair was cut in the morning, leaving seqoma which was smeared with red ochre. In the afternoon, the hair was removed, and the child was smeared with stomach residue mixed with bile (mosoang le nyooko) from a sheep. [Staff FGD]

The Quthing interviewees added some distinction between seqoma and an orphan.

An orphaned child had to undergo the orphanage rite or cleansing (ho tlosoa khutsana), and the practice was similar to the seqoma cleansing rite. To remove khutsana is to end period of mourning. To be freed or liberated from sesila (bad luck) imposed by the khutsana practice, either a male or female sheep was slaughtered depending on whether the deceased person was the male or female. The bile, stomach residue and aloe were mixed in water and applied onto the body of the orphan after the child had been shaved. The mixture was washed off the following day to complete the cleansing. The stomach residue was from a part called ntloana ea lehlanya. The rite was similar to that of removing seqoma, but the removal of khutsana and the mourning cloth or band (thapo) were different practices. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees]

Quthing interviewees presenting a perspective of the Thembu said,

There are no specific cultural dress practices associated with the seqoma, but the child was known or referred to as a "dog" (ntja). The child is treated with some form of suspicion that he might be abnormal. If abnormal behaviour was identified, the child was taken to a river for cleansing where ash was applied over the whole body, and he/she was separated from other children. [Quthing Thembu Interviewee 3]

Botha-Bothe interviewee 1 and 2 said, “*Khutsana* and *seqoma* are not part of Ndebele culture. However because of intermarriage with Basotho, some families have adopted the practice.”

In Sesotho if someone is a khutsana or seqoma, the person has to be cleansed and released by slaughtering a sheep. Gall and blood from the slaughtered sheep are mixed with residue from a special part of the stomach (ntlo ea lehlanya) and the mixture is applied on the shaved head and the body of the person being cleansed. The mixture will remain on the person for the whole day and will only be washed off the following the day. This practice is whenever resources are available, but someone released or liberated, it must be done. For instance, one cannot be admitted to the initiation school if they have not been cleansed. It is the uncle who takes to ensure that the niece or nephew have undertaken cleansing rite for seqoma. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees 8 and 9]

Table 5.11 shows an association of respondents by age with responses to the statement “hair adornments used for the rites of passage for males and females that communicated meaning and what they symbolised.” From Table 5.11, respondents were expected to select ways of adorning hair used for the rites of passage for males and females that communicated meaning and provide their meaning or symbolism.

Table 5.11: Younger and older respondents’ opinions to whether “hair adornments used for rites of passage for males and females communicated meaning and what they symbolised” (Q2 X Q 9.7.8)

Hair adornments used for the rites of passage for males and females that communicated meaning and what they symbolised.	Age			
	18 – 35 Years		36 – 65 Years	
	N	%	N	%
Shaving hair of infants (rite of passage)	6	3.66	5	4.67
<i>Motloenya</i> / tlopo haircut (rite of passage)	4	2.44	1	0.93
<i>Motloenya</i> / tlopo haircut (identity)	0	0.00	1	0.93

Hair adornments used for the rites of passage for males and females that communicated meaning and what they symbolised.	Age			
	18 – 35 Years		36 – 65 Years	
	N	%	N	%
Plaiting of hair	3	1.83	0	0.0
Haircut for mourning a family member (mourning or grief)	12	7.32	20	18.69
<i>Seqoma</i> (without symbolism)	107	65.24	41	38.32
<i>Seqoma</i> with meaning or symbolism	16	9.76	16	14.95
Any of the above	15	9.15	20	18.69
No idea	1	0.61	3	2.80
Total	164	100	107	100

P = 0.0001

Table 5.11 shows that the younger respondents were proportionately (65.24%) more inclined than the older respondents (38.32%) to confirm *seqoma* (without symbolism) as “hair adornment used for the rites of passage for males and females that communicated a meaning.” The younger respondents were aware of *seqoma* as an individual who was born after a deceased sibling but were not aware of how it was symbolised as hair adornment.

In Table 5.13, the respondents were to indicate whether the body modifications shown in the table were practices for males only, females only or both.

Table 5.12: Body modifications for male and females

Body modifications	Staff						Students					
	Male only		Female only		Both		Male only		Female only		Both	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Tattooing (nyao)	5	3.76	81	60.9	47	35.34	13	5.65	107	46.52	110	47.83

Peculiar haircuts (tlopo)	84	63.16	3	2.26	46	34.59	171	73.39	3	1.29	59	25.32
Ear piercing	2	1.52	51	38.64	79	59.85	7	3.07	107	46.93	114	50
Nose / Tongue piercing	4	3.23	75	60.48	44	35.48	9	3.95	134	58.77	85	37.28
Other	2	14.29	5	35.71	7	50	1	6.25	9	56.25	6	37.5

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.13, staff (60.90%) and students (46.52%) showed that according to the Basotho culture, tattooing (*linyao*) was a practice mostly for females than males. Females adorned themselves with a variety of tattoos on their faces (Mokorosi, 2017; Casalis, 1997; Sechefo, 1904). Moreover, in other cultures, tattoos were used to mark female maturity and the readiness for a girl for marriage (Hockings 1979). Peculiar haircuts, e.g. *tlopo* and *motloenya* were more for males than females according to (63.16% and 73.39%) staff and students respectively. Concerning ear piercing, staff (59.85%) and students (50%) indicated that it was a practice for both males and females. Also, most staff (60.48%) and student respondents (58.77%) showed that nose and tongue piercing was a new practice more popular with females than males.

Quthing interviewee 8 and 9 indicated that, “Female initiates have tattoos (*linyao*). Young people make tattoos and do a variety of hairstyles but these have no meaning. They imitate television and other media personalities who are their role models.”

Peculiar haircuts such as *motloenya* was a male practice while *tlopo* or *lenyetse* were characteristic of both male and female initiates. Ear piercing is generally a female practice, while in males it characterised the initiates.

Figure 5.2 presents the opinions of respondents as a follow up of body modifications in Table 5.13. Respondents were expected to select body adornments for males and females that communicated meaning.

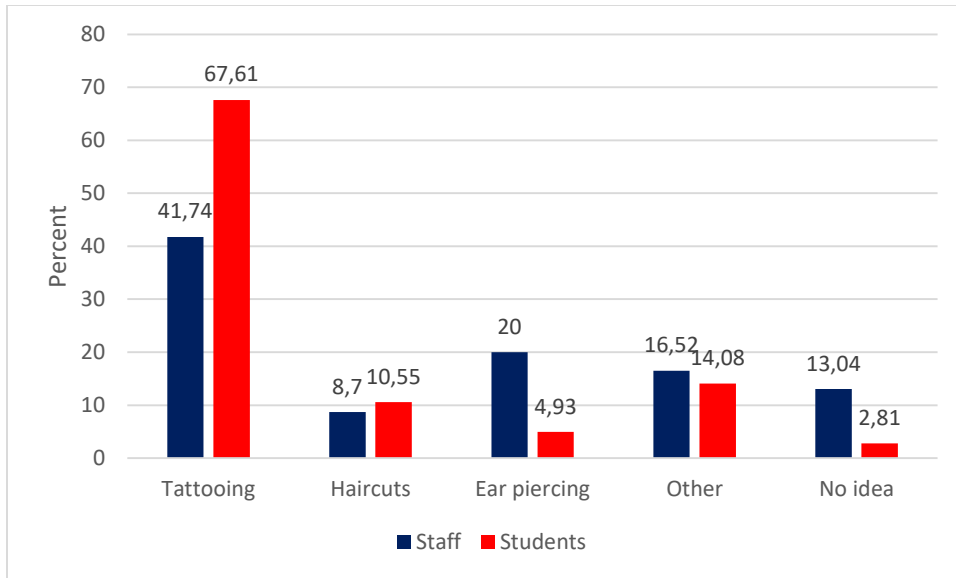


Figure 5.2: Body modification with meaning as a rite of passage

In Figure 5.2, more than a third of staff (41.74%) and just more than two thirds students (67.61%) indicated that tattooing communicated beauty, identity, courage, dedications and memorials. Tattoos also differentiated the initiates from non-initiates. Staff (8.7%) and students (10.55%) showed that haircuts, e.g. *tlopo* or *motloenya* communicated identity, bravery, beauty, being stylish, fashionable and rite of passage or status. Ear piercing, according to staff (20%) and students (4.93%) communicated gender identity primarily for females and also an identity for males who have been to the initiation school.

The students' focus group discussion indicated that,

Tattoos are a form of adornment of the face by young women initiates. They are a symbol of maturity and beauty by young woman as they prepared themselves for marriage. Tattoos are one of the ways that the Ndebele distinguishes themselves from other cultures. They serve as a form of clan identity and they are also used to identify gangs, and groups, especially among those who have been to prison.

The staff focus group discussion had similar sentiments as the students about tattoos.

The Botha-Bothe Ndebele intermarriage interviewees 5 who belonged to the Bataung clan and married to the Ndebele said,

Bataung women adorned themselves with tattoos which were made by using a sharp element to prick the skin. According to individual's desire one could make a three spots design (litubatubi) in which three spots were pricked on each cheek and soot was pressed into the wounds which later turned into black spots.

Concerning haircuts, Quthing Mosotho interviewee 10 remarked,

Haircuts such as motloenya and biboko were used as an identity for herdboys and initiates. They symbolised transition from youth to adulthood. Many young boys today do not know motloenya, because the schools they go to insist that they should all have a uniform clean shave.

The low proportions in responses for both staff and students with respect to the meaning of haircuts and ear piercing suggest that either the respondents did not attach meaning to the body modifications. There was, therefore, less of an attempt made to answer this question, unlike in the case of tattoos. Eicher and Evenson (2015:10) described tattoos as a type of body modification that is categorised as a surface design. In most cases, tattoos are intended to amplify personal or group identity. In some cultures, tattooing marked female maturity and readiness for marriage.

Tattoos and body piercings are found among Africans, Asians and some groups of the western people (Workman & Freeburg, 2009:138; Adekunle *et al.*, 2006:25; Trollip, 1995:122; Mascia-Lees & Sharpe, 1992:147; Hockings, 1979:152). Among the Basotho, the linear tattoos were known as *linyao*. *Leamohela* is the tattoo that runs from the forehead down the nose bridge. The round tattoos often found on both cheeks are called *litubatubi* (Mokorosi, 2017:34; Casalis, 1997:136, 147; Sechefo, 1904:19).

In Table 5.14, the respondents were to identify from the table the most important reasons for tattooing.

Table 5.13: Most important reasons for tattooing

Most important reasons for tattooing	Staff								Students							
	Yes		No		Uncertain		Total		Yes		No		Uncertain		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
group identification	85	64.89	10	7.63	36	27.48	131	100.00	157	67.38	33	14.16	43	18.45	233	100.00
to demonstrate bravery	49	37.69	18	13.85	63	48.46	130	100.00	87	37.99	75	32.75	67	29.26	229	100.00
seek attention	80	61.54	12	9.23	38	29.23	130	100.00	166	71.86	33	14.29	32	13.85	231	100.00
to be stylish or fashionable	116	87.22	6	4.51	11	8.27	133	100.00	187	80.26	27	11.59	19	8.15	233	100.00
imitation of peers	101	77.10	6	4.58	24	18.32	131	100.00	184	79.31	23	9.91	25	10.78	232	100.00
for body decoration	114	87.69	4	3.08	12	9.23	130	100.00	183	78.88	21	9.05	28	12.07	232	100.00
for purposes of fun	84	64.62	5	3.85	41	31.54	130	100.00	116	52.25	53	23.87	53	23.87	222	100.00

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.14 staff (77.10% - 87.69%) and students (78.88% - 80.28%) both consider the most important reasons for tattooing to be for body decoration, being stylish and imitation of peers. Many staff (61.54% - 64.89%) and just more than half to most of the students (52.25% - 71.86%) also recognised seeking attention, fun and group identification as important.

In Table 5.15, the respondents were to indicate whether the body supplements in the table were practices for males only, females only or for both.

Table 5.14: Body supplements for males and females

Body supplements	Staff						Students					
	Males only		Females only		Both		Males only		Females only		Both	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ear rings	0	0.00	68	51.13	65	48.87	2	0.86	152	65.52	78	33.62
Hair extension	1	0.76	107	81.06	24	18.18	2	0.86	215	92.67	15	6.47
Beads	9	6.87	32	24.43	90	68.70	22	9.73	52	23.01	152	67.26
Braiding	0	0.00	110	83.33	22	16.67	3	1.30	215	93.48	12	5.22
Bracelets	31	23.31	26	19.55	76	57.14	85	37.12	38	16.59	106	46.29
Beard	120	90.91	9	6.82	3	2.27	197	87.56	10	4.44	18	8.00
Wig	3	2.26	120	90.23	10	7.52	3	1.34	213	95.09	8	3.57
Rings	3	2.27	30	22.73	99	75.00	1	0.43	30	12.93	201	86.64
Make up	2	1.50	124	93.23	7	5.26	1	0.43	211	91.74	18	7.83
Nail painting	4	3.01	122	91.73	7	5.26	2	0.86	223	96.12	7	3.02
Red ochre	23	17.42	17	12.88	92	69.70	62	26.72	9	3.88	161	69.40
<i>Phepa</i>	4	3.04	123	93.89	4	3.05	4	1.75	213	93.01	12	5.24
Other	0	0	4	80.0	1	20	4	44.44	4	44.44	1	11.11

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.15, the staff (90.91%) and students (87.56%) indicated that beard was regarded as a body supplement for males. In addition, staff (51.13% – 93.89%) and students (65.52% - 96.12%) showed that earrings, hair extension, braiding, nail painting, *phepa*, wig and makeup were mainly for females. Staff (48.87% - 75%) and students (33.62% - 86.64%) also showed that earrings, rings, beads, bracelets (*mesomi*) and red ochre were used as body supplements by both males and females.

The male initiates wear earrings. Pilo is used by female initiates during graduation. It is rubbed around the shaved head with hair left in the middle. Bale cover their faces with a veil and wear thick rings of grass around the torso called likholokoane. They also apply white clay on their bodies called phepa. [Students FGD]

Quthing Mosotho interviewee 8 smiled and remarked,

Oh, I am reminded of our youth days when we used apply keketsi or khokhotsi as a face powder. It is yellow in colour and is obtained from some stones. We also applied a good amount of vaseline on the lips so that they were shiny as a way of enhancing our beauty. Pilo and sekema which are black in colour were applied on the hair when initiates graduated from the initiation school.

The expression on the interviewee’s face suggested a loss of something that she believed was good. For the males, earrings were characteristic of bravery and usually worn on one ear. Wickliffe (2008:397) posited that African women and some men braided and plaited, twisted and decorated their hair to communicate a variety of messages such as religion, status and age. Basotho women wore jewellery such as earrings and bracelets. Men adorned their bodies with glass beads and copper rings around their neck, arms and ankles as a cultural dance outfit (Mokorosi, 2017:34).

Table 5.16 shows an association of respondents by group with responses to the statement “hair extensions as body supplement for males and females.” The purpose was to find out whether hair extensions were for males only, females only or both.

Table 5.15: Staff and students perceptions to whether “hair extensions were body supplement for males and females” (Q3 X Q 9.6.3.2)

Hair extensions as body supplement for males or females	Group			
	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Males only	1	0.76	2	0.86
Females only	107	81.06	215	92.67
Both males and females	24	18.18	15	6.47
Total	132	100	232	100

P = 0.0014

Table 5.16 shows that the student respondents were proportionately (92.67%) more inclined than the staff respondents (81.06%) to confirm “hair extensions as body supplement for females only”. The students focus group discussions remarked, “We young people are actively engaged and exposed to body modifications. For example, we use hair extensions as body supplement and imitate styles seen in fashion magazines, television and the internet”. Younger people are more fashionable and modernised than older people (Damhorst, 2008:5; Rosenberg, 2002:7).

Table 5.17 shows an association of group with responses to the statement “Braiding as a body supplement for males and females.” The purpose was to find out whether braiding was for males only, females only or both.

Table 5.16: Staff and students perceptions to whether “braiding is body supplement for males and females” (Q3 X Q 9.6.3.4)

Braiding as body supplement for males or females	Group			
	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Males only	0	0.00	3	1.30
Females only	110	83.33	215	93.48
Both males and females	22	16.67	12	5.22
Total	132	100	230	100

P = 0.0003

Table 5.17 shows that student respondents were proportionately (93.48%) more inclined than staff respondents (83.33%) to confirm “braiding as a body supplement for females only.” Based on the focus group discussions, it was shown that students engage technology and various forms of media to study hairstyles and fashion and therefore have a greater awareness than staff.

Figure 5.3 demonstrates different modern ways in which Basotho females add beauty to their bodies by using a variety of ways of hairstyling. For example, braiding, hair extension, styled dreads and wigs.

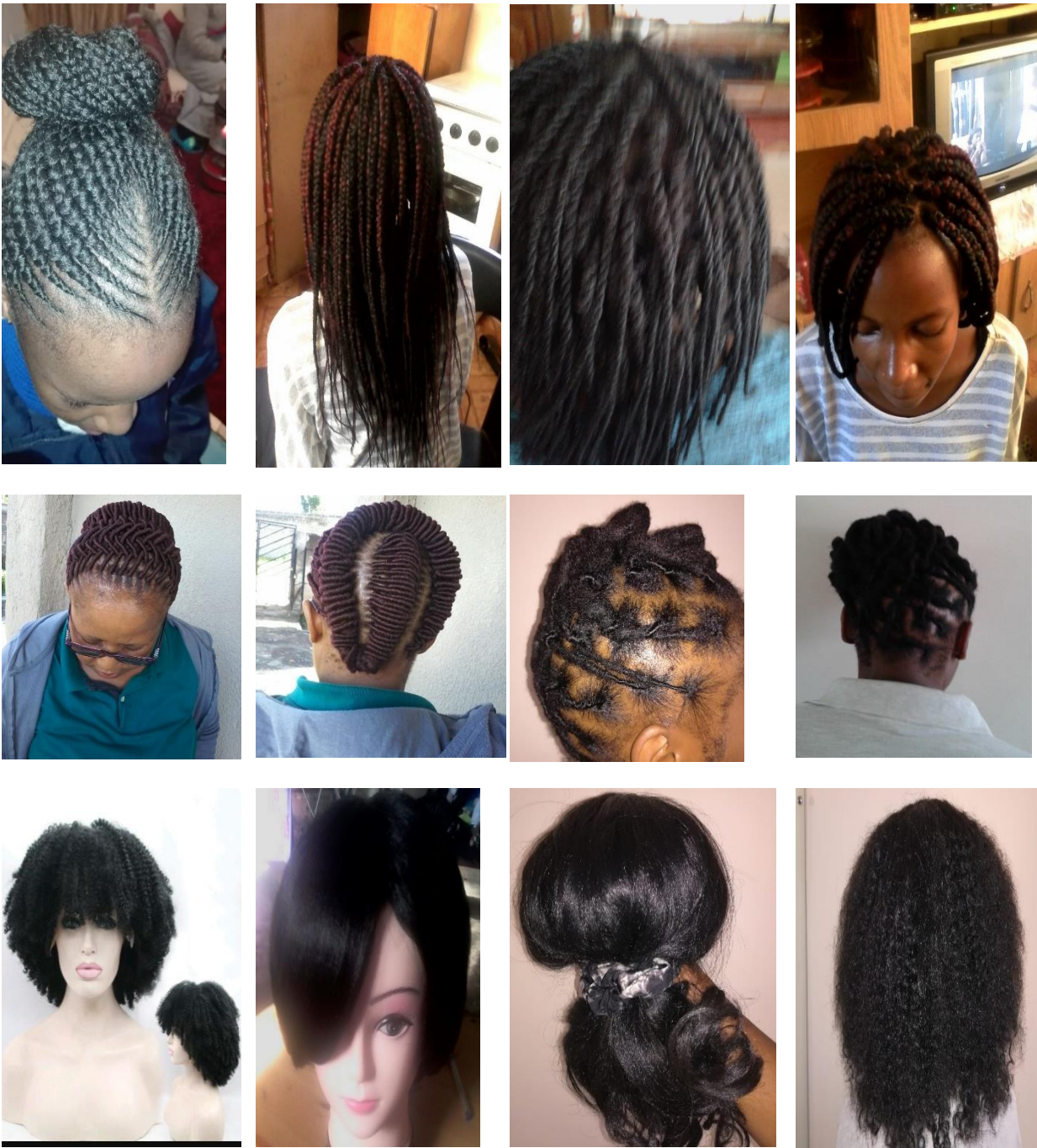


Figure 5.3: Different hairstyles as body supplements for aesthetic purposes (Photos by researcher)

Table 5.18 presents the responses to a follow-up to the open question on body supplements for males and females. The follow-up question was to provide what meaning the body supplement items in the table communicated and what they symbolised.

Table 5.17: Body supplements used to communicate meaning and what they symbolise

Body supplements	What they communicate	What is their meaning or symbolism	Staff		Students	
			N	%	N	%
<i>Letsoku</i> (red ochre)	-rite of passage, identity, skin protection and beauty. - if one is a <i>sangoma</i> or traditional doctor	-That one has completed or still attend initiation school (<i>litsoejane</i> or <i>makoloanyane</i>) and (<i>bale</i> or <i>bashemane</i>) -manhood or womanhood, male or female initiates. - 1 st pregnancy, used together with <i>selapa</i> , (<i>ho bipisa</i>) - <i>letsoku</i> used to add beauty to the body or used to protect the skin as a sunscreen.	67	59.28	88	57.90
Beads (<i>lifaha</i>)	Identity, clan, beauty, traditional doctor, spiritual healer	Engagement, love, connection with ancestral spirits	5	4.42	4	2.63
Make-up and nail painting	Communicates beauty or better looks	Sign of beauty	5	4.42	1	0.66
Beard or <i>matsoala</i>	beauty	Sign of growing up, teenager or old men	2	1.77	4	2.63
Rings	Rite of passage (status)	Symbol of being married or engaged or wealth	10	8.85	30	19.74
Braiding, dreads, hair extension	Beauty, fashion, modernisation	Stylish or fashionable	7	6.19	13	8.55
earrings	Beauty and status	Initiated, engaged or fashionable	0	0	6	3.95
Other (<i>phepa</i> , <i>pilo</i> , <i>khokhotsi</i>)	Rite of passage, e.g. Female initiates (<i>bale</i>)	Female initiates <i>bale</i> or <i>litsoejane</i>	17	15.04	6	3.95

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.18 indicates that many of staff (59.28%) and students (57.90%) perceive red ochre (*letsoku*) as communicating a rite of passage. Red ochre is used in several Basotho rites of passage. Culturally, make-up as a body supplement was from *phepa*, *letsoku*, *pilo* and *khokhotsi* to indicate a rite of passage.

Phepa (white clay lotion) was applied all over the body by young women during the first stage of initiation (*bale*). During this stage, the initiates are white because of the clay (Matobo *et al.*, 2009:106; Tyrell, 1968:91). Creams such as *pilo*, *sekama* and red ochre (*letsoku*) were often mixed with fat (*mafura*), usually kept in a small pot or container called *selibelo* (Mokorosi, 2017:48; Casalis, 1997:136; Ellenberger, 1997:276; Sekese, 1991:14; Sechefo, 1904:16). Make-up and nail painting are modern forms of rites of passage yet may not be apparent to many that they are a form of communication of rites of passage by young girls desiring to be noticed for dating. This perhaps explains very few responses of staff (4.42%) and students (0.66%).

Table 5.19 presents responses of staff and students to the question: "Briefly describe the use and meaning or symbolism of cultural items made from beads as indicated below." The cultural items were provided, and the respondents were expected to provide the use and meaning or symbolism. The responses about use are shown in the A columns and those for symbolism in the B columns. The data in the table provides the proportions of respondents according to different uses and the meanings or symbolism for each of the cultural items.

Table 5.18: Meaning of cultural items made from beads

Cultural bead items	A	B	Staff				Students			
			A		B		A		B	
Use	Symbolism	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Waist bead (<i>sefaha sa thekeng</i>)	Beauty	Decoration	9	9.68	43	61.43	2	2.02	5	6.25
	Protection	Growth	14	15.05	7	10.00	25	25.25	3	3.75
	Dress	Infant dress	38	40.86	7	10.00	48	48.48	51	63.75
	Monitoring	Weight gain	19	20.43	10	14.29	15	15.15	5	6.25
	No idea	No idea	2	2.15	0	0	6	6.06	0	0
Identity	Identity	11	11.83	3	4.29	3	3.03	16	20	
Necklace (<i>sefaha sa molala</i>)	Beauty	Decoration	43	53.75	25	43.86	28	33.73	29	43.94
	Protection	Protection	17	21.25	9	15.79	21	25.30	15	22.73
	Dress		11	13.75	0	0	6	7.23	0	0
	Monitoring	Weight gain	0	0	9	15.79	0	0	2	3.04
	No idea	No idea	6	7.50	1	1.75	15	18.07	0	0
	Identity	Identity	3	3.75	11	19.30	8	9.64	15	22.73
	Rite of passage	Proposed Status	0	0	2	3.51	1	1.20	1	1.52
Engagement		0	0	0	0	4	4.82	4	6.06	
<i>Moletsa</i>	Beauty	Decoration	5	20.83	3	13.64	3	13.64	6	37.50
	Protection	Protection	1	4.17	4	18.18	6	27.27	3	18.75
	Dress		1	4.17	0	0	4	18.18	0	0
	No idea	No idea	16	66.67	10	45.45	5	22.73	2	12.5
	Identity	Identity	1	4.17	5	22.73	4	18.18	5	31.25

Cultural bead items	A	B	Staff				Students			
			A		B		A		B	
	Use	Symbolism	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Sefaha sa letsoho</i> (bracelet)	Beauty	Fashionable	38	52.78	16	30.77	19	27.94	22	42.31
	Protection	Protection	11	15.28	10	19.23	20	29.41	9	17.31
	Dress		3	4.17	0	0	10	14.71	0	0
	Monitoring		0	0	0	0	2	2.94	0	0
	No idea	No idea	10	13.89	8	15.38	10	14.71	0	0
	Identity	Identity	10	13.89	17	32.69	4	5.88	16	30.77
	Rite of passage	proposed	0	0	1	1.92	3	4.41	5	9.62
<i>Sefaha sa leotong</i> (ankle bead)	Beauty	Decoration	26	42.62	11	22.45	16	25.81	13	27.08
	Protection	Security	9	14.75	8	16.33	16	25.81	7	14.58
	Dress	Dress	2	3.28	0	0	7	11.29	1	2.08
	Weight		0	0	0	0	2	3.23	0	0
	No idea	No idea	10	16.39	8	16.33	10	16.3	0	0
	Identity	Identity	14	22.95	22	44.90	8	12.90	24	50
	Rite of passage	Status	0	0	0	0	3	4.84	3	6.25
<i>Setipe</i>	Beauty	Decoration	4	6.78	1	1.75	9	21.43	8	26.67
	Protection	Security	17	28.81	13	22.81	7	16.67	0	0
	Dress	Mourning dress	19	32.20	3	5.26	11	26.19	0	0
	No idea	No idea Identity	8	13.56	7	12.28	3	7.14	1	3.33

Cultural bead items	A	B	Staff				Students			
			A		B		A		B	
	Use	Symbolism	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	Identity Rite of passage	Status	11 0	18.64 0	33 0	57.89 0	12 0	28.57 0	19 2	63.33 6.67
<i>Khoetsa</i>	Protection	Decoration	1	1.27	1	1.56	2	2.74	2	3.03
	Dress	Security	46	58.23	26	40.63	30	41.10	21	31.82
	No idea		13	16.46	0	0	17.	23.29	0	0
	Identity	No idea	8	10.13	6	9.38	5	6.85	1	1.52
	Rite of passage	Status/ identity	11	13.92	31	48.44	19	26.03	42	63.64
<i>thethana</i>	Beauty	Decoration	0	0	0	0	4	5.48	1	1.61
	Protection		2	2.60	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Dress	Age/ Gender	58	75.32	18	28.57	52	72.60	19	30.65
	No idea	No idea	7	9.09	5	7.94	8	10.96	0	0
	Identity	Purity	0	0	38	60.32	8	10.96	42	67.74
	Rite of passage	Status	10	12.99	2	3.17	0	0	0	0

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.19, many of the staff (61.43%) observed that waist beads (*sefaha sa thekeng*) symbolised decoration or adornment. Few of the staff (15.05%) and a quarter of the students (25.25%) noted that the waist beads were used for protection.

Many Basotho had a great fear that their children would not survive after birth due to witchcraft and evil spirits and every family had the responsibility to ensure its progeny was protected. Therefore, when infants or toddlers had been in contact with other people apart from their parents or walked through areas that were under a strong influence of evil powers or traditional medicines (Ho tlola mehlala), it was necessary that they wore an amulet or some medicine was applied on them, to prevent them from being adversely affected. Also, it was believed that people who were involved with evil spirits or witchcraft-related medicines (batho ba roetseng) caused a sunken fontanel (phuoana) and the infant was rubbed with medicated fat every time he/she was due to leave the family compound for protection. [Staff FGD]

Wearing of beads by infants was also believed to protect them against diseases and diarrhoea during teething. Furthermore, more than a third of the staff (40.86%) and less than a half of the students (48%) indicated that waist beads (*sefaha sa thekeng*) are used as dress attire for infants and toddlers.

Quthing Mosotho interviewee 11 indicated that,

The waist beads worn by the toddlers and infants are called khoso. It is made out of large grey beads derived from tree seeds. Its presence covered the nakedness of the infant. Khoso is used as a weight monitoring tool since as the body gains weight, it tightens.

Students (63.75%) showed that the waist beads symbolised the dress code for the infancy or toddler stage. Students (20.43%) indicated that waist beads were a symbol of an infant's growth monitoring by mothers. The student focus group discussion indicated that, "Nursing mothers detected an infant's weight gain or loss by regular examination of the *khoso*, hence the growth and health of the infant." Furthermore, students (20%) showed that *khoso* was used to identify that the toddler was still breastfeeding. It was also used to identify the clan.

The bead necklace (*sefaha sa molaleng*) according to the staff (53.75%) and students (33.73%), was used for beauty and decoration (43.86% staff and 43.94% students respectively). Both the staff (21.25%) and students (25.30%) expressed that the bead necklace was used for protection against evil spirits and diseases such as teething

problems. The staff (15.79%) and students (22.73%) indicated that the presence of the necklace symbolised that the infant was protected. The staff (19.30%) and students (22.73%) furthermore showed that the bead necklace symbolised identity. From the focus groups and interviews, it was revealed that the identity could be for initiates, a specific clan, a spiritual healer or church affiliation. Staff (20.83%) showed that *moletsa* bead was used for beauty similarly to students (37.50%). The students (27.27%) further indicated that *moletsa* was used for protection against evil spirits and childhood diseases. Two thirds of the staff respondents (66.67%) and a fifth of the students (22.73%) had no idea of the use of *moletsa* beads and also no idea of the meaning (45.45% and 12.5%) respectively. It was also shown that *moletsa* was a bead necklace worn by the Bataung clan of Moletsane. The bead necklace name, *moletsa* is derived from Moletsane. Segoete (2001:13-14) submitted that *moletsa* worn by the Basotho children was made from eggshells.

The staff (22.73%) and students (27.94%) indicated that the bead bracelet was used for beauty and (30.77%) staff and (42.31%) students said it symbolised being fashionable. Staff (15.28%) and (29.41%) students provided the use of a bracelet as for protection and for medicinal purposes and (19:23%) staff and (17.31%) student as symbolising security against evil forces. Staff (32.69%) and students (30.77%) indicated a bracelet was a form of identity for traditional and spiritual healers as well as clans.

Staff (42.62%) and students (25.81%) indicated that the ankle bead was used for beauty purposes. Furthermore, staff (44.90%) and students (44.90%) indicated that ankle beads were used for identity and indicated that the beads were an indicator of occupational status, for example, a spiritual healer or *sangoma*.

Khoso is the bead dress for the infants and is worn on the waist. The beads are made from tree seeds found in Natal. The large seeds are alternated with white beads of a smaller size. Khoso is used for protection against diseases and as weight monitoring tool. The Ndebele khoso beads worn by infants and toddlers were worn as a necklace, waist beads, hands and ankle beads. [Botha-Bothe Ndebele interviewees 1 and 3]

The Tsonga children soon after losing the incisors have a white bead attached to the hair above the forehead. It was believed that this would facilitate normal development of the rest of the teeth. Wearing numerous large white beads on the hair indicated possession or being set apart to be used by the spirits. Beads also carried symbolic messages associated with age, sex and status roles (Pokornowski, 1989:105-106; Morris & Levitas, 1987:s.a.). Trollip (1994:33-34) has shown how the Ndebele-Ndzundza has extensively incorporated beads in both the children and adult garments. Typical Ndebele-Ndzundza beaded garments include a *gashi* for children, *pepetu* for young maidens, the *jokolo* worn for important ceremonial occasions by married women and *mapoto* that indicated the marital status of women (Knight & Priebusch, 1977:43). The Basotho boys normally wore beads called *seope* before graduating to wear *ts'ea* (loincloth) (Mokorosi, 2017:33; Mats'ela, 1990:46-47).

Beads were also used to make adornments such as necklaces, bracelets and body beads for dancing (Casalis, 1997:151; Sechefo, 1904:17). Many of the staff (57.89%) and students (63.33%) who had indicated that *setipe* [a cloak-like dress that covers only the shoulders] was used as identity and symbolised status. For example, *setipe* was worn by kings and priests. Staff (32.20%) showed that *setipe* was used as a dress. Staff (58.23%) and students (41.10%) indicated that *khoetsa* was used as a dress. Staff (40.63%) and students (31.82%) showed that it symbolised identity.

To make khoetsa Basotho used beads, a skunk's claw, a leather lace and red ochre. A lace is made from an animal skin and is smeared with red ochre. A piece of a skunk's tail or its claw, sewn together with either white or grey beads are attached to a leather lace and some traditional medicine is applied. The infant wears the lace around his neck like a necklace. For some clans the infant wears khoetsa until they have stopped breastfeeding and then it will be safely kept to be passed on to the next child. For other clans khoetsa is worn until it wears off. Khoetsa was a family or clan identity. [Students FGD]

Staff FGD noted there were other materials for making *khoetsa*. “*Khoetsa* is made from cat's claw and tail in addition to a leather lace and beads. The Ndebele use white and red beads for *khoetsa*.”

We, Ndebele of Nhlapo believe that because our khoetsa is made of tortoise shell, our children will not have a problem of sunken fontanel (phuoana). If a child has this problem we know that he/she is not Ndebele. In the Ndebele culture, khoetsa is passed from one child to the other in the family. [Botha-Bothe Interviewees 5 and 6]

Mokorosi (2017:47) proposed that during the practice of *koroso*, when the young mother being sent off back to her in-laws after delivery, she is adorned with the family's *khoetsa* around her neck. The young mother passed the *khoetsa* to the first child and the rest of the children that she would have. *Khoetsa* worn by a pregnant woman symbolised the first pregnancy. Members of staff (48.44%) and students (63.64%) that showed that *khoetsa* was used as a rite of passage, it symbolised the identity of a clan, pregnancy and infancy status. An infant wore *khoetsa* as protection against vulnerability to evil attacks.

Most of the staff (75.32%) and students (72.60%) showed that *thethana* was a dress for young girls. Furthermore, staff (60.32%) and students (67.74%) agreed that *thethana* was used to indicate the identity of purity of young toddlers and young girls.

Thethana for young girls is a symbol that the girl is still a virgin, hence she is referred to as moroetsana⁷, o ntse a roetse. This was one of the important cultural values of the Basotho, and after the initiation school, moroetsana graduates into a woman and is ready for marriage. Wearing of thethana by young girls attracted humiliation and embarrassment from men who made unacceptable remarks. Young girls wore thethana that left their buttocks uncovered. The original thethana was made from woven fibres of a plant called tsikitlane. Thethana made entirely of beads was called seqheleqhele. The beads were also used to make the waist part ('meno) and the rest being woven fibres. Females wore thethana in its different forms from childhood to adulthood. Women continued to wear thethana under setea as a form of a petticoat. [Staff FGD]

Figure 5.4 presents different versions of *thethana*.

⁷ Virgin or one not defiled by men



Figure 5.4: Thethana with a beaded waist (right) (Source: Gregory Allicar Museum of Art, 2013:s.a.), Unbeaded thethana (right) (Source: Morija Museum and Archives, n.d.)

Table 5.20 shows an association of respondents by age with responses to the statement “symbolism of *sefaha sa thekeng* (*tankare/ likhoso*) for toddlers and infants as a cultural item made from beads.” The respondents were expected to describe or provide meaning or symbolism of the cultural item made from beads, and the response has been cross-tabulated with the age variable.

Table 5.19: Meaning or symbolism provided by the younger and older respondents’ of “symbolism of *sefaha sa thekeng* (*tankare/ likhoso*) for toddlers and infants as a cultural item made from beads” (Q2 X Q 9.8.1B)

Symbolism of <i>sefaha sa thekeng</i> (<i>tankare/ likhoso</i>) for toddlers and infants as a cultural item made from beads	Age			
	18 – 35 Years		36 – 65 Years	
	N	%	N	%
Decoration/ beauty	5	5.88	0	0.00
Protection	55	64.71	39	60.00
Dress	2	2.35	4	6.15
Growth monitoring or weight gain	5	5.88	7	10.77
Not sure	1	1.18	9	13.85
Identity	17	20.00	6	9.23
Total	85	100	65	100

P = 0.0014

Table 5.20 shows that the younger respondents were proportionately (64.71%) more inclined than older respondents (60.00%) to confirm that “*sefaha sa thekeng*

(*tankare/likhoso*) for toddlers and infants as a cultural item made from beads”, symbolised protection. The Ndebele children wore a single strand of white beads around their waist before they were ready to wear dress items that cover their private parts (Morris & Levitas, 1987:s.a.). Pokornowski (1989:114) indicated that waist beads were commonly worn by Yoruba children. Girls wore only waist beads until puberty, where they would be presented with a garment to be worn together with the beads. Dubin (2006:19) indicate that some psychiatrists associate bead adornment to feelings of security connected with the eye and sight. The interviews and focus groups indicated that the waist beads symbolised protection from evil spirits as a cultural belief.

Table 5.21 shows an association of group with responses to the statement “meaning or symbolism of cultural items modified with beads, e.g. *setipe* or *setipana le tuku*.” The respondents were expected to describe meaning or symbolism of cultural item made from beads.

Table 5.20: Staff and students perceptions of “meaning or symbolism of cultural items modified with beads e.g. *setipe* or *setipana le tuku*” (Q3 × Q 9.8.6B)

Meaning or symbolism of cultural items modified with beads e.g. <i>setipe</i> or <i>setipana le tuku</i>	Group			
	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Beauty /decoration	1	1.75	8	26.67
Protection	13	22.81	0	0.00
Dress	3	5.26	0	0.00
Not sure	7	12.28	1	3.33
Identity	33	57.89	19	63.33
Rite of passage	0	0.00	2	6.67
Total	57	100	30	100

P < 0.0001

Table 5.21 shows that student respondents were proportionately (63.33%) more inclined than staff respondents (57.89%) to confirm that “cultural items modified with beads, e.g.

setipe or *setipana le tuku*” mean or symbolise identity. Beads are important in the African culture as they communicate social and religious information about the people. The use included for jewellery, clothing or hairstyling, as symbols or signifiers of social status and power as well as for ritualistic and spiritual aspects of life (Handler, 2009:5; Dubin, 2006:17-18). From the interviews and the focus group discussions, it was observed that *setipe* with beads was worn by, for example, the chiefs and traditional healers or the sangomas. It served to distinguish identity from other people. Morris and Levitas (1987:s.a.) observed that in southern Africa, beads formed a typical dress for diviners, witchdoctors and herbalists.

Table 5.22 shows an association of group with responses to the statement “use of cultural items made from beads, e.g. bracelet (*sefaha sa letsoho*).” The respondents were expected to describe or provide uses of the cultural item made from beads.

Table 5.21: Staff and student perceptions of “use of cultural items made from beads e.g. bracelet (*sefaha sa letsoho*)” (Q3 × Q 9.8.4A)

Use of cultural items made from beads, e.g. bracelet (<i>sefaha sa letsoho</i>)	Group			
	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Beauty or decoration	38	52.78	19	27.94
Protection	11	15.28	20	29.41
Dress	3	4.17	10	14.71
Weight gain / loss	0	0.00	2	2.94
No idea	10	13.89	10	14.71
Identity	10	13.89	4	5.88
Rite of passage	0	0.00	3	4.41
Total	72	100	68	100

P = 0.0011

Table 5.22 shows that staff respondents were proportionately (52.78%) more inclined than students respondents (27.94%) to confirm that “cultural items made from beads, e.g. bracelet (*Sefaha sa letsoho*)” were used for beauty or decoration purposes. In East Africa, a beautiful Maasai woman will be courted with beads, and the accumulation of beads on

her body in itself will enhance her beauty (Handler, 2009:5). The interviews indicated that the bracelet beads were a common adornment for beauty by women.

Table 5.23 presents responses to the question: “In your opinion, which Basotho dress items best communicate the following rites of passage?” The purpose was to determine the opinions of the staff and students on selected cultural dress practices and rites of passage.

Table 5.22: Basotho cultural dress practices and what they communicate

Variable	What it communicates	Staff						Students					
		Yes		No		Uncertain		Yes		No		Uncertain	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mourning attire (<i>thapo</i>)	Death	127	95.49	0	0.00	6	4.51	221	96.09	4	1.74	5	2.17
Selapa	First Pregnancy	116	87.22	0	0.00	17	12.78	214	92.24	7	3.02	11	4.74
Leqapha	Rite of passage from boy to manhood	118	88.72	5	3.76	10	7.52	212	90.99	10	4.29	11	4.72
Mokhahla	Rite of passage from boy to manhood	119	89.47	5	3.76	9	6.77	222	95.69	2	0.86	8	3.45

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.23 almost all of the staff (95.49%) and students (96.09%) showed that mourning attire (*thapo*) which communicated the loss of someone close, e.g. a family member, is a common Basotho cultural dress practice.

Depending on the closeness of the relationship, the dress practice varies. If a woman loses a husband, there is an entirely black dress or some other agreed colour, including the head cloth (tuku). Otherwise, a black band is worn around the neck or shoulder, or a small piece is secured on the sleeve with a safety pin. The practice of mourning dress (thapo) for married women is that, it is an indication of a period of grief or mourning (bofifi) and also regarded as a period when the woman is unclean (o na le sesila). There is a difference in duration for thapo between a wife or a mother and members of the family. Recent developments are that there is also some consideration whether the woman is employed or not. The period can vary from one month to a year. At the end of the mourning period, there is a ceremony to remove

the mourning dress (ho hlobola thapo), and cleansing is undertaken. The length of the period may be determined by time of death during the year since thapo must be removed in winter. It is removed at this time of the year based on a belief that if it is done at other times, early frost (lebabo) will occur or hail and lightening will be induced, and there will not be any harvest. During the mourning period, a woman is prohibited from having sex as it is believed that she will transmit diseases (e.g. mahae). Wearing of thapo for one year was based on the belief that by that time, all the husband's fluids (maro le mofufutso) which are believed to be in the woman have disappeared and his bile has decomposed (nyooko e bolile). [Staff and Students FGD]

The Thembu women mourning dress is different from that of Basotho. This observation was made by Quthing Thembu Interviewee 7, "The mourning dress comprises of isikhakha, incebeta, ibhayi and a black head cloth. The woman is supposed to mourn for one full year, but because of modernization there is flexibility in shortening the time."

The practice of mourning dress is not only important among the Basotho but other cultures in Southern Africa as well (Mokorosi, 2017; Maposa, 2012; Bereng, 1987). Both staff (87.22%) and students (92.24%) noted that *selapa*, which is a sleeveless flannel shirt (usually pink) worn by married women communicated her first pregnancy.

During pregnancy, when the woman is wearing selapa, the practice is called ho bipisa⁸. During this time, women also used red ochre (letsoku) and khokhotsi as body and facial creams. Selapa is worn by a woman who is expecting her firstborn, and the belief is for the protection of mother and child against evil attacks. The selapa that was worn by the mother is used to wrap the infant after birth. The bride (makoti) wore selapa from the eighth month until she is sent to her home, where she will give birth to her firstborn. She uses red ochre mixed with traditional medicines on herself and the infant for protection against evil and witchcraft. The interview respondents indicated that the practice of ho bipisa differs according to clans. With the Bahlakoana a big, sleeveless flannel shirt (selapa) which is either pink, red or striped is made for her. Selapa is open on the sides and is also called

⁸ Synonymous with incubation

loriki in the Quthing district (it serves as a maternity dress). It is not worn on top of other clothes, but directly to the body. She also wears a Seshoeshoe skirt until she delivers the baby. In addition to being used as the baby's blanket, selapa or loriki is used as a nappy once the baby is delivered. It is believed to have healing powers to protect the child. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees 1 and 2]

With the Thembu, when a woman is pregnant with her first born, at three months she wore a bead necklace (intsimbi) until the time of delivery. This cultural practice has changed such that some wear the necklace when they are six months pregnant and some no longer practise it. [Quthing Thembu Interviewee 7]

This practice symbolised first pregnancy like selapa among the Basotho.

The majority of staff (88.72%) and student respondents (90.99%) indicated that the wearing of *leqapha* by young men communicated a passage from boyhood to manhood. *Mokhahla*, which was a tanned cow skin blanket, has now been replaced by the modern Basotho blanket as shown by staff (89.47%) and students (95.69%). *Mokhahla* communicated transition from boyhood to manhood, and it was given to boys when they went to and graduated from the initiation school. At the pass-out ceremony, the male initiates wear Basotho blankets smeared with red ochre. Karstel (1995:205) and Khau (2012:101) have shown that Basotho blankets bearing different names are symbolic, and each blanket communicated a unique message.

Table 5.24 presents the respondents' evaluation of statements for Basotho dress practices that should be practised or not, on a five-point likert scale.

Table 5.23: Preservation of certain aspects of Basotho cultural dress practices

There should be	Staff					Students				
	strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree	uncertain	strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
dress symbolism to rite of passage	18.18	13.64	31.06	28,03	9.09	17.75	12.55	37.66	24.68	7.36
special clothing for rites of passage	17.29	12.78	36.84	20,30	12.78	11.11	16.89	34.22	24.89	12.89
mourning dress period	25.56	18.80	23.31	26,32	6.02	22.61	14.78	28.70	29.57	4.35
A rite of passage mark performed	16.67	16.67	22.73	28,03	15.91	17.47	17.47	28.38	20.52	16.16
restrictions with dress choices for rites of passage	29.32	27.07	20.30	12,78	10.53	29.74	19.83	21.55	22.41	6.47
dress preferences for traditional and modern women	14.50	12.21	30.53	32,06	10.69	10.87	12.61	37.83	32.17	6.52
customs to prescribe female dress style	28.79	16.67	22.73	18,94	12.88	25.00	15.35	25.00	27.63	7.02
customs to prescribe female dress type and colour	35.61	21.21	17.42	17,42	8.33	29.13	16.09	26.09	20.43	8.26

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

It is of significance to note from Table 5.24 that for all the variables except “there should be restriction with the dress choices for women during rites of passage e.g. during death, menstruation, age, status, child birth”, “there should be customs to prescribe female dress style to be worn” and “there should be customs to prescribe female dress materials, types, colour or ornaments” staff in the range (49.63% - 59.09%) agreed and strongly agreed that the practices should be maintained. On the other hand, students in the range (43.96% - 62.34%) agreed and strongly agreed to maintain all the dress practices. The results indicated that the perceptions of both the staff and students on average felt that the practices should be maintained because of the value attached to them. There are specific cultural dress practices that a good number of Basotho still observe, for example, the gift of *Seshoeshoe* dress, *tuku*⁹ and a blanket for a newlywed woman. Staff in the range (45.46% - 56.82%) strongly disagreed and disagreed that there should be the “restrictions with regards to dress choices for women during rites of passage”, “customs to prescribe female dress style” and “customs to prescribe female dress type and colour” while the range for the students is (40.35% - 49.57%). As people are now modernised, the respondents feel that women should not be restricted by culture on what they should wear. From the interviews, it was found that for the Thembu and the Ndebele, the head cloth was not to be removed from the time of induction of the bride as a sign of respect to the in-laws. The Thembu and Ndebele women were expected to cover their heads at all times without any exception. Ross (2008:171) underscored that in many cultures, men kept women to certain cultural dress practices in order to strengthen their control over them.

An additional rite of passage which is no longer practised but was followed through the interviews was the dress practice associated with girls’ first menstrual period.

When a Mosotho girl started her first menstrual period (ho qala ho hlatsoa/ ho otlametsi), a respectable lady in the community was called to perform a rite of rubbing her with red ochre (ho tlotsoa ka letsoku). The choice of the person to do this ritual was such that the person would pass her good behaviour to the young woman. The young girl wore a long thethana (mafitoane) or a short skirt, and she was

⁹ Head cloth or head cloth

accompanied to a well by ululating women indicating that she has entered the stage of womanhood. She carried a small new clay calabash, and when they got to the well, she filled the calabash with water and the women accompanying her poured water into her calabash so that it spilt all over her body. They continued doing this on their way back home. The water poured on her is for cleansing. It symbolised that she had reached puberty and a stage of self-respect, which meant a change of behaviour. From henceforth she should be careful what games she played with boys. At this stage, she was regarded unclean and should not do any house chores. She sat on a particular spot in the house covered with kraal manure until she had finished her menstrual period. [Staff FGD]

In the Thembu culture when a girl began to menstruate, a thread was woven from a cow's tail hair (ubulunga), it was smeared with cow-dung, and a necklace was made for the young girl. She was then instructed about the stage of her growth. She wore isikhakha for girls and ibhayi on the shoulders. The girl was kept indoors until she had completed the menstrual cycle. [Quthing Thembu Interviewee 1]

In the Ndebele culture, the young girl at first menstruation performed the rite of ho tlola lesaka (jumping over the kraal) wearing short gathered skirt. Thereafter a soot mixture was prepared for her to drink and she was counselled concerning her new status of entering womanhood. [Botha-Bothe Interviewee 5]

Morris and Levitas (1987:s.a.) proposed that in some cultures for purposes of purification, a girl wore a goat's gall bladder on her hair.

Concerning initiation as a rite of passage, a Mosotho woman initiate, began the practice as ngoale (entrance stage). Ngoale covers her face with a veil made from grass to protect her identity during training. From this stage, she proceeded to a tsoajane (pass-out stage). Once she had graduated, she wore mose oa khomo (setea¹⁰) over thethana ea mafitoana (loin skirt) and this made her distinct from those who had not been to initiation school. She styled her hair to form lenyetse¹¹ to which a black cream (sekama) was applied. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees]

¹⁰ Setea and mose oa khomo refer to Basotho women's traditional dress made from cow skin.

¹¹ The head is shaved all round except the top part that remains with a circular patch of hair.

When young Basotho men went for initiation, they wore mokhahla¹² and wore ts'ea (loin cloth) made from tanned animal skin. However, in recent times, they wear the modern Basotho blanket and leqapha or pants. For graduation or pass-out, they are expected to wear a new set of clothes that include the blanket and gumboots. They apply letsoku over the whole body, the blanket and to the hair. Each initiate has either a knob-kerrie or two, and his head is shaved roughly with a scissor. He is called lekoloanyane (male initiation graduate). Each initiate wields a knob-kerrie as he recites his "initiation praises" for his reception at home. After initiation, he is regarded as having transitioned to manhood, and the red-ochered blanket is washed, and he is ready to marry or seek employment. [Staff FGD]

The graduation or pass-out from the male initiation school is known as *ho chesa mophato* (to burn the initiate college). The compound that was used for training the initiates together with the clothes that they wore before graduation were burned (Tyrrell, 1968).

The Thembu novice initiate covers his body with a white stuff called inceke. The white substance is a symbol of a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. He wears a white blanket (ingcawe). At the time for graduation or pass-out, the initiate (ikrwala) applies red ochre (imbhola) all over his body and blanket (mphoso¹³) such that he is red. The red ochre is mixed with fat (amafutha we mpehlo). It helps to soften and lighten the skin which gets burned under inceke and is also a symbol of entrance into a stage of manhood. On his head, the initiate wears a red headband called ingcathu. He also wears two sets of beads, one around the head and the other across. Initiates also wear a bead necklace with different colours called amaso. They wear bangles around the wrists (mesomi, lirekere). The necklace (amaso) serves as a symbol that identifies the new status of manhood. [Quthing Thembu Interviewee 3 and 6]

Unlike Basotho, the Thembu only practice initiation for the boys. The Ndebele in Lesotho indicated that according to their culture they practised only female initiation.

Initiates who are much older wear mkhizo that covers the front part (apron like) decorated with safety pins. It is worn on top of indilile which is a three-layered

¹² Blanket made from cow skin

¹³ Thembu initiate blanket

gathered skirt made from ibhayi material (lepae). They wore a band of beads with different colours on the head and colourful beads on the arms. When they have completed their initiation (ba gongcile) they are called izintombi. Young initiates wear indilile that extends halfway on the thighs with breasts exposed. For the males, the Ndebele have currently adopted the practice of initiation as Basotho do it due to intermarriage. [Botha-Bothe Interviewees 9 and 10]

Table 5.25 shows an association of respondents by gender with responses to the statement “There should be customs to prescribe female dress materials, types, colours or ornaments.” The respondents expressed different levels of agreement and disagreement.

Table 5.24: Male and female opinions on whether “There should be customs to prescribe female dress materials, types, colours or ornaments” (Q1 X 10.4.8)

There should be customs to prescribe female dress materials, types, colours or ornaments	Gender			
	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly disagree	18	18.56	96	36.23
Disagree	14	14.43	51	19.25
Uncertain	10	10.31	20	7.55
Agree	28	28.87	55	20.75
Strongly agree	27	27.84	43	16.23
Total	97	100	265	100

P= 0.0001

When agree and strongly agree are combined, the results in Table 5.25 show that the male respondents were proportionately (56.71%) more inclined than female respondents (36.98%) to agree with the statement that, “there should be customs to prescribe female dress materials, types, colours or ornaments”. From the interviews and focus group discussions, it was observed that the enforcement of Basotho cultural dress practices was more in favour of males than females because of the patriarchal nature of the society.

This means that there are restrictions and a greater burden related to cultural dress practices for females than there is for males. However, because of modernisation females have begun to voice their dissatisfaction on cultural dress practices that undermine their human rights. Khau (2012) presented her position on how she had felt that some of the Basotho dress cultural dress practices were oppressive to women.

Figure 5.5 presents responses of respondents on the understanding or knowledge of the meaning or symbolism of the covering of the belly with a towel or cloth by pregnant women.

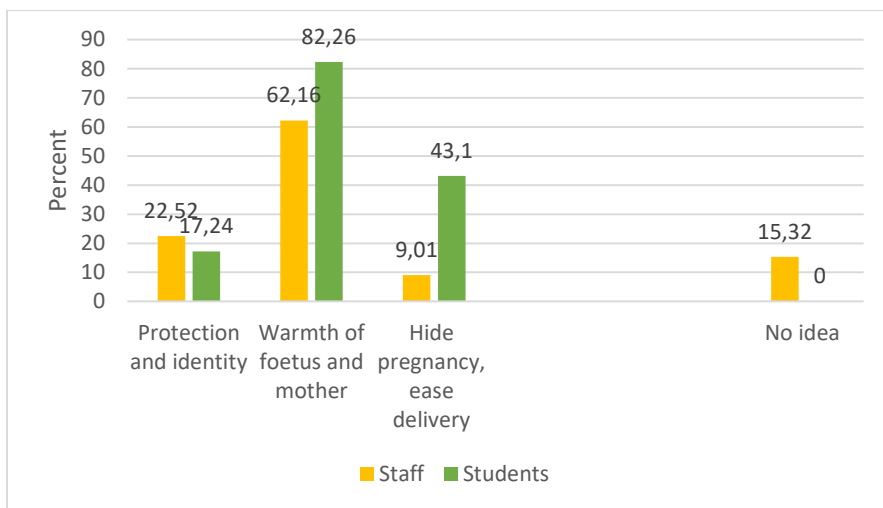


Figure 5.5: Meaning or symbolism for covering of a belly by pregnant women (Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233)

Figure 5.5 shows that many of the staff (62.16%) and majority of the students (82.26%) indicated that pregnant women covered the belly with a towel or cloth in order to keep the foetus and the mother warm. This was the advice given to pregnant women because of the belief that due to the climate of Lesotho, the pregnant woman would shiver and have complications during delivery. The practice was also done to hide the pregnancy from evil forces and secure delivery (9.01%, 43.10% staff and students respectively).

Hiding of pregnancy was done to protect the unborn baby from witchcraft attacks. Witches were not supposed to know the duration of the pregnancy. It was also regarded as a form of respect. The towel or cloth was also used to support the woman's waist and for purposes of dignity and respect for everybody and oneself. The practice was to ensure that the expecting mother would not encounter any complications during delivery. [Student FGD]

Traditionally the bride wore a blanket and wrapped a shawl around her hips in order to keep warm until a child was born (Karstel, 1993:187; Sekese, 1983:68). Use of a towel is a current replacement of a blanket or shawl, particularly for working mothers and students. Prevailing circumstances dictate the meaning for dress practices (Kaiser, 1990; 1993; Derizin 1992).

Table 5.26 shows an association of respondents by age with responses to the statement “meaning or symbolism behind covering of the belly with a towel or a cloth by pregnant women.” The respondents were expected to describe or provide meaning or symbolism of the covering of the belly practice by pregnant women.

Table 5.25: Younger and older respondents' perceptions of “meaning or symbolism behind covering of the belly with a towel or a cloth by pregnant women” (Q2 X Q10.5)

Meaning or symbolism behind the covering of the belly with a towel or a cloth by pregnant women	Age			
	18 – 35 Years		36 – 65 Years	
	N	%	N	%
Protection	19	15.57	20	19.05
Warmth for foetus and mother	43	35.25	46	43.81
For health of foetus	5	4.10	0	0.00
Respect	4	3.28	4	3.81
To hide the pregnancy from witchcraft	28	22.95	9	8.57
Easy delivery	6	4.92	0	0.00
Identity (clan or pregnancy)	4	3.28	2	1.90
Support waist	0	0.00	1	0.95

Meaning or symbolism behind the covering of the belly with a towel or a cloth by pregnant women	Age			
	18 – 35 Years		36 – 65 Years	
	N	%	N	%
People not to know the duration of pregnancy	3	2.46	1	0.95
Any other	10	8.20	5	4.76
No idea	0	0.00	17	16.19
Total	122	100	105	100

P < 0.0001

The results in Table 5.26 indicate that the older respondents were proportionately (43.81%) more inclined than, the younger respondents (35.25%) to confirm that “covering of the belly with a towel or a cloth by pregnant women” meant or symbolised warmth for foetus and mother (Karstel, 1993). The focus group discussions revealed that the practice was mostly imposed by the elderly without appropriate clarification and was associated with superstitious beliefs that either the unborn baby or the mother would encounter a misfortune if the rite was not performed.

Table 5.27 presents responses of the staff and students to the question “What was the meaning or symbolism for dress items that were used as exchange gifts for different cultural/ social activities e.g. courtship/ marriage etc. in the past? Briefly explain the meaning or symbolism involved.”

Table 5.26: Meaning or symbolism of dress items used as exchange gifts in the past

Social Activity	Cultural Dress Items	Meaning / Symbolism	Staff		Students	
			N	%	N	%
Courtship (<i>lefereho</i>)	Necklace or handkerchief	symbol or sign of love, agreement, acceptance or proposal, gift, engagement, token, negotiations, covenant, token, appreciation, acknowledgement	99	91.67	111	93.28
		No idea	9	8.33	8	6.72
Marriage proposal (<i>ha ho koptjoa mohope oa metsi</i>)	animal fat smeared on the forehead (<i>mafura</i>)	symbol of acceptance, marriage, proposal by family, an engagement, agreement, appreciation, approval, welcome	95	87.16	99	94.29
		no idea	14	12.84	6	5.71
Marriage (ho phahlela)	Seshoeshoe, Basotho blanket etc.	symbol of welcome, send-off gifts, acceptance, new start, rite of passage, dowry paid (bohali), womanhood, support	87	87.88	97	95.10

Social Activity	Cultural Dress Items	Meaning / Symbolism	Staff		Students	
			N	%	N	%
		no idea	12	12.12	5	4.90
Initiation graduation	new blanket, red ochre (letsoku)	symbol of appreciation, rite of passage (manhood) bravery, overcomer, hardship, hero, ready to marry, cleansing, protection, new beginning, welcome gift	84	85.71	89	93.68
		no idea	14	14.29	6	6.32

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.27 the majority of staff (91.67%) and students (93.28%) indicated that the meaning or symbolism of exchanging gifts such as a necklace or handkerchief was love or acceptance of a proposal to be a suitor's girlfriend (*ho amohela lefereho la mohlankana*). The majority of staff (87.88%) and almost all the students (95.10%) showed that gifts of *Seshoeshoe* dress, Basotho blanket or shawl to the bride by the in-laws was a symbol of acceptance. Staff (85.71%) and students (93.68%) observed that for males' initiation, a graduation gift of a new blanket which was smeared with red ochre was a symbol of a passage of rite from youth to manhood. Other exchange gifts included head cover for women. Mokorosi (2017), Khau (2012) and Karstel (1995) have emphasised the importance of the blanket for different cultural rituals among the Basotho. Marriage and initiation are among important Basotho cultural practices for the rites of passage.

Table 5.28 shows responses of staff and students to the following question “What is the meaning/ symbolism of dress items that could currently be exchanged as gifts for social activities? (e.g. for courtship, childbirth, etc.).”

Table 5.27: Meaning or symbolism of dress items used as exchange gifts as current practices

Social Activity	Cultural Dress Items	Meaning / Symbolism	Staff		Students	
			N	%	N	%
Courtship (<i>lefereho</i>)	Necklace, earrings, watches, bracelet perfume, make-up kit, clothing	symbol or sign of love, agreement, commitment to relationship, acceptance of a proposal for friendship, rite of passage	98	98.99	98	100
		No idea	1	1.01		
Marriage proposal (<i>ha ho koptjoa mohope oa metsi</i>)	Engagement ring	support for new bride, appreciation, welcome, dowry (bohali), rite of passage- womanhood (makoti)	98	98.99	111	100
		No idea	1	1.01	0	0

Social Activity	Cultural Dress Items	Meaning / Symbolism	Staff		Students	
			N	%	N	%
Marriage	<i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress, blanket, shawl	symbol of welcome, acceptance, new start, rite of passage, dowry paid (<i>bohali</i>), womanhood, support	82	94.25	83	94.38
		no idea	12	5.75	5	5.62
Initiation graduation	New blanket, red ochre (<i>letsoku</i>). White gumboots	symbol of rite of passage, manhood, ready to marry, cleansing, approval proof of maturity, appreciation, initiation, welcome gifts	76	91.56	83	90.21
		no idea	7	8.43	9	9.78
Child birth	Baby shower clothing	symbol of love, support, appreciation, friendship, congratulations,	84	94.38	75	79.79
		No idea	5	5.62	19	20.21
Other	Baby shower	Performed as adopted foreign practice	2	100	5	100

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.28 shows that the majority to almost all of the staff (90-99%) and the majority to all students (90-100%) observed the gift of necklaces, watches and earrings by Basotho males to females as a way of communicating courtship. In the same manner, gifts of jewellery and perfume or clothing items by a man to a woman communicated a proposal for marriage or engagement. Furthermore, the majority of the staff (94.25%) and the students (93.23%) showed that gifts of *Seshoeshoe* dress, Basotho blanket and shawl, communicated a warm welcome to the bride by the groom's family. The interviewees indicated that *Seshoeshoe*, headscarf (*tuku*) and *seanamarena* blanket worn together symbolised womanhood and acceptance of the bride. The headscarf was a symbol for respect and would not be removed in the presence of the in-laws, especially father in-law. In addition, the table shows that the majority to all of staff (94-100%) and the students (79-100%) understood clothing gifts given to a mother expecting her firstborn by her female friends to communicate appreciation of her motherhood. The celebration is called a baby shower and is an adopted foreign practice.

5.5 SECTION D

5.5.1 The value of cultural dress practices for identity

The research question addressed in this section was:

“Are cultural dress practices valued as part of identity in everyday life?”

Students and staff were asked to express their opinions concerning the extent to which Basotho valued their cultural dress practices. These opinions are reflected in Figure 5.6.

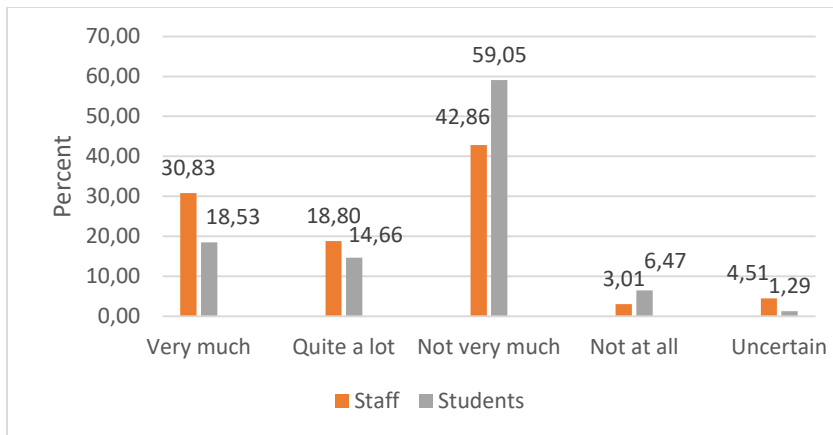


Figure 5.6: The value of cultural dress practices (staff N = 133 and students N = 233)

In Figure 5.6, staff (42.86%) and students (59.05%) indicated that Basotho did not value their cultural dress practices very much. On the question, do the youth show interest in cultural dress practices? Quthing Thembu interviewees indicated that;

Because of modernisation, cultural dress practices are regarded as belonging to the elderly people. There has been great erosion of culture and hence respect. Some young people still support it but most don't. The youth have left the cultural attachment and observation with the elderly. It is only when there are difficulties and problems in their lives that they come to the adults and enquire if there are some cultural rites that they need to perform to make things work better in their lives. Because they have chosen not to take part in family cultural practices. They will be in serious trouble when we are dead and they have no one to ask about some of the things they should have known. They say that they live in the time of 50:50. There are changes and people talk about their rights. It is democracy and they should be allowed to do what they feel is good for them. Most families no longer observe these practices, and according to the youth, those who still do are outdated. We feel good when they come back to us to seek for guidance when they have difficulties in life. [Quthing Thembu Interviewees 1, 3 and 5]

The elderly still have interest and continue their cultural practices while the young people do not. The youth no longer obey their parents. They don't listen to us. There is no solution to this problem because of their rights. We do not want our children to report that we abuse them. Our children don't care, they just expose their bodies, e.g. miniskirts etc. We try to talk to our grandchildren but their parents tell us to leave their children alone. It is scary nowadays to

advise our grandchildren because even their parents don't listen to us old people. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees 8, 9 and 11]

We are now modernised too much because of education and Christianity. Cultural dress is seen only on cultural days celebrated by school children. Cultural dress practices are not a daily activity. There has been cultural loss due to modernisation. Chiefs now wear suits or western clothes not animal skins any more. Most of the cultural dress practices have disappeared, but as the elders we still encourage the young people to practice them. For example, the young people still participate in Ndebele cultural dance of ndlamu. They do it on their own without the encouragement of the elderly but as a result of outside influence which is general on culture reclamation, such as practised by the Ministry of Education concerning school cultural celebrations. [Botha-Bothe Interviewees 1 and 2]

The Basotho youth have indicated that they were not interested in wearing cultural dress such as *seanamarena* and *mokorotlo* for cultural activities (Rosenberg, 2002:7). The findings from the study indicated that indeed the young people were moving away from traditional dress practices. On the other hand, the combined percentages of staff who indicated that Basotho valued cultural dress practices “very much” and “quite a lot” was 49.63% and 33.11% staff and students respectively. There was still some appreciation of the cultural dress practices by staff compared to students on how Basotho valued their cultural dress practices.

Table 5.29 presents an indication of responses of staff and students with either yes, no, or uncertain options to the question “In your opinion, which Basotho dress items best communicate the following?” A list of dress items and what they communicated was provided, and respondents picked their options.

Table 5.28: Basotho Cultural dress practices that communicate identity

Basotho dress items	What it communicates	Staff						Students					
		Yes		No		Uncertain		Yes		No		Uncertain	
Basotho hat	National Identity	132	99.25	0	0.00	1	0.75	226	97.41	3	1.29	3	1.29
Basotho blanket	National Identity	129	96.99	1	0.75	3	2.26	229	98.28	1	0.43	3	1.29
Seshoeshoe dress	National Identity	127	95.49	3	2.26	3	2.26	229	98.28	2	0.86	2	0.86
<i>Isik'hak'ha</i>	Group Identity	106	80.30	2	1.52	24	18.18	173	76.89	14	6.22	38	16.89

Staff n =133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.29 indicates that the Basotho hat, blanket and *Seshoeshoe* dress were regarded to communicate national identity by almost of both staff (99.25%, 96.99% and 95.49% respectively) and students (97.41%, 98.28% and 98.28% respectively). For the Basotho women, *Seshoeshoe* dress, *seanamarena* blanket and a head cloth formed a typical national identity while for the men it was the Basotho hat and *seanamarena* (Mokorosi, 2017; Khau, 2012; Tyrell, 1968). The three dress items were the primary identity for Basotho people, as shown by the respondents. Also, the majority of the staff (80.30%) and most of the students (76.89%) suggested that the Thembu women as a minority group in Lesotho differentiated themselves from Basotho women by *isikhakha* dress outfit. The Thembu interviewees observed that, “During the induction, the bride wears *Isikhakha* made from a black ibhayi or ubhaco.”

Table 5.30 presents *Famo* group names provided by staff and students for cultural dress items listed in the table that have the potential for causing conflicts.

Table 5.29: Famo group for cultural dress practices associated with conflict

Cultural dress item	Group name	Staff		Students	
		N	%	N	%
<i>Seanamarena se se sehla</i> (yellow <i>seanamarena</i>)	<i>Terene</i>	43	43.88	104	81.25
	No idea	25	25.51	0	0
	Any other (Mafeteng)	30	30.61	24	18.75
<i>Seanamarena se se fubelu</i> (red <i>seanamarena</i>)	No idea <i>Pula bobete</i>	2	2.53	11	13.41
		28	35.44	3	3.66
	Any other (Mohaes Hoek)	49	62.03	68	82.99
<i>Letlama le le fubelu</i> (red <i>letlama</i>)	<i>Seakhi</i>	24	31.58	73	70.87
	No idea	31	40.79	1	0.97
	Any other (Mapoteng)	21	27.67	29	28.16
<i>Letlama le le ts'o</i> (black <i>letlama</i>)	<i>Seakhi, Terene</i>	32	43.24	81	77.88
	No idea	31	41.89	1	0.96
	Any other (Thabana Morena)	11	14.86	22	21.15
<i>Lebetlela</i>	<i>Marashea</i> , initiates, herdboys	28	35.90	41	45.05
	No idea	31	39.74	1	1.10
	Any other (Basotho men)	19	24.36	49	53.85

Staff n =133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.30, staff (43.88%) and students (81.25%) indicated that the name of the group that identified itself with a yellow *seanamarena* blanket was *Terene*. The yellow *seanamarena* (*seanamarena se se sehla*) was a group identity blanket for a *famo* music group found in the district of Mafeteng. The red *seanamarena* (*seanamarena se se fubelu*) according to staff (62.03%) and students (82.99%) were identified with *Pula bobete* group in Mohales hoek. Other types of blankets, *letlama le le fubelu* (red *letlama*) were associated with *Seakhi* group (Mapoteng, Berea district), and *letlama le ts'o* (black *letlama*) were associated with *Seakhi* and *Terene* (31.58% and 70.87%; 43.24% and 77.88%) by staff and students respectively.

We are aware that the yellow seanamarena and letlama blankets are associated with warring groups of the famo music who use these blankets for group identity in some districts like Mafeteng. Whereas the conflicts among the groups occur in some districts, we are not aware of such conflicts here in Quthing. [Quthing Basotho Interviewees]

Although these blankets were part of the everyday cultural dress for Basotho, they have now become potential hazards. This is because the different *famo* groups have for several years been fighting against each other over them, resulting in numerous deaths. As a result, any person who wore any of these blankets was likely to be associated with either of the warring factions and was, therefore, vulnerable. In addition to these blankets the *famo* groups have a *lebetlela* stick as part of their dress and for purposes of protection (Fig. 5.7).



Figure 5.7: A and B Seanamarena blankets, C Letlama blankets and D Lebetlela (protection stick)

5.6 SECTION E

5.6.1 The impact of modernisation and Christianity on Basotho cultural dress practices

The research question investigated in this section was:

“What is the impact of modernisation and Christianity on Basotho cultural dress practices?”

Figure 5.8 presents the results of likert scale responses of staff and students to the statement, “Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement – Christianity has a positive impact on the Basotho cultural dress practices.”

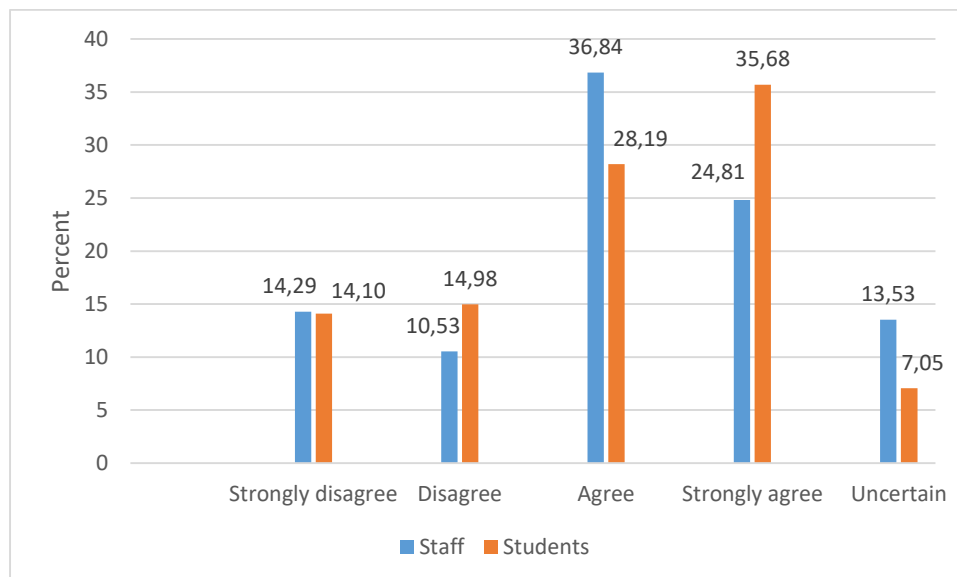


Figure 5.8: Impact of Christianity on Basotho cultural dress practices

Figure 5.8 indicates that staff (36.84%) and students (28.19%) agreed that Christianity had a positive impact on Basotho cultural dress practices. On the other hand, students (35.68%) and staff (24.81%) strongly agreed with the statement resulting with a combined percentage with those who agreed and strongly agreed of 61.65% and 63.87% respectively. Both staff and students agree that Christianity has brought positive impact on Basotho cultural dress practices. The essence of the positive impact as indicated in the study was because Christianity encouraged decency, and there was a more extensive choice for adorning oneself, especially for women. The positive aspect as seen by both the Quthing and Botha-Bothe interviewees was that, “Many

church denominations and different church groups had uniforms that distinguished them from others and also served as their denominational identity.” The concept of church uniform was positive as a new and preferable cultural dress.

When Christianity first arrived in Lesotho, Christian converts were encouraged to wear western clothes and they were called *majakane* (those who have migrated from their own culture). Christianity and modernisation introduced in particular the blanket and *Seshoeshoe* dress as part of Basotho traditional dress. The endorsement of a gift of a blanket by King Moshoeshoe I, from a British businessman played a major role in the early adoption of the western dress by Basotho (Mokorosi, 2017:38; Karstel, 1993:187, 195). As a result Basotho dress practices were impacted since this period and dress symbolism and meaning has continued to be transformed (Kaiser, 1990; 1993).

However, unlike cultures such as the Xhosa, Zulus and Swazis, who have maintained strong cultural roots, Basotho seem to have been overwhelmed by modernisation brought by Christianity (Ross 2008). Cultural dress items such *thethana* and *setea* should not be allowed to become obsolete.

The Basotho have lost much of their culture due to Christianity, especially the culture of thapo has been extensively affected. Some Christian denominations regard the observation of mourning dress (thapo) practice as a heathen ritual. The length of the mourning period, the fabric for dress and colour, are now a matter that varies from family to family. It has become so modernised that sometimes it is impossible to identify if someone is mourning or just dressed up. [Staff and Students FGD]

In the recent times, there has been a social cultural awakening that has prompted some churches to encourage their followers to wear cultural attire to church during cultural occasions. However there was emphasis that decency needed to be maintained.

Since the Thembu traditional dress generally covers the whole body, we have no problem using it for church services. As a matter of fact the church leadership encourages us to wear our cultural dress to church to celebrate cultural or heritage occasions. [Quthing Thembu Interviewees]

Christianity and modernisation through education have affected our cultural dress practices negatively. They have made us feel like our cultural practices were worthless. We now have lost everything, our identity and our language, we have nothing left. As the Ndebele, we look at other nations that have maintained their culture like the Swazis and the Xhosa people and we become envious. We have no cultural dress artefacts or even their photographs in our homes, because we separated from them when we were Christianised. Most of our youth today, do not know how to speak isiNdebele and it is not even one of the languages that are taught in Lesotho schools. How will we ever get back our language, because it got lost through our forefathers? [Botha-Bothe Interviewee 1 and 2]

Compared to Basotho and the Lesotho Ndebele, the Lesotho Thembu cultural dress practices are more deeply rooted in their traditions probably because of the strong cultural influence of Xhosa people from the Western Cape from whom they originate (Ross, 2008).

Figure 5.9 presents a follow-up question to Figure 5.8 above. Respondents provided answers to the question, “How has Christianity affected the way Basotho dress?”

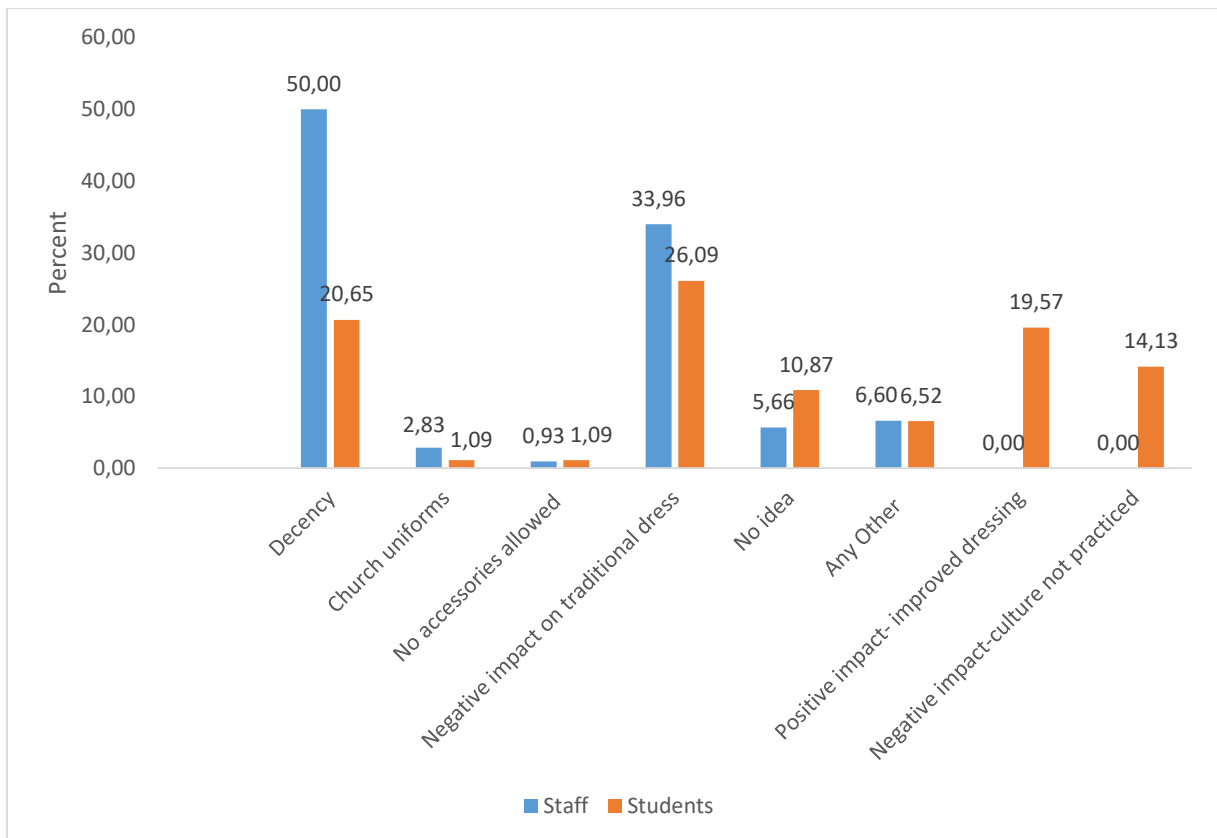


Figure 5.9: Nature of impact by Christianity on Basotho cultural dress (staff n =133 and students n = 233)

Figure 5.9 shows that Christianity advocated for decency and church uniforms, as shown by half of staff (50%). People are free to wear whatever they liked as long as they felt it was modest dressing. Church uniforms demonstrated extensive adaptation of the western dress. Perani and Wolff (1999) submitted that the Ndebele in Southern Africa had developed a modern woman beaded wedding apron by adapting the western dress. Staff (33.96%) further indicated that Christianity had affected Basotho cultural dress by regarding it as heathen. Cultural dress was seen only as appropriate for cultural days and activities. Consequently, this negative attitude towards cultural dress practices has resulted in a cultural loss. Students (19.57%) further indicated some positive impacts such as covering of head by women at church or funeral as a form of respect. Christianity has introduced church uniforms for different church groups which ensured modesty and uniformity for all members. Ndzundza-Ndebele women exhibited great pride by wearing shawls to cover their shoulders as a *hlonipha* practice. The shawls are an adopted western dress (Trollip, 1994).

The negative impact as pointed out by students (14.13%) was exhibited in the form of cultural loss and thus, loss of respect and values. People have become modernised, and there was no cultural dress practice enforcement. In Lesotho, western dress practices have been adopted, and where traditional clothes still exist, are reserved for cultural occasions (Mokorosi, 2017:33, 53). Maposa (2012:156) observed that in some tribes in Zimbabwe, women dressed in church uniform to mourn and bury deceased uniformed church members. The concept of wearing church uniform is western. Not only has Christianity impacted on the cultural dress practices, but it has also affected the Ndzundza-Ndebele value system, shifting it from community-oriented to individualism (Trollip, 1994).

Trollip (1994) and Trollip *et al.* (1995) further indicated that as the consequence of acculturation and conversion to Christianity, sacred body markings that the Ndebele-Ndzundza made on their bodies were now used to differentiate between traditional and modern generations. Transformation of old meanings of cultural dress practices was also happening to a number of Basotho cultural dress practices (Derizin 1992; Kaiser, 1990; 1993). The modern generation will never experience the culture of their ancestors. The findings from the study indicate that the Ha Belo Ndebele in Botha-Bothe were now facing a similar predicament. Their cultural dress practices were assimilated into Basotho which had become westernised.

Table 5.31 presents an indication of responses of staff and students with either yes, no or uncertain options to the question, “When you think of the way Basotho people dress and look, have you noticed any changes in the following over the past five years?”

Table 5.30: Changes in Basotho dress practices over the past five years

Changes on dress practices over the past five years	Staff						Students					
	Yes		No		Uncertain		Yes		No		Uncertain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hair styles	126	94.74	5	3.76	2	1.50	213	91.42	14	6.01	6	2.58
Use of chemicals that give colour to hair	120	90.23	6	4.51	7	5.26	215	92.27	9	3.86	9	3.86
The way people dress or their clothing styles	124	93.23	8	6.02	1	0.75	221	95.26	5	2.16	6	2.59
Tattooing	115	86.47	10	7.52	8	6.02	175	75.76	30	12.99	26	11.26
Make up	131	98.50	2	1.50	0	0.00	216	92.70	12	5.15	5	2.15
Nail polish	124	93.94	7	5.30	1	0.76	197	85.28	18	7.79	16	6.93
Plastic surgery	21	15.91	40	30.30	71	53.79	92	39.48	86	36.91	55	23.61
Body piercing	100	75.76	17	12.88	15	11.36	158	68.70	35	15.22	37	16.09
Other e.g. foreign influence	3	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

Staff n =133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.31 shows that both staff and students were positive that modernisation had impacted on Basotho cultural dress practices. The percentages ranged from 68.70%- 95.26% (students) and 75.76% - 98.50% (staff). Among all the dress practice changes, both staff (15.91%) and students (39.48%) noted the lowest change in relation to plastic surgery. The availability of different ways of hairstyling and the use of artificial hair has been widely accepted by African American and African women (Wickliffe, 2008). Among the Tsonga girls, modern cosmetics have overshadowed beliefs and values associated with body markings. The modern youth no longer participates in cultural dress practices for rites of passage (Eicher & Evenson, 2015; Eicher *et al.*, 2008; Trollip *et al.* 1995).

Table 5.32 presents the level of agreement (agree and strongly agree as the statistics were found to add value to study) with statements provided with regards to the following question to the respondents: “With respect to modernisation of Basotho dress practices indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements: 1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = agree; 4 = strongly agree; 5 = uncertain”. The results in Table 5.32 report only on the “agreement” with the statements.

Table 5.31: Level of agreement between staff and students on impact of modernisation

Statements	Staff					Students				
	Agree		Strongly agree		Combined	Agree		Strongly agree		Combined
	N	%	N	%	Total %	N	%	N	%	Total %
Basotho are ashamed of their culture	46	34.59	20	15.04	49.63	68	29.69	66	28.82	58.51
Basotho are now modernised	62	46.62	62	46.62	93.24	88	38.26	109	47.39	85.65
Women wearing leggings, tights, mini-skirts, skinny jeans	50	37.59	51	38.35	75.94	70	30.17	113	48.71	78.88
Women modifying their hair by bonding, braiding, and colouring)	60	45.45	58	43.94	89.39	59	25.65	135	58.70	84.35
Men are not significantly affected by modernisation	49	37.40	19	14.50	51.90	52	22.81	41	17.98	40.79
Teenagers have no role models for culture	39	29.77	52	39.69	67.46	53	22.94	111	48.05	70.99
Modernisation leads to loss of identity	35	26.52	69	52.27	78.79	37	16.16	147	64.19	80.35

Staff n =133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.32, for each of the statements, the combined percentage of agree and strongly agree was more than a third (40%). This indicated that modernisation had impacted Basotho culture in a negative way, except for the statement “Men are not significantly affected by modernisation” with staff (51.90%) and students (40.79%) indicating that it was positive for the culture. Adoption of western dress by African men and women was different. Because of the patriarchal nature of the African society, the struggle about women’s dress as part of social politics continues as men have kept women subordinate to certain dress traditions (Ross, 2008:171).

In Table 5.33, respondents were to indicate whether modernisation was influenced by the factors provided. The table presents only the “Yes” option from (Yes, No and Uncertain) concerning the factors.

Table 5.32: Factors with modern influence on Basotho dress practices

Factors	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Media e.g. television	133	100	229	98.71
Christianity	106	80.30	152	65.52
Other cultures	130	97.74	189	81.47
Celebrities	125	93.98	201	87.39
Lack of parental modelling	96	72.18	151	65.37

Staff n =133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.33 shows that the most influential factors according to staff were the media (100%) and other cultures (99.74%) while for students it was the media (98.71%) and celebrities (87.39%). Basotho youth have admitted being influenced by the television and other media for their preference of western styles of dress (Rosenberg, 2002:7). Television, social networks and connections, migration and family friendships, public transportation and communication as well as technology have contributed to the rapid change of cultural dress practices (Damhorst, 2008; Kaiser, 1990). For the Basotho, the most considerable influence on their cultural dress practices came with the introduction of the western blanket to King Moshoeshe I in 1860 (Mokorosi, 2017; Karstel, 1993).

Table 5.34 presents the respondents' level of agreement with statements provided in the table. The results report only on the "agreement" with the statements from the following options: "1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = agree; 4 = strongly agree; 5 = uncertain"

Table 5.33: Level of agreement with statements concerning modernisation

Statements	Staff					Students				
	Agree		Strongly agree		Combined	Agree		Strongly agree		Combined
	N	%	N	%		Total %	N	%	N	
Most Basotho still appreciate their cultural dress practices	66	49.62	32	24.06	73.68	88	37.93	55	23.71	61.64
Modern day fashion has positive influences on Basotho cultural dress practices	46	34.59	45	33.83	68.42	89	38.36	67	28.88	67.24
Modern day fashion has positive influences on Basotho blankets	58	43.94	43	32.58	76.52	86	37.23	60	25.97	63.20
Modern day fashion has a positive impact on <i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress	61	45.86	54	40.60	86.46	80	34.63	65	28.14	62.77
Encouraging use of synthetic material instead of cow hide for <i>setea</i> (<i>mose oa khomo</i>)	38	28.57	30	22.56	51.13	64	27.95	43	18.78	46.73

Staff n =133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.34 suggests that the level of agreement was lowest on “encouraging use of synthetic material for *setea*”, with a combined percentage for agree and strongly agree of 51.13% for the staff and 46.73% for the students. The Quthing Basotho interviewees lamented over the transformation of the traditional *setea* made from cow skin to modern synthetic *setea* with a new meaning. Their facial expressions indicated that they were deeply concerned and not happy about the erosion of their cultural dress practices.

Some people prefer the use of synthetic material to make setea because it is readily available. The argument is that cattle are no longer found in abundance making skin dress expensive and therefore synthetic material has become an option. Setea made from a synthetic fabric did not look good on older women and children. The styles are disrespectful and over modernised with an adapted bodice deviating from the Basotho cultural dress. Setea should be made from cow skin and not imitation. It must be genuine leather and not fake so that a correct message is communicated to people about the Basotho culture.

[Quthing Basotho Interviewees]

The staff with combined percentages for agreed and strongly agreed were in the range between 68.42% and 86.46% and students with a range of 62.77% and 67.24% indicating that fashion had a positive influence on cultural dress practices. In other words, cultural dress practices are being influenced by fashion trends and thus ceasing to be cultural.

Table 5.35 shows an association of respondents by age with the responses to the statement “Modern-day fashion has a positive influence on wearing of Basotho blankets”. Respondents were expected to indicate different levels of agreement and disagreement on whether modern-day fashion had a positive influence on the wearing of Basotho blankets.

Table 5.34: Opinions of younger and older respondents to the statement “Modern-day fashion has a positive influence on wearing of Basotho blankets” (Q2 X Q12.5.4)

Modern day fashion has a positive influence on wearing of Basotho blankets	Age			
	18 – 35 Years		36 – 65 Years	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly disagree	30	12.40	8	6.61
Disagree	45	18.60	11	9.09
Uncertain	12	4.96	10	8.26
Agree	93	38.43	51	42.15
Strongly agree	62	25.62	41	33.88
Total	242	100	121	100

P= 0.0079

The results in Table 5.35 indicate that the older respondents were proportionately (76.03%) more inclined than the younger respondents (64.05%) to agree (agree and strongly agree combined) with the statement “modern-day fashion has a positive influence on the wearing of Basotho blankets.” Basotho blankets have been traditionally associated with older people, and they continue to evolve with fashion. Except for cultural celebrations where it is mandatory at some schools, young people are not interested in wearing cultural dress (Rosenberg, 2002).

Table 5.36 shows an association of respondents by a group with the responses to the statement “modern-day fashion has a positive influence on wearing of Basotho blankets.”

Table 5.35: Staff and student opinions to the statement “modern-day fashion has a positive influence on wearing of Basotho blankets” (Q3 X Q 12.5.4)

Modern day fashion has a positive influence on wearing of Basotho blankets	Group			
	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly Disagree	5	3.79	33	14.29
Disagree	14	10.61	42	18.18
Uncertain	12	9.09	10	4.33
Agree	58	43.94	86	37.23
Strongly Agree	43	32.58	60	25.97
Total	132	100	231	100

P= 0.0013

Table 5.36 shows that staff respondents were proportionately (76.52%) more inclined than student respondents (63.20%) to agree (agree and strongly agree combined) with the statement that “modern-day fashion has a positive influence on the wearing of Basotho blankets.”

The demographic data for the study (Table 5.1) indicated that there were more staff (66.92%) than students (27.04%) who are married. The rite of passage into marriage in the Basotho culture is associated with a gift of a Basotho blanket. It was most likely that the staff members had at least one Basotho blanket as part of their wardrobes.

Table 5.37 shows an association of respondents by age with responses to the statement “modern-day fashion has a positive impact on wearing of *Seshoeshoe* dress”.

Table 5.36: Opinions of younger and older respondents to the statement “modern-day fashion has a positive impact on wearing of *Seshoeshoe* dress” (Q2 X Q12.5.5)

Modern-day fashion has a positive impact on wearing of <i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress	Age			
	18 – 35 Year		36 – 65 Year	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly disagree	28	11.57	3	2.46
Disagree	44	18.18	10	8.20
Uncertain	14	5.79	5	4.10
Agree	86	35.54	55	45.08
Strongly agree	70	28.93	49	40.16
Total	242	100	122	100

P < 0.0001

Table 5.37 shows that the older respondents (the combination of agree and strongly agree) were proportionately (85.24%) more inclined than younger respondents (64.47%) to agree with the statement that “modern-day fashion has a positive impact on wearing of *Seshoeshoe* dress.” Mkorosi (2017) submitted that the Basotho hat with *seanamarena* blanket worn over *Seshoeshoe* dress provided a complete national identity for Basotho women. From the focus groups and the interviews, it was found that *Seshoeshoe* dress was part of the rite of passage into womanhood through marriage. It was also a national identity dress for women. Because of different modern

styles and motifs, every Mosotho woman was tempted to have a variety of *Seshoeshoe* dresses.

5.7 SECTION F

5.7.1 Cultural dress artefacts with meaning or symbolism

The research question addressed in this section was:

“Which cultural dress artefacts with meaning or symbolism are still valued?”

Table 5.38 presents the results of the responses of staff and students to the question. “Are there any dress artefacts available in your region which, in your opinion, should be preserved?”

Table 5.37: Opinions of staff and students on the availability of cultural dress artefacts to be preserved

Statement	Staff		Students	
	N	%	N	%
Are there dress artefacts available in your region to be preserved?				
Yes	100	76.34	129	57.85
No	3	2.29	31	13.90
Uncertain	28	21.37	63	28.25
Total	131	100	223	100

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.38 shows that most of the staff (76.34%) and many students (57.85%) were of the opinion that there were dress artefacts in their region that should be preserved. From the focus groups and interviews, it was found that among the cultural dress artefacts to be preserved were the Basotho blanket, *Seshoeshoe* dress, *setea*, *thethana*, *selapa/joroki*, *khoetsa*.

The Thembu’s indicated that they would like to have *isikhakha*, *ncebeta*, *ibhayi*, *urhwaqu* and *Ingcathu* to be among the artefacts to be preserved. The Ndebele interviewees mentioned that *khoso*, *inkathula* and *ibheshu* were still important for their

cultural celebrations. The Basotho wear blankets for almost every social function. A blanket is part of a bridal gift and the welcome gift by the husband's family. It is a gift after the traditional cleansing of a widow and an initiation pass-out gift from maternal uncle to his nephew (Mokorosi, 2017). Specific blankets indicate that a woman is married in the Ndzundza-Ndebele culture. Married women exhibit the *hlonipha* practice by covering their shoulders with *umtshurhana* as expected by the in-laws. There are different ways for folding and securing a blanket with a safety pin for married and unmarried Basotho women. *Serope sa motsoetsoe* and *letlama* (Fig. 5.10) blankets symbolised a married status for women (Khau, 2012; Karstel, 1995; Trollip, 1994). *Serope sa motsoetsoe* is no longer available in the market. *Seanamarena* blanket and *Seshoeshoe* dress are essential Basotho cultural dress items that symbolise national identity (Mokorosi, 2017; Karstel, 1995). For both the Basotho and the Ndzundza Ndebele, modernisation and context have brought new meanings that are assigned to blankets in line symbolic interactionist perspective (Trollip, 1994; Derizin 1992; Kaiser, 1990; 1993).



Figure 5.10: *Serope sa motsoetsoe* (left) and the *Letlama* shawl (right)

Figure 5.11 shows the results of the staff responses to the question, “Which of the following Basotho cultural dress items have disappeared from the Basotho culture?” and in Figure 5.12 are the results of the students’ responses to the same question.

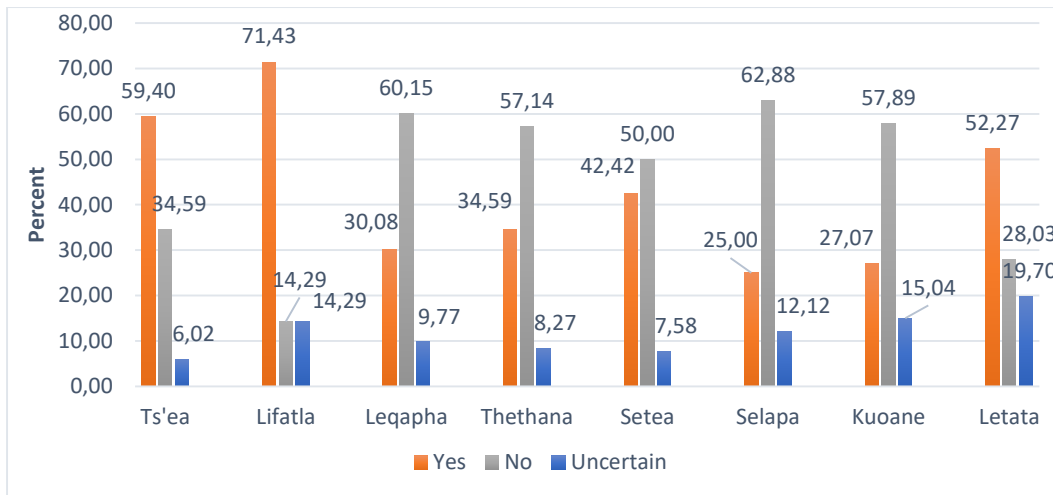


Figure 5.11: Basotho cultural dress items that have disappeared according to staff respondents (Staff n = 133)

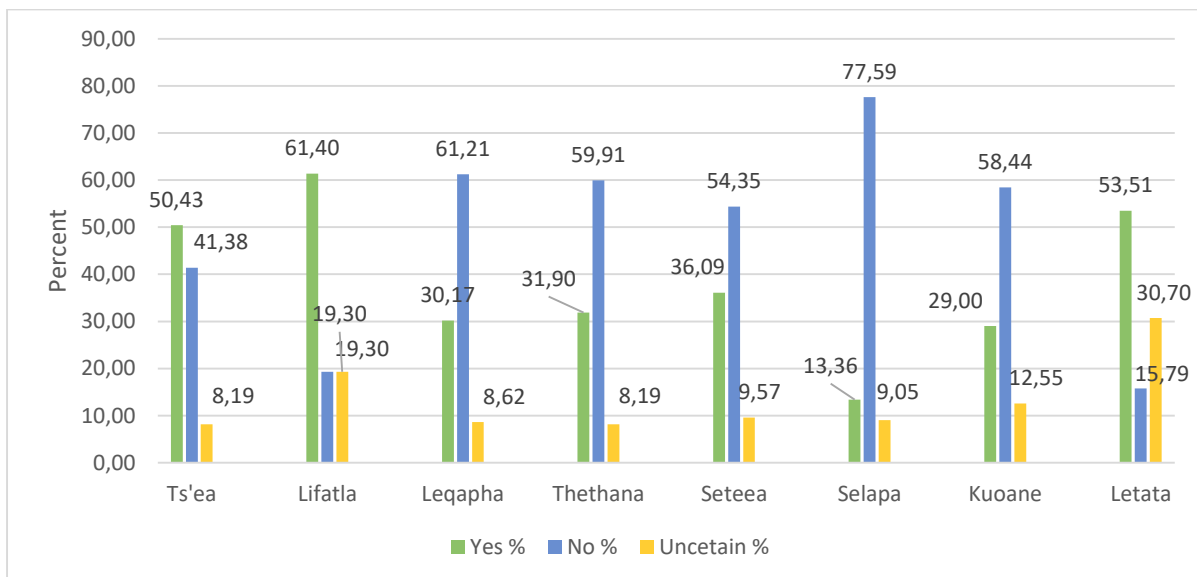


Figure 5.12: Basotho cultural dress items that have disappeared according to student respondents (Students n = 233)

In Figures 5.11 and 5.12, just more than half to most of both staff and students confirmed that the following Basotho cultural dress items have disappeared: *Ts'ea*, (59.40%), (50.43%); *lifatla* (71.43%), (61.40%) and *letata* (52.27%), (53.51%) respectively. *Ts'ea* or *setsiba* (loincloth) for men was made from tanned goat or kid skins. *Lifatla* which were sandals-like were made from ox hide or antelope leather (Mokorosi, 2017).

Other dress artefacts such as *leqapha*, *thethana*, *setea* and *kuoane* were mainly seen on cultural days. *Thethana*, which was made from woven *tsikitlana* plant fibres, was worn by young girls and also as a petticoat by women. The threads were smeared with red ochre (*letsoku*). The modern *thethana* worn mainly for cultural activities was made from cotton twine or string smeared with red ochre. *Kuoane* is a hat made from animal skin such as cat (Mokorosi, 2017; Mats'ela, 1990). *Selapa* served as an identity for the first pregnancy.

In Table 5.39, the respondents were requested to mention materials used to manufacture the dress artefacts that were listed.

Table 5.38: Materials used to make cultural dress artefacts

Artefact	Materials used	Staff		Students	
		N	%	N	%
Basotho hat	Grass: <i>mosea</i> , <i>leloli</i> , <i>molula</i> , <i>lethepu</i> , straw, threads	114	98.28	145	99.32
	No idea	2	1.78	1	0.68
<i>Leqapha</i>	Cloth	96	89.72	107	100
	Beads, safety pins, mirrors, red ochre	7	6.52		
	No idea	4	3.74		
<i>Kuoane</i>	Animal skin e.g. wild cat (<i>qoabi</i>), fox	102	91.89	130	99.24
	Threads	4	3.6		
	No idea	5	4.5	1	0.76
<i>Setipe</i>	Flannel cloth, tiger design cloth	74	87.06	31	59.62
	Beads	1	1.18	14	26.92
	No idea	10	11.76	7	13.46
<i>iSikhakha</i>	<i>Umbhaco</i> or <i>isikhakha</i> fabric	32	62.75	16	53.33
	Beads, safety pins, buttons, ric rac, tapes	1	1.96	1	3.33
	No idea	18	35.29	13	43.33
<i>Thethana</i>	Twine, (<i>tsikitlana</i> fibres used in the past)	82	78.85	97	85.84
	Fat, red ochre, beads	13	12.50	11	9.73
	No idea	9	8.65	5	4.42
<i>Lifatla</i>	Skin from forehead of a cow,	86	86.87	91	91.92
	Fat, threads	6	6.06	4	4.04
	No idea	7	7.07	4	4.04
<i>Sefaha</i> (beads)	Clay, seeds, bones, eggshells, reeds,	67	70.53	70	77.78
	grass, wood, strings	21	22.11	16	17.78

Artefact	Materials used	Staff		Students	
		N	%	N	%
	No idea	7	7.37	4	4.44
<i>Khoetsa</i>	Animal skin, cloth	76	77.55	97	88.99
	claw, bones, beads,	17	17.35	6	5.50
	No idea	5	5.10	6	5.50
<i>Mokhahla</i>	Cowhide (tanned), fat	108	95.58	136	99.27
	No idea	5	4.42	1	0.73
<i>Setea</i>	Cow hide (tanned), fat	111	98.23	140	98.59
	No idea	2	1.77	2	1.41

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

In Table 5.39, staff (95.58%) and students (99.27%) indicated that *mokhahla* was made from cowhide. In addition, staff (86.87%) and students (91.92%) showed that *lifatla* were also made from cowhide.

Mokhahla and lifatla are no longer available and have been replaced by western Basotho blanket and modern shoes. Setea which was now worn during cultural events was mostly made from synthetic material and not cow skin because of skin scarcity and affordability. [Students FGD]

Setea that was originally made from cow skin, symbolised that the wearer had undergone initiation rite of passage and reached womanhood. At present the one made from synthetic material can be worn by both women and young girls for cultural activities resulting in a different meaning. Change in meaning of dress necessitated by context is part of symbolic interactionist perspective (Kaiser, 1990; 1993 and Derizin 1992).

Although many cultural dress artefacts were similar among the clans, different clans had peculiar *khoetsa* as a form of identity (Gill, 1993). Table 5.40 summarises staff and students opinions on the description for making *khoetsa* according to Basotho clans. Respondents were asked the following open question, "Briefly describe how *khoetsa* is made according to Basotho clans that you know, i.e. what materials do Bataung or Bakoena, etc. use?"

Table 5.39: Description of how khoetsa for different clans was made

Clans	Description or material used	Staff		Students	
		N	%	N	%
Bahlakoana	Skunk or jackals' claws white and red beads for wrists and ankles	7	7.07	4	5.06
Bataung	Lion's claw, strip of skin. medicine and red ochre placed in an animal skin Bones of small animals are tied to skin strip, skunk or rock rabbit claw is attached to a leather strip smeared with fat and red ochre	9	9.09	8	10.13
Bakoena	Bakoena ba Mokoteli don't have khoetsa A piece of crocodile strip or a tanned leather is hemmed and medicine is placed in the hem, A goat or sheep's skin is cut to fit baby's neck and skunk claw is attached, skunk claw placed in teething collar. Pebbles and flowers, antelope skin, gourd stem - .likhono tsa mohope	23	23.23	10	12.66
Baphuthi	Tanned animal skin and skunk claw	1	1.01	2	2.53
Basia	Black and white beads worn on the wrists and ankles beads and tanned strip of an animal hide is tied to skunk claw.	5	5.05	6	7.59
Matebele	Red and white beads. Strip of rabbit skin, cloth and skunk claws, strip of animal skin and beads	9	9.09	9	11.39
Batloung	Skunk claw	2	2.02	5	6.33
Bafokeng	Hare's foot attached to a leather strip, Skunk claw is attached to the strip. skunk claw, leather strip	11	11.11	17	21.52
Batlokoa	Rock rabbit foot or skunk's claw attached to tanned animal skin	3	3.03	1	1.27
Bakhatla	Don't have khoetsa	6	6.06	2	2.53
Makholokoe	Did not know how it was made	23	23.23	11	13.92
Bakubung	bones, skunk claws, beads, t skunk's claw radition herbs, animal tanned skins			1	1.27

Clans	Description or material used	Staff		Students	
		N	%	N	%
Makhoakhoa	Did not know how it was made			2	2.53
Batsoeneng	Did not know how it was made			1	1.27
		99	99.00	79	100

Staff n = 133 and Students n = 233

Table 5.40 presents the results of staff and students respectively that could describe *khoetsa* for different clans. Staff (23.23%) indicated how the Bakoena *khoetsa* was made. Students (21.52%) described how the Bafokeng *khoetsa* was made. Even for the minority clans such as the Ndebele, students respondents (11.39%) provided information on how the Ndebele *khoetsa* was made. Also, students (10.13%) had information on the Bataung *khoetsa*. Staff (23.23%) and students (17.22%) indicated that Makhholokoe, Makhoakhoa and Batsoeneng had *khoetsa* but did not know how it was made.

Bakoena made their khoetsa from a strip of tanned skin from either a sheep or a goatskin. The strip was hemmed and traditional medicine was placed in the hem and an animal claw was attached. Because animal skins are no longer readily available, in recent time a claw is placed inside the commercial teething collar. Bakoena also used pebbles and a stem of a calabash or gourd fruit (khono ea mohope). According to this clan, all the children in a family wore the same khoetsa and the mother did not wear khoetsa in order to pass it to the first child. The Bahlakoana khoetsa was made from the skunk's claw. It was passed from the mother to the first child and removed on the weaning of the child. In the Bataung clan, khoetsa consisted of a strip of tanned skin, covered with red ochre and fat. A skunk's claw or small bones from the cat family were applied with medicine and fastened to the strip and worn around the neck. [Quthing Mosotho interviewee 8]

Khoetsa was culturally important among the Basotho for clan identity, however, the use of skunk's claw and its tail fastened to a tanned cow skin seemed to be generally used among the clans as part of *khoetsa*.





On the other hand, it was found from the interviews that some Ndebele used beads for khoetsa which was worn on wrists and ankles. Bafokeng used a hare's hoof tied to strip of skin. They also used a skunk's claw. The Bakoena of Mokoteli did not observe the practice of khoetsa. The Ndebele of the Nhlapo clan used tortoise shell for khoetsa and the Thembu did not have the practice of khoetsa.

For Bakoena other than ba Mokoteli, *khoetsa* and teething collar have symbolism for protection. *Khoetsa* symbolises general protection from evil while teething collar symbolises protection from childhood sicknesses. Meaning attached to teething collar is that the infant is teething and meaning attached to *khoetsa* is for clan identity. The inherited symbolism for protection of *khoetsa* has been transferred to a teething collar due to the changed circumstances (Derizin 1992; Kaiser, 1990; 1993).




Table 5.41 presents photographs of artefacts collected during the study and their analysis in terms of name, the material used to make the artefact, function or use and its symbolism or meaning. Photographs of several Basotho, as well as the Thembu, cultural dress artefacts are shown. Where possible, the researcher took photographs of the artefacts, and in some cases was provided with photographs of the artefacts by the participants which she re-photographed.

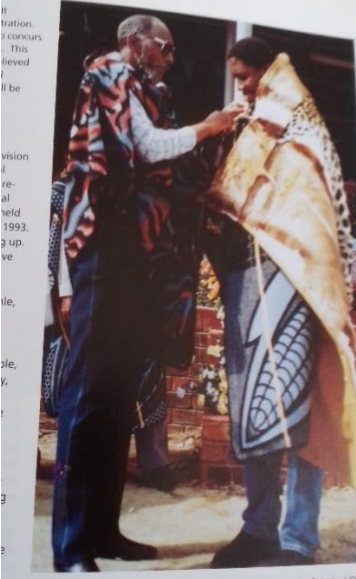
In other cases, the descriptions of the artefacts were provided, and relevant photographs of the artefacts were reproduced from the reviewed literature. The dilemma and threat of cultural loss and extinction of cultural artefacts were demonstrated by the Ndebele of Nhlapo at Ha Belo. The interviewed participants could only provide the descriptions of their cultural dress artefacts as they no longer had such artefacts, and they also did not have their photographs. This cultural group has been assimilated into the Basotho culture.



Table 5.40: Analysis of artefacts


Artefact	Name	Material used	Use	Symbolism
	<i>Khoso</i> (waist beads) Source: (Photo by author)	Seeds from a particular tree	Dress for infants, worn around the waist. To monitor weight. Protection against evil	Toddler status
	<i>Lifaha</i> (beads necklace) Source: (Photo by author)	Glass, plant seeds	Adornment	Status, e.g. male initiate
	<i>Khoetsa</i> Source: (Photo by author)	Leather strip, skunk's claw and tail	Protection against diseases and evil	Clan identity
	<i>Thethana ea seqheleqhele</i> (beaded loin skirt) Source: (Gill, 1993:48)	Fibre, glass and copper beads, leather waistband and laces	Serves as a skirt for young girls and petticoat for women	Purity and status

	<p><i>Leqapha</i> (loin cloth – worn like diaper)</p> <p>Source: (Gill, 1993:124)</p>	<p>Cotton cloth, safety pins</p>	<p>Worn by shepherds and male initiates</p>	<p>status</p>
	<p><i>Seanamarena</i> blankets</p> <p>Source: (Modified from Pheto-Moeti 2005:53)</p>	<p>Wool</p>	<p>Basotho blanket worn for all occasions</p>	<p>Identity and status</p>
	<p>Head scarf (<i>tuku</i>)</p> <p>Source: (Photo by author)</p>	<p><i>Seshoeshoe</i> and other different types of fabrics</p>	<p>To cover the head, to complete outfit by married women</p>	<p>Respect and status</p>

	<p><i>Lesira</i> (veil), <i>likhokoloana</i> and <i>mose oa lekoko la nku</i> (sheep skin dress)</p> <p>Source: (Mokorosi, 2017: 78)</p>	<p>Veil made from grass, thread and wool, <i>likholokoane</i> from grass and dress from sheep's skin</p>	<p>Veil for protection of identity</p>	<p>First stage of women initiation (<i>Bale</i>)</p>
	<p>Red <i>Seanamarena – poone</i> (maize), beads and <i>kuoane</i></p> <p>Source: (Ksvrakov, 2010:s.a.)</p>	<p><i>Seanamarena</i> made from wool, beads from glass, <i>kuoane</i> from animal skin</p>	<p>Pass-out blanket for male initiates. Beads and <i>kuoane</i> for adornment</p>	<p>Status, initiation graduate, maize motifs symbolise fertility</p>
	<p>Basotho hat</p> <p>Source: (Photo by author)</p>	<p>Grass and twine</p>	<p>Protection against the sun, adornment.</p>	<p>National identity</p>

	<p><i>Seshoeshoe</i> dress</p> <p>Source: (Photo by author)</p>	<p><i>Seshoeshoe</i> fabric</p>	<p>Cultural and every day wear</p>	<p>National identity for women</p>
	<p><i>Matutuoane</i> (Special multi-coloured skin blanket)</p> <p>Source: (Gill, 1993:161)</p>	<p>Various wild animal skins – lion and leopard skins</p>	<p>Inauguration to kingship throne</p>	<p>Kingship authority, status</p>

	<p><i>Selapa/ joroki</i></p> <p>Source: (Photo by author)</p>	<p>Pink flannel</p>	<p>Sleeveless big shirt for pregnant women worn around eighth month of pregnancy</p>	<p>First pregnancy</p>
	<p>Thembu headscarf</p> <p>Source: (Photo by author)</p>	<p>Cotton (<i>ibhayi</i> or <i>umbhaco</i> fabric, towelling material)</p>	<p>Head covering by married women</p>	<p>Status</p>

	<p><i>iNcebeta</i> (white with blue horizontal lines of beads) and <i>iSikhakha</i> (black and red dress)</p> <p>Source: (Photo by author)</p>	<p>Cotton (<i>ibhayi</i> or <i>umbhaco</i> fabric), beads, ric rac, safety pins, buttons, tapes</p>	<p><i>iNcebeta</i> is an apron-like strip of decorated cloth worn over <i>iSikhakha</i>. <i>iNcebeta</i> and <i>iSikhakha</i> are worn by married women</p>	<p>Status</p>
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CHAPTER 6 :

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Dress practices entail a collection of body modifications and supplements found on an individual. They serve as a means to transmit information about individuals and societies (Roche *et al.*, 2012; Nielson, 2009). Furthermore, dress also reflects the views that people consider to be of cultural value that affects how people evaluate their traditions and customs (Lennon *et al.*, 1999; Horn & Gurel, 1981; Barbu, 1971). In many cultures, dress communicates the identity of individuals concerning their social status (Damhorst, 2008; Storm, 1987). Also, dress can be used to symbolise one's change of status and serve as a significant part of the rite of passage rituals.

Like other cultures, Basotho dress practices continued to evolve with time. New dress practices have been embraced, and some old ones have been forgotten while others were adapted to fit with the current circumstances. In the process, the cultural symbolism or meaning of these practices have been lost or changed. The study set out to establish the degree to which Basotho cultural dress practices have been affected by focusing on the population of staff and students at the Lesotho College of Education in Maseru and elderly people from two districts, Quthing and Botha-Bothe. Based on the available information, interest, awareness and knowledge about Basotho cultural dress practices, the study addressed the existing information gap.

The objectives of the study were to determine knowledge about Basotho cultural dress practices and to explore factors that influence cultural and modern dress practices; to establish the role and functions of the Basotho meanings and symbolism of Basotho cultural dress practices and artefacts for different cultural activities, and to explore possible correlations between demographic variables and perceptions in relation to Basotho dress practices.

In order to address the objectives of the study, the following research questions were investigated:

- What are the perceptions of both young and old Basotho men and women in relations to the Basotho cultural dress practices?
- To what extent are the twenty first century Basotho generation aware of the meanings and symbolism of cultural dress practices of different rites of passage?
- Are the Basotho cultural dress practices valued as part of identity in everyday life?
- What is the impact of Christianity and modernisation, technology, modern body modifications and supplements and dress items that have potential for causing conflicts on the Basotho cultural dress practices?
- Which Basotho cultural dress artefacts with meaning or symbolism are still valued and need to be preserved?
- Are there any associations between gender, age and occupation of the respondents?

Reviewed literature indicated that meanings assigned to dress may be inherited. In addition, the literature proposed that meanings of dress may also change or be transformed on the basis of context in symbolic interactionist perspective (Derizin 1992; Kaiser, 1990; 1993). Symbolic interactionism has established similar impact on the meanings and symbolism of Basotho cultural dress practices (have been affected in the same manner by symbolic interactionism). The following conclusions were drawn from the results presented, analysed and discussed in Chapter 5 concerning the research questions. Recommendations were made based on the conclusions.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

Conclusion one, was drawn from perceptions on cultural dress practices and preservation of artefacts. The study found out that majority of staff and students indicated that it was necessary to preserve Basotho cultural dress practices for future generations. Furthermore, most of the staff and many students suggested that dress artefacts from their regions should be preserved.

The following cultural dress practices and artefacts are among those that have been proposed for preservation. Cultural dress practices such as *Seshoeshoe* dress as a

gift for the bride, covering of head and shoulders by women, mourning dress and wearing of *selapa* for first pregnancy among the Basotho. Also Basotho artefacts included; Basotho blanket and hat, *setea*, *thethana*, *selapa*, *thapo*, *khoetsa* and *khoso*. The Thembu indicated that they would like to have *isikhakha*, *ncebete*, *ibhayi*, *urhwaqu* and *Ingcathu* to be among the artefacts to be preserved. The Ndebele interviewees mentioned that *khoso*, *inkathula*, *mokhizo*, *indilile* and *ibheshu* were still important for their cultural celebrations.

Conclusion 1: There is a need to preserve and encourage the conservation of Basotho cultural dress artefacts and practices for future generations to prevent their extinction.

Every nation is built on some principles, and cultural dress practices are part of these principles. That is why Basotho have a saying, “*Ha u sa tsebe moo u tsoang teng u ke ke oa tseba moo u eang teng*” [If you do not know where you are coming from you will not know where you are going]. The respondents agreed that some Basotho cultural dress practices were to be preserved. The purpose of revisiting these foundational principles was to regain the thoughtfulness and the conscientiousness that Basotho believed about being human (*Botho/Ubuntu*) and how they demonstrated this by the way they lived among themselves and with other people. Preservation and encouragement of Basotho cultural dress practices is a contribution that will lead to their restoration and appreciation. Consequently, the future generation shall be endowed with respect (*hlonipha*), sense of self-identity, and patriotism. The presence of these values will facilitate improved behaviour among the youth, and that will result in a more focused and productive nation.

The practice of *hlonipha* through dress was very diverse and integral to the Basotho culture as it was among other cultures such as the Ndebele Ndzundza (Trollip, 1994). The minority cultures of the Ndebele and the Thembu in Lesotho had some similar aspects of the *hlonipha* practice for the in-laws just like the Basotho. By its nature, *hlonipha* practice dictates submissiveness to authority. In the present context where people’s rights are constitutionally protected, the practice faces challenges. It is for this reason that encouragement for its preservation will have to be undertaken with transparency and clear understanding of the implication to individuals’ freedom of

choice and expression. For the young people or the modern generation to understand why they should embrace the cultural dress practices, it will become necessary for the elderly people to seriously engage with them in addition to information received at school. Many of the Basotho dress practices and other practices, in general, were imposed usually without explanation. If one was required to undertake a cultural dress ritual, no questions about that were supposed to be asked. The person simply needed to do what was expected. This position has to change. Secondly, there needs to be clarity and understanding that neither the elderly people nor the young people are violating each other's rights in the process of preserving the practices.

Implications for not preserving and encouraging Basotho cultural dress practices for future generations will lead to their decline and loss and thus impacting negatively on Basotho morals, norms and values which are essential for an appreciation of one's identity.

There were specific cultural dress artefacts with meaning or symbolism, for example, *khoetsa* and *setea* that the respondents felt should be conserved because they were under threat of losing cultural meaning and extinction. By conservation, it is intended that the existing cultural artefacts should be collected and archived following curative principles. In this way, the artefacts and information about them would remain available for the present and future generations. This conclusion is in line with the World Heritage Convention whose purpose is to advocate for the preservation of cultural heritage by UN member states as its loss is a global concern (UNESCO, 1972).

Conclusion two was derived from the findings on the impact of Christianity and modernisation. The youth indicated that because of democracy and human rights, they should be allowed freedom of choice. Consequently, they have left cultural dress practices attachment and observations with the elderly and are following modern trends in life.

Conclusion 2: Adherence to cultural dress practices is retained by a few individuals who are still attached to these practices, placing them in danger of being replaced by modern practices.

Even though the respondents showed a high degree of knowledge and understanding of meaning or symbolism of cultural dress practices for the various stages of human development, the existence of these practices was under the threat of Christianity and modernisation because they were no longer observed by everybody any more. For example, infants and toddlers used teething collars instead of *khoetsa* for protection. Pregnant women, regardless of whether they were expecting a first baby, they wore maternity dresses instead of *selapa*, which was an identity for the first pregnancy. The Christianised and modernised families no longer practise the Basotho cultural initiation. Instead, male infants and other uncircumcised males were encouraged to undergo circumcision at clinics and hospitals, further reducing numbers of individuals interested in the practice. As a result of the diverse ways that now exist for facial beautification, tattoos (*linyao*) that were an identity for initiated females and symbol of beauty, have become insignificant. The practice is faced with the threat of losing meaning and disappearance.

Although the cultural dress practice of *thapo* (mourning dress) was found still to be an important part of the Basotho culture, there was a need to take into consideration the evolved roles between men and women. In particular, women needed to be more informed about the protection of their rights. Widows should have the freedom to choose their participation in mourning dress rituals, also to choose other fabric than black cloth and thus transforming its meaning (Kaiser, 1990; Derizin, 1992; Aksan *et al.*, 2009). The *thapo* dress practices follow the rigidity of the husband's family cultural customs versus Christianity and modern values. Christian and modern families are more flexible on *thapo* issues. Nonetheless, for some families, these were matters that required some education on human rights. The overall implication, however, was that the dress practice would decline notwithstanding its importance.

Conclusion 3: Despite the awareness of cultural dress items associated with national identity, there were indications that the use of such dress items might lose their meaning which will result in cultural loss.

The three cultural dress items that were identified as part of the routine of Basotho everyday life, and depicting Basotho national identity, were the *Seshoeshoe* dress, Basotho hat and *seanamarena*. However, while these dress items were considered as

items for everyday routine, they were now moving towards the direction of being publicly-observed only on occasions such as Moshoeshoe's Day, King's Birthday, the National Independence Day and cultural days. In other words, these items were facing symbolism and meaning transformation which is natural to symbolic interactionism (Derizin, 1992; Kaiser, 1990). For example, there is a typical dress for married Ndebele women, including items such as the traditional barrett-like hat and blanket, the neck is covered with brass rings and the legs are encircled with brass rings.

For the Basotho, on the other hand, the cultural dress items were seemingly ceasing to be part of the standard everyday dress but were now only kept for special occasions. It was possible that children and youth associated these dress items more with the occasions when they were mostly seen in public than what they symbolised as the identity of Basotho and therefore grew up without interest in them as objects of national identity. The inherited meaning or symbolism of these items has become obsolete (Creswell, 2014; Nolan *et al.*, 2013). Hence why the findings indicated that the youth did not have an interest in these cultural dress practices, this tendency suggested that for some clans or families, these dress items had lost value or meaning.

In addition to the growing trend for the occasional use of in particular the *seanamarena* blankets, the yellow *seanamarena* and the red one (*seanamarena se se sehla le se se fubelu*) had taken another meaning as an identity for the Basotho conflicting *famo* music groups as advocated by symbolic interactionism (Aksan *et al.*, 2009; Derizin, 1992; Kaiser, 1990). These groups were known to be attacking each other, and because they used the blankets as their identity, any person wearing either yellow or red *seanamarena* blanket was a potential victim. This dilemma further reduced interest in wearing *seanamarena* containing these colours associated with the factional groups, even for occasional purposes for fear of being victimised. The challenges related to the cultural dress practices for national identity has led to indications that they might lose their meaning and thus result in cultural loss.

Conclusion 4: Adoption of the changes brought by Christianity and modernisation to Basotho cultural dress practices has resulted in the suppression of indigenous creativity and gradual cultural loss.

According to the respondents, Christianity and modernisation encouraged decency and provided a more extensive choice for adorning oneself. The use of the term 'decency' by the respondents suggests that before Christianity and modernisation, Basotho cultural dress practices were indecent. This notion is supported by the modesty and immodesty theories of dress. However, it is known that the concept of whether dress is acceptable or inappropriate is a subjective social construct; hence different societies have the freedom to individual dress expressions. For Basotho to have accepted that modern dress practices were more decent than their cultural dress practices led to the gradual loss of their heritage. The Basotho blanket has been adopted as the traditional dress for the national identity for Basotho replacing the original cowhide and skin karosses. *Seshoeshoe* dress has replaced *setea* as a traditional identity dress for Basotho women.

The implications of the adoption of the concept of decency concerning cultural dress practices from Christianity and modernisation was not interrogated. The result of this was the suppression and abdication of indigenous creativity of their cultural dress practices. For Basotho, this has been a loss of a potential asset for economic production. The Ndebele, on the other hand, incorporated beadwork on modern dress and continued developing and utilising their indigenous skills.

Conclusion 5: The association differences in the awareness and knowledge of cultural dress practices between the older and younger respondents suggest the existence of a cultural generation gap that needs attention.

The younger respondents seemed to demonstrate stronger inclination when it came to cultural dress practices that tended to threaten their human rights. For example, in the case of whether "covering of arms by young men when visiting in-laws" was still being enforced, the younger respondents' inclination to agree that it was still being enforced was greater than the older respondents. The continuance of the practice threatened the freedom of choice of dress advocated by the modern democratic dispensation enjoyed by the youth. Another example was that "*sefaha sa thekeng (tankare/khoso)* was a cultural item made from beads for toddlers and infants," and it symbolised protection. The younger respondents had a stronger inclination than the older respondents in support of the statement. Many young Basotho grew up with the

fear that if they did not obey elders' instructions to carry out family cultural dress practices, some bad omen was going to follow them.

On the other hand, some educated and modernised Basotho believe that cultural beliefs affect only on those who indulge in them. Bad omens happened to those who believed these superstitions. There was, therefore, a growing trend among young Basotho who sought to be relieved from participating in some of the cultural dress practices that made them uncomfortable.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

A number of open-ended questions of the questionnaires were only partially completed by the respondents, thus reducing the validity of the results. The study was undertaken at the researcher's place of employment. This is likely to have influenced the respondents' responses in that in the case of the students, they could have felt pressurised by the researcher's position as their instructor to participate in the study. In a similar manner the members of staff could have participated because the researcher was a familiar person to them. Conversely there was also the possibility that the non-response could have been deliberate due to the familiarity with the researcher and therefore could have contributed to some bias on the data collected.

The focus group discussions for both staff and students were selected from the Sesotho Department. While they provided rich information they were likely to be biased towards the Basotho culture and thus influencing the quality of the findings. Limitations with the group interviews was that there was no anonymity as the researcher administered the interview. Also there was potential to influence the participants through leading questions. The participants themselves influenced each other's responses resulting in some bias in the results. The quantitative results are only generalizable to the college population not to all Basotho and the qualitative results presented the views of the respondents and not the population under study.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusions of the study, the following recommendations are suggested to the stakeholders.

Recommendation 1:

- (a) The Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture (MTEC) should consider the month in which Moshoeshoe's Day is celebrated [March] as a national cultural month marked with cultural activities, e.g. develop a policy whereby everybody is encouraged to wear a cultural attire for the whole of March.
- (b) The Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture through the section of museum and archives should establish a national campaign for preserving and exhibiting old cultural dress artefacts (antiques) for purposes of generating income for artefacts owners and establishment for a networking platform for individual collectors and museums.

Recommendation 2:

- (a) The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) should incorporate Basotho cultural dress practices as part of the existing component of the Basotho cultural practices (*mekhoa le meetlo ea Basotho*) in the Sesotho syllabus of the school curricula.
- (b) MTEC in conjunction with NCDC, should establish afternoon and weekends radio and television educational programmes for children aimed at cultivating the spirit and interest of Basotho cultural dress practices and meaning attached to them.

Recommendation 3:

- (a) The Ministry of Small Businesses should encourage and support small manufacturers and entrepreneurs to produce small dress items such as earrings and bracelets that utilise original Basotho cultural materials components combined with modern materials. Dress items should be affordable, and designs should maintain those of endangered Basotho cultural dress items, and among others, social media platform should be used to promote their consumption among the youth.
- (b) The Ministry of Education and Training in conjunction with the Non-Formal Education sector should empower the *famo* music groups who are often mostly former migrant labourers in the South African mines, to avoid the damage that is caused to the image of the Basotho blankets as national identity brought about by their group conflicts.

Recommendation 4:

- (a) The Ministries of Trade, Marketing and Industry and that of Small Businesses should encourage and support (through competitions) innovative dress designs that blend the Basotho cultural dress artefacts and designs together with the modern styles.
- (b) The church in Lesotho should empower pastors to address inherited cultural misconceptions effectively.

Recommendation 5:

Establish family educational programmes on radio, TV, and other media to address issues around Basotho cultural dress practices. Phone-in and social media interaction programmes broadcasted on either radio or TV will have the advantage of reaching larger audiences, allowing young people to comfortably present their views and learn from other people in addition to their own families.

6.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In the course of the study, the following issues emerged and are worthy of further investigation:

- Challenges facing the *hlonipha* practice among the different cultural groups in Lesotho
- Perceptions of the modern Basotho women regarding mourning dress as a separation aspect of rites of passage
- Symbolism of *khoetsa* among different Basotho clans and implications of modernisation

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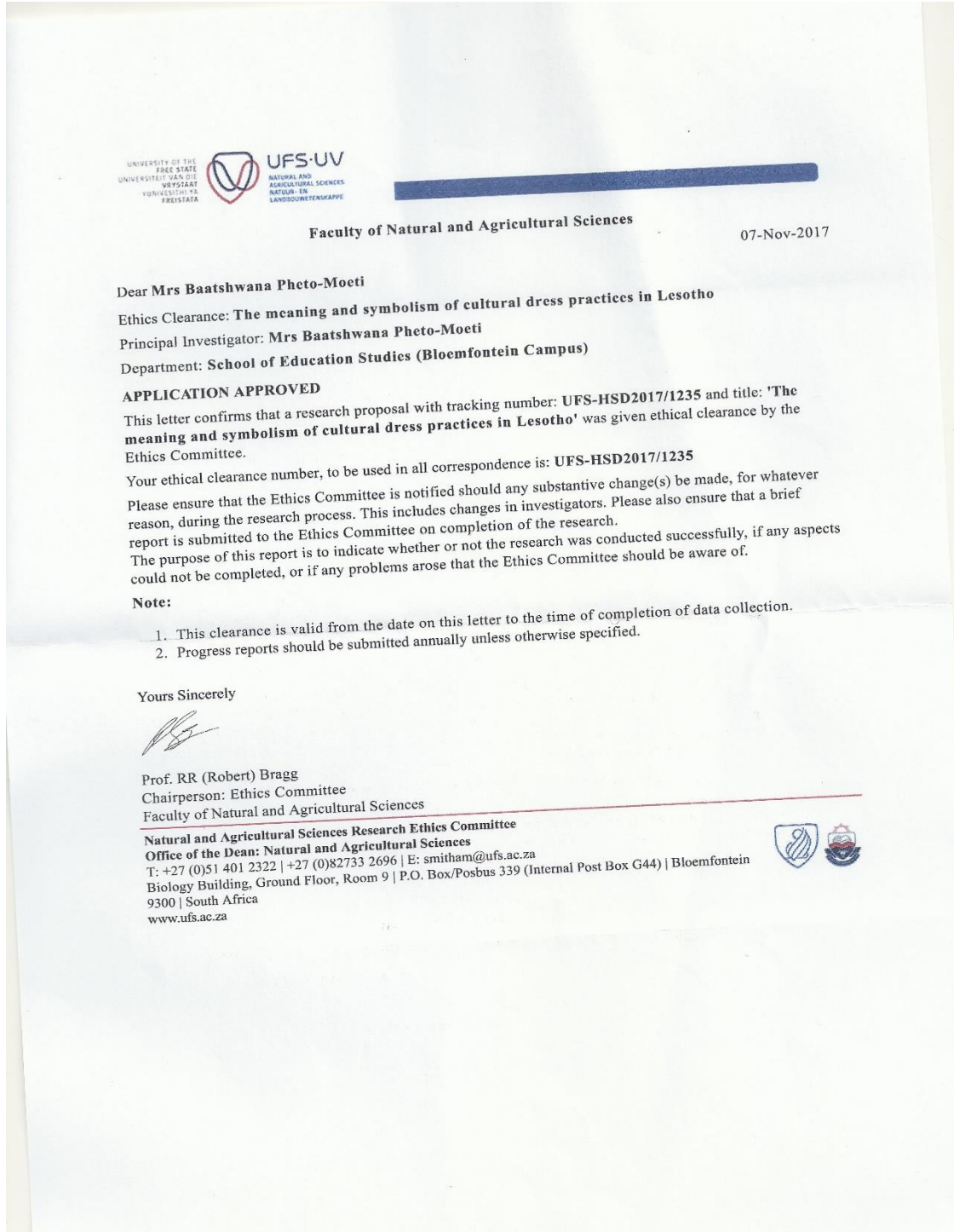
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval Letter



Appendix 2: Request for permission to carry out study Letters

Appendix 2A: Letter for permission by the student



The Rector
Lesotho College of Education
P.O. Box 1393
Maseru 100
Lesotho

06 November 2017

Dear Madam,

I am a PhD (Consumer Science) student at the University of the Free State. I am conducting a research study on the meaning and symbolism of Basotho cultural dress practices.

I have identified Lesotho College of Education as one of the main sources of information. I kindly ask for your permission to use some of the college staff and students to complete the questionnaires to enable me to continue with my studies. The respondents can choose to participate in the study or decline at any moment, and they remain anonymous.

Please contact me or my supervisor for more information.

Thank you in advance.

Kind regards,

Mrs Pheto-Moeti Baatshwana (Student)

Dr JF Vermaas (Supervisor)

neljf@ufs.ac.za

Appendix 2B: Letter for permission by the supervisor



The Rector
Lesotho College of Education
P.O. Box 1393
Maseru 100
Lesotho

30 October 2017

Dear Madam,

Mrs. Pheto-Moeti is currently enrolled for her PhD (Consumer Science) at the University of the Free State, and I am her supervisor. The aim of this study is to explore meanings, symbolic and cultural practices of dress of different age groups, rites of passage and traditional activities of Basotho and also to identify factors that influence these cultural practices.

The available dress materials and artefacts will then be collected and archived to continue educating future generations about the history of Basotho dress. Mrs. Pheto-Moeti will have to use questionnaires to obtain the relevant information. Due to the fact that Mrs. Pheto-Moeti is an employee of Lesotho College of Education, she suggested using some of the staff and students at your institution to complete the questionnaires.

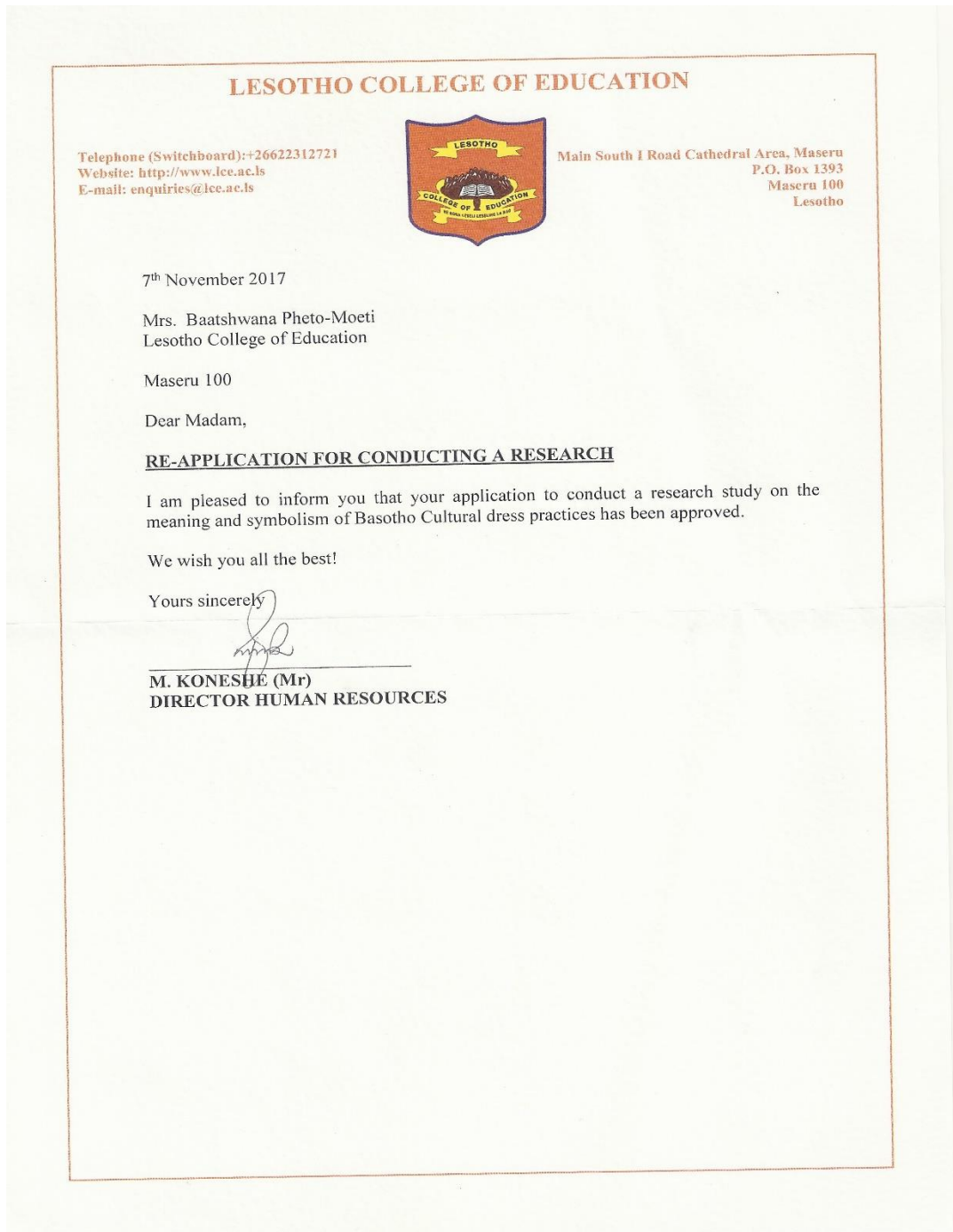
We kindly ask for your permission in this regard to enable her to continue with her studies. Your co-operation will be much appreciated.

Kind regards

Dr. JF Vermaas

neljf@ufs.ac.za

Appendix 3: College approval to carry out study Letter



Appendix 4: Questionnaire Components

Appendix 4A: Cover letter for the questionnaire



Dear Respondent,

RESEARCH PROJECT: THE MEANING AND SYMBOLISM OF CULTURAL DRESS PRACTICES IN LESOTHO

I am a PhD student at the University of the Free State. I am conducting a research study on the meaning and symbolism of cultural dress practices in Lesotho. The aim of this study is to explore meanings, symbolic and cultural practices of dress of different age groups, rites of passage and traditional activities of Basotho and also to identify factors that influence these cultural practices. The available dress materials and artifacts will then be collected and archived to continue educating future generations about the history of Basotho dress. The researcher intends to compile this important indigenous knowledge together with your input for the benefit of the Basotho nation.

Your participation is very important to the success of the study. Your identity will remain anonymous and confidential. A brief personal background and your opinion on the meaning and symbolism of cultural Basotho dress practices will be required. Kindly spare your time and energy to fill out the questionnaire. It has been designed in such a way that it will not take much your time. Please express your personal views as honestly as you can.

Completed questionnaires by students must be returned to lecturers who will assist in their administration, while questionnaire from staff members will be personally collected by the researcher.

Instructions for completing the questionnaire:

- No names should be given
- Read the question carefully
- Tick relevant options in appropriate boxes.
- Where required, write the answer in the space provided
- Do not leave out any questions
- Remember, the first answer to come to mind is usually the appropriate one

Thank you for your co-operation.

B Pheto-Moeti

+26622315614 and +26658866193 mabokangm7@gmail.com

Appendix 4B: Questionnaire

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SECTION A. GENERAL INFORMATION (Please answer all the questions)	Office use only												
<p>Tick relevant number (s) for each question.</p> <p>1. What is your gender?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Male</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Female</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </table>	Male	1	Female	2	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Male	1												
Female	2												
<p>2. To which age group do you belong? (In years)</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>18 - 20 years</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>21 - 35</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>36 - 50</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>51 - 65</td> <td>4</td> </tr> </table>	18 - 20 years	1	21 - 35	2	36 - 50	3	51 - 65	4	<input type="checkbox"/>				
18 - 20 years	1												
21 - 35	2												
36 - 50	3												
51 - 65	4												
<p>3. What is your occupation?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Student</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lecturer</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Administrative/ support staff</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other (please specify)</td> <td>4</td> </tr> </table>	Student	1	Lecturer	2	Administrative/ support staff	3	Other (please specify)	4	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Student	1												
Lecturer	2												
Administrative/ support staff	3												
Other (please specify)	4												
<p>4. What is your highest level of education?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Never attended school</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Completed primary</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Did not complete primary school</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Completed secondary school</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Completed tertiary education (degree/diploma/higher certificate etc.)</td> <td>5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other (please specify)</td> <td>6</td> </tr> </table>	Never attended school	1	Completed primary	2	Did not complete primary school	3	Completed secondary school	4	Completed tertiary education (degree/diploma/higher certificate etc.)	5	Other (please specify)	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
Never attended school	1												
Completed primary	2												
Did not complete primary school	3												
Completed secondary school	4												
Completed tertiary education (degree/diploma/higher certificate etc.)	5												
Other (please specify)	6												
<p>5. What is your marital status?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Single</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Married</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Living together in a committed partnership</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Divorced/ Separated</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Widowed</td> <td>5</td> </tr> </table>	Single	1	Married	2	Living together in a committed partnership	3	Divorced/ Separated	4	Widowed	5	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Single	1												
Married	2												
Living together in a committed partnership	3												
Divorced/ Separated	4												
Widowed	5												
<p>6. To which clan do you belong?</p>													

Mokoena	1
Mofokeng	2
Lekhoakhoa	3
Motlokoa	4
Motaung	5
Mohlakoana	6
Mosia	7
Motsoeneng	8
Mophuthing	9
Motloun	10
Mokhatla	11
Letebele	12
Mokubung	13
Other (please specify)	14

7. What is your religious belief?

Christianity	1
Ancestral, tribal, animist or other traditional African religions	2
Not-religious at all	3
Other (specify)	4

8. In which district were you born?

Maseru	1
Butha-Buthe	2
Leribe	3
Mokhotlong	4
Thaba-Tseka	5
Qacha's Nek	6
Mohale's Hoek	7
Quthing	8
Mafeteng	9
Berea	10

8.1. For how long have you lived there?

5 years or less	6-10 years	11-15 years	16-20 years	More than 20
1	2	3	4	5

8.2. Where do you live currently?

Rural area/ village	1
Town/ city	2

8.3. What is your district's dress colour identity?

Blue	1
Red	2
Yellow	3
Green	4

Brown	5
Maroon and gold	6
Other (specify)	7

SECTION B. PERCEPTIONS OF VARIOUS ASPECTS PERTAINING TO CULTURAL DRESS PRACTICES IN LESOTHO

9. Perceptions in relation to Basotho cultural dress practices

Dress can be defined as an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body or the complete arrangement of all outwardly detectible modifications of the body itself and all material objects added to it.

9.1 In general do you think it is necessary to preserve Basotho cultural dress practices for future generations, or not?

Yes	No	Uncertain
1	2	3

9.2 Indicate which of the following cultural dress practices in particular are still enforced by culture? (Un = Uncertain).

Dress practice	Yes	No	Un
9.2.1 Seshoeshoe dress to bride as welcome gift by the bridegroom's family	1	2	3
9.2.2 Women covering their heads at funerals	1	2	3
9.2.3 Women not allowed to visit local chief while wearing pants	1	2	3
9.2.4 Women not wearing mini-skirts	1	2	3
9.2.5 Women not wearing pants to church	1	2	3
9.2.6 Women dressed in <i>Seshoeshoe</i>	1	2	3
9.2.7 Wearing of Basotho blanket	1	2	3
9.2.8 Covering of heads and shoulders by women in respect of in-laws	1	2	3
9.2.9 Covering of arms by men when visiting in-laws (jacket/long sleeve top)	1	2	3
9.2.10 Mourning practices (shaving heads, mourning dress, etc.)	1	2	3
9.2.11 Putting on pink cloth for first pregnancy (Selapa)	1	2	3
9.2.12 Girls wearing thethana	1	2	3
9.2.13 Boys wearing loin cloth (ts'ea)	1	2	3
9.2.14 Circumcision graduates to receive a new blanket	1	2	3

9.3 Please explain why you believe items you selected in question 9.2 should still be enforced by culture?

9.4 Which cultural dress practices from question 9.2 still exist today? Please list such examples

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9.5 The next few questions are all about the practice of tattooing. A tattoo can be defined as a body modification that changes surface design and colour of skin. In your personal opinion, what are the most important reasons for tattooing?

Most important reasons for tattooing	Yes	No	Uncertain
9.5.1 Group identification	1	2	3
9.5.2 To demonstrate bravery	1	2	3
9.5.3 Seek attention	1	2	3
9.5.4 To be stylish or fashionable	1	2	3
9.5.5 Imitation of peers	1	2	3
9.5.6 For body decoration or beauty purposes (modification)	1	2	3
9.5.7 For purposes of fun	1	2	3

9.6 The term *body modification* can be defined as altering the human physical appearance in a permanent or temporary manner e.g. tattoo (nyao), piercing and adding body supplements to the body to complete outfits e.g. earrings, rings, make-up etc.

9.6.1 Are you aware of any body modifications and supplements that are popular in Basotho culture?

Yes	No	Uncertain
1	2	3

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9.6.2 Indicate which of the following body modifications are for males or females?

	Male	Female	Both
9.6.2.1 Tattooing (Nyao)	1	2	3
9.6.2.2 Peculiar haircuts (tlopo, motloenya)	1	2	3
9.6.2.3 Ear piercing	1	2	3
9.6.2.4 Nose / tongue piercing	1	2	3

9.7.8 Which of the above hair adornments are used to communicate a meaning and what do they symbolise?

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9.8 Briefly describe the use and meaning of cultural items made from beads as indicated below

Cultural items	Use (A)	Meaning/symbolism (B)							
9.8.1 Sefaha sa thekeng, tankare /likhoso (toddlers and infants)			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.2 Necklace (sefaha sa molala)			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.3 Moletsa			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.4 Bracelet beads (sa letsoho)			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.5 Anklet beads (sa leoto)			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.6 Setipa			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.7 Khoetsa			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.8 iSikhakha			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						
9.8.9 Thethana			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						

9.9. List types of material used by Basotho for beadwork

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9.10 Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

1=Strongly disagree 2=Disagree 3=Agree 4=Strongly agree 5=Uncertain

	1	2	3	4	5
9.10.1 Christianity has a positive impact on Basotho dress practices					

--

9.11 How has Christianity affected the way Basotho dress? (note: dress includes all modifications done to the body and all materials added to the body including wearing of makeup and perfume).

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10.1 The next statement relates to awareness of the meanings and symbolisms of cultural dress practices in the Basotho culture. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. (1=Strongly disagree 2=Disagree 3=Agree 4=Strongly agree 5=Uncertain)

There is a specific cultural meaning attached to Basotho dress	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

10.3 In your opinion, which Basotho dress items best communicate the following?

Dress items	What it communicates	Yes	No	Uncertain
10.3.1 Basotho hat	National identity	1	2	3
10.3.2 Basotho blanket	National identity	1	2	3
10.3.3 Seshoeshoe dress	National identity	1	2	3
10.3.4 Sek'hak'ha	Group identity	1	2	3
10.3.5 Thapo	Death	1	2	3
10.3.6 Selapa	First pregnancy	1	2	3
10.3.7 Dress items of same colour	Group identity	1	2	3
10.3.8 Leqapha	For initiation	1	2	3
10.3.9 Mokhahla	For initiation	1	2	3
10.3.10 Other (specify)		1	2	3

10.4 In order to preserve or abolish certain aspects of the culture of Basotho dress practices, please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

1=Strongly disagree 2=Disagree 3=Agree 4=Strongly Agree 5=Uncertain

	1	2	3	4	5
10.4.1 There should be dress symbolism/meaning attached to rites of passage such as birth, puberty, marriage & death					
10.4.2 There should be special clothing for different rites of passage					
10.4.3 Relatives of a deceased should embrace a mourning dress mark for a specified period of mourning					
10.4.4 A rite of passage mark should be performed to indicate change from one status to another.					

10.4.5 There should be restrictions with regards to dress choices for women during rites of passage (e.g. during death, menstruation, age, status childbirth)								
10.4.6 There should be dress preferences or practices for traditional and modern women								
10.4.7 There should be customs to prescribe female styles and dress sizes to be worn								
10.4.8 There should be customs to prescribe female dress materials, types, colours or ornaments.								
10.5 Do you know of any meaning or symbolism behind the covering of the belly with a towel or a cloth by pregnant women? Please explain briefly								

10.6 What was the meaning or symbolism for dress items that were used as exchange gifts for different cultural/ social activities e.g. courtship/marriage etc. <i>in the past</i> ? Briefly explain the meaning and symbolism involved.								
Social activity	Cultural dress items	Meaning/Symbolism						
Courtship (Lefereho)	Necklace or handkerchief							
Marriage proposal (ha ho koptjoa mohope oa metsi)	Animal fat smeared on the face (mafura)							
Marriage gifts by in-laws	Seshoeshoe, Basotho blanket							
Initiation graduation	New blanket, red Ochre (letsoku)							
First pregnancy	Selapa							
Other (specify)								

10.7 What is the meaning/symbolism of dress items that could **currently** be exchanged as gifts for social activities? (e.g. for courtship, childbirth, etc.).

Social activity	Cultural dress items	Meaning/Symbolism
Courtship (Lefereho)	Necklace, earrings, watches, etc.	
Marriage proposal (ha ho koptjoa mohope oa metsi)	Engagement ring	
Marriage (Ho phahlela)	Seshoeshoe, shawl, blanket, shoes, etc.	
Initiation graduation	New blanket, gumboots	
Childbirth	Baby shower clothing	
Other (specify)		

10.8 Provide the group name for example of cultural dress items listed in the table below that have the potential of causing conflicts.

Cultural dress items	Group name
10.8.1 Kobo ea seanamarena e ts'ehla	
10.8.2 Seanamarena se sefubelu	
10.8.3 Letlama le lefubelu	
10.8.4 Letlama lets'o	
10.8.5 Lebetlela (protection stick)	
10.8.6 Other (specify)	

11. The next few questions all deal with the value of traditional dress.

11.1. In your opinion, to what extent do Basotho value their cultural dress practices?

Very much	1
Quite a lot	2
Not very much	3

--

12.2 With respect to the impact of modernisation on Basotho dress practices, indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements: **1= Strongly disagree 2= Disagree 3= Agree 4= Strongly Agree 5= Uncertain**

Result of modernisation	1	2	3	4	5
12.2.1 Basotho are ashamed of their culture					
12.2.2 Basotho are now modernised					
12.2.3 Women wearing leggings, tights, mini-skirts and skinny jeans					
12.2.4 Women modifying their hair by bonding, braiding and colouring					
12.2.5 Men not significantly affected by modernisation					
12.2.6 Teenagers have no role models for culture					
12.2.7 Modernisation leads to loss of cultural identity					
12.2.8 Other (specify)					

12.3 These changes are influenced by:

	Yes	No	Uncertain
12.3.1 Media e.g. TV, Magazines, Internet	1	2	3
12.3.2 Christianity	1	2	3
12.3.3 Influence of other cultures	1	2	3
12.3.4 Celebrities	1	2	3
12.3.5 Lack of parental modelling	1	2	3
12.3.6 Other (Specify)	1	2	3

12.5. Indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements: **1= Strongly disagree 2= Disagree 3= Agree 4= Strongly Agree 5= Uncertain**

12.5.1 Most Basotho still appreciate their cultural dress practices.	1	2	3	4	5	
12.5.2 Cultural dress practices of the Basotho are outdated.	1	2	3	4	5	
12.5.3 Modern day fashion has positive influence on Basotho dress practices	1	2	3	4	5	
12.5.4 Modern day fashion has positive influence on Basotho blankets	1	2	3	4	5	
12.5.5 Modern day fashion has positive impact on Seshoeshoe dress	1	2	3	4	5	

12.5.6 Encouraging use of synthetic material instead of cow hide for <i>mose oa khomo</i>	1	2	3	4	5	
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12.6 Which of the following dress items have disappeared from Basotho culture?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
12.6.1 Ts'ea	1	2	3
12.6.2 Lifatla	1	2	3
12.6.3 Leqapha	1	2	3
12.6.4 Thethana	1	2	3
12.6.5 Seteea/ mose oa khomo	1	2	3
12.6.6 Selapa	1	2	3
12.6.7 Kuoane	1	2	3
12.6.8 Letata	1	2	3
12.6.9 Other (Specify)	1	2	3

13. We now want to ask you a few questions on the value of cultural dress artefacts.

13.1 An artefact can be defined as any object produced by human craft for some use.

Are there any dress artefacts available in your district/clan which in your opinion should be preserved?

Yes	No	Uncertain
1	2	3

13.2 Indicate which materials are used to manufacture the dress artefacts listed below:

Dress artefacts	Material used to make them
13.2.1 Basotho hat	
13.2.2 Leqapha	
13.2.3 Kuoane	
13.2.4 Setipa	
13.2.5 iSikhakha	
13.2.6 Thethana	
13.2.7 Lifatla	
13.2.8 Sefaha	
13.2.9 Khoetsa	
13.2.10 Mokhahla	
13.2.11 Mose oa khomo/ seteea	
13.2.12 Other (Specify)	

13.3 Briefly describe how khoetsa is made according to the Basotho clans that you know, i.e., What do Bataung, Bakoena, etc. use?

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION.

IF YOU ARE A MEMBER OF STAFF PLEASE RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESEARCHER. IF YOU ARE A STUDENT PLEASE RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO YOUR LECTURER.

Appendix 4C: Consent to participate in the study



Consent To Participate In This Study (Questionnaire)

I _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience stemming from my participation in this study.

I have read (or researcher explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the cover page of the questionnaire. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable). I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into a research thesis, journal publications and/ conference proceedings.

I have received a signed copy of the consent agreement.

Full Name of Participant _____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Appendix 5: Focus Group Discussions

Appendix 5A: Focus Group Schedule

Focus Groups Discussions

1. Basotho cultural dress practices

- a. Name Basotho cultural dress practices that you are aware of (e.g. shaving of heads after a funeral)
- b. In your opinion do you think both old and young Basotho still appreciate the traditional dress practices or do they feel they are outdated (e.g. wearing of selapa when pregnant with first born baby).
- c. Do you feel fashion has brought changes on how Basotho dress their bodies currently and what do you think has caused these changes?
- d. Which cultural ceremonies that have cultural dress practices are currently not done by Christians as opposed to the olden days before Basotho became Christians?

2. Body adornments and supplements

- a. Name different cultural ways that were used to adorn heads and faces for males and females in the past and those that are currently used.
- b. Give examples of hairstyles and substances or creams that were traditionally used for adornment and those presently used.

3. Rites of passage

- a. Do Basotho have cultural dress or clothing which signifies status e.g. kinship, marriage, etc.? Give examples.
- b. Are there special materials, colours or ornaments for different rites of passage (e.g. leqapha and selapa) and why?

4. Artefacts

- a. List dress or clothing artefacts in your region or district that emphasise symbolism for marriage, pregnancy, power or initiation etc.
- b. Which materials are used for these?
- c. List Basotho cultural dress or clothing items that are used symbolically.
- d. In your opinion, which Basotho dress or clothing items best communicate the following : Identity, status or power, affiliation, clan identity, district or region one belongs to and initiation etc.
- e. Do you know of any forms of dress or clothing items that have disappeared or are on the verge of disappearing from Basotho culture for males and females?
- f. List any cultural dress or clothing items that have the potential of causing conflicts among the community and reasons why this is so.

5. Religion

- a. In your opinion, what role does religion play in Basotho cultural dress practices?

- b. How is clothing used by both Basotho males and females used for religious identity?
- c. In your opinion what can you say about how modernisation and religion have influenced Basotho ways of dressing nowadays?

Appendix 5B: Consent to Participate in the Focus Group Discussion



Consent To Participate In Focus Group Discussion

I _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and any anticipated inconvenience stemming from my participation in this study.

I am willing to participate in the study and I understand that my participation is voluntary. I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into a research thesis, journal publications and/ conference proceedings.

I agree to the recording of my voice for the purpose of data collection.

I have received a signed copy of the consent agreement.

Full Name of Participant _____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Appendix 6: Interviews

Appendix 6A: Interview schedule (English)

Interviews

1. Basotho cultural dress practices

- e. Name Basotho cultural dress practices that still exist that are important. Which of them were influenced by modernisation and Christianity? Which dress practices are associated with respect between mother in-law and son in-law? In your opinion do you think both old and young Basotho still appreciate the traditional dress practices or do they feel they are outdated.
- f. What is the meaning or symbolism behind wearing of towels by pregnant women?
- g. What do you recommend as an appropriate way a Mosotho youth and middle aged person should dress their body?
- h. Is it appropriate for dress cultural practices to be enforced on people?
- i. Which cultural dress practices are associated with (a) menstruation (b) orphan ceremony (c) and seqoma
- j. Which cultural dress practices are the responsibility of the uncle (from the mother's side)?

2. Body adornments and supplements

- c. Name any cultural body modifications and supplements of Basotho that you know and their meaning.
- d. Give examples of where and how these cultural body modifications and supplements are used in the different parts of the body (including creams).
- e. List any cultural items made from beads which have symbolism.
- f. Do colours or materials used convey any meaning? Explain.

3. Rites of passage

- c. Are there any specific cultural dress or clothing items for the following rites of passage e.g. child birth, puberty, initiation, marriage, death? Give examples of dress or clothing used for such ceremonies.
- d. Do Basotho have cultural dress or clothing which signifies status e.g. kinship, marriage, etc.?
- e. Are there special materials, colours or ornaments for different rites of passage (e.g. leqapha and selapa) and why?

4. Artefacts

- g. Give the names of clans found in your region
- h. Which cultural dress or clothing artefacts are still available in your region which need to be preserved and why?

- i. Mention any cultural dress or clothing items and colours that have the potential of causing conflicts among the community and reasons why this is so.
- j. Do you prefer cultural dress items that are made of original materials or imitations or synthetic materials e.g. *mose oa khomo*?

5. Christianity and modernisation

- d. In your opinion, how has Christianity and modernisation influenced Basotho cultural dress practices in general today?
- e. How is clothing or dress used by Basotho to communicate different Christian identities?

Appendix 6B: Interview schedule (Sesotho)

Lipotsiso

1. Litloalo tsa meaparo ea Basotho

- k. Fana ka litloaello tsa moaparo tsa Basotho tsa bohlokoa tse ntseng li le teng. Ke li fe ho tsona tse susumelitsoeng ke sejoale-joale le Bokreste? Ke litloaello li fe tsa moaparo tse amangoang le tlhompheo lipakeng tsa mokhoenyana le 'm'e matsale?
Na batho ba baholo le bacha ba Basotho ba thahasella litloaello tsa moaparo tsa moetlo kapa ba bona e le ntho e fetiloeng ke linako?
- l. Ho apara thaole hoa bakhachane ho na le moelelo o fe?
- m. Ke mokhoa o fe oa ho apara ka Sesotho o nepahetseng bakeng sa mocha kapa motho ea lilemo li mahareng oa Mosotho?
- n. Na hoa nepahala hore litloaello tsa moetlo tsa ho apara li qobelloe?
- o. Ke litloaello li fe tsa moaparo tse amangoang le (a) ho qala ho ea matsatsing hoa basetsana (b) ho apara le ho tlosa khutsana (c) le seqoma?
- p. Ke litloaello li fe tsa moaparo oa moetlo tseo e leng boikarabello ba bo malome?

2. Mekhabo /Likhabisa 'mele

- g. Bolela mekhabo /likhabisi kapa ntho tse tlatselitsang kaparo ho eketsa botle le seo li se bolelang
- h. Fana ka mekhoa e fapaneng ea moetlo oa Sesotho e sebelisoang ho khabisa likarolo tse fapaneng tsa 'mele. Lintho tsee, li etsoa ho kae, kapa ho kenngoa kae 'meleng? (Kenyeletsa le lintho tse itlatsang – creams).
- i. Fana ka lisebelisoa tsa moaparo tsa moetlo tse etsoang ka sefaha le se boleloang ka tsona.
- j. Mebala kapa lisebelisoa tse entseng lithepa tsee li na le seo li se bolelang?

3. Litloaello tsa methati ea khohlo ea motho

- f. Na ho na le moaparo oa moetlo o khetheleng bakeng sa ho keteka methati e fapaneng eo motho a fetang ho eona khohlo, joaleka tsoalo ea ngoana, ho kena boroetsaneng kapa bohlananeng, lebollo, lenyalo j.j.? Fana ka mehlala ea moaparo maamong ana.
- g. Na Basotho ba na le liaparo tsa moetlo tse bonts'ang boemo joaloka, borena, mohale, ngaka ea moetlo, j.j.?
- h. Na ho na le lisebelisoa, mebala kapa mekhabiso e khetheleng bakeng sa methati e eo motho a e fetang khohlo joaleka, lenyalo, lebollo joalo joalo.

4. Lisebelisoa tsa moetlo

- k. Ke meloko, liboko li fe tse fumanehang tikolohong ee ea heno?
- l. Ke lintho li fe tsa moetlo tse aparoang tse ntseng li sebelisoa ke meloko tse lokelang ho baballoa? Hobaneng? Liboko kapa meloko ee e apara eng e ba khethollang?
- m. Bolela liaparo tsa moetlo le mebala ea tikoloho ea heno tse nang le ho baka liqabang, lintoa le lipolaeano? Hobaneng ha ho ho etsahala?
- n. U thabela liphahlo tsa moetlo tse entsoeng ka lihlahisoa tsa tlholeho kapa tsa maiketsetso, j.k. mose oa khomo?

5. Bokreste le sejoalejoale

- f. Ho ea ka uena, Bokreste le sejoalejoale li na le ts'uts'umetso kapa khahlamelo e fe moaparong oa moetlo oa Basotho ka kakaretso kajeno?
- g. Basotho ba sebelisa liphahlo kapa moaparo joang ho supa kapa ho bonts'a litumelo tsa bona tsa Bokreste?

Appendix 6C: Interview worksheet (sample for interview point 2 – Body adornments and supplements)

2. Mekhabo

1 A			
*P1		P4	
P2		P5	
P3		P6	

B			
P1		P4	
P2		P5	
P3		P6	

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	C		
P1		P4	
P2		P5	
P3		P6	

	D		
P1		P4	
P2		P5	
P3		P6	

P1 – P6 refers to participant 1 to participant 6.

Appendix 6D: Ha Belo's chief letter of permission for interviews

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-MANATONA MOBALA
PHOLONAMANEHA
-MASEKO MANHLOPO
MANUHOENA MANHLOPO
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all references
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