

# Livestock Production and Rural Development in Lesotho: A Historical Analysis of Wool and Mohair Industry (1850s – 1980s)

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## Abstract

*It is argued by some scholars that many Basotho farmers reared livestock mainly for prestige, and not for economic purposes. Although this argument holds, the contribution of livestock production to rural development in Lesotho has been very significant since the colonial period. Both Colonial and Post-colonial Lesotho governments introduced different agricultural programmes and policies to improve livestock production in the country. Improvement in Livestock production allowed Basotho to use livestock for different purposes such as farming, performing cultural ceremonies, trading and many others. Besides providing people with the means of sustenance, livestock production, especially sheep and goats are the main sources of wool and mohair which has been the main export to the international market since the colonial period. Marketing of wool and mohair ensures that Basotho farmers earn some income to maintain their households. In addition, the sale of wool and mohair on the international market brings in foreign exchange into the country that also increases the national income. Besides integrating Lesotho into the international market, wool and mohair farmers supply small local weaving industries with some raw materials for processing of different items. These small scale weaving enterprises also export the finished products to the world market. This paper is a historical analysis of this important yet neglected industry since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the role it has played in rural development.*

**Keywords:** Rural development, livestock production, weaving industries/enterprises, wool and mohair, export performance.

## Introduction

Agriculture is the backbone of many developing countries. Therefore, rural development with a focus on increasing productivity in agriculture is considered very important. This is because many people in developing countries derive the means of livelihoods from agriculture. According to Lea and Chaudhri (1983:12), the World Bank 1975 defines rural development as a “*strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people – the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless*”.

It should be noted from the above definition that rural development is meant to improve the living standards of the rural poor. However, it is further observed by Lea and Chaudhri (1983) that rural development as a concept and as a series of experiments to increase production and improve the welfare of poor people in the 1950s and 1960s was technocratic; the main idea being to increase national income through manufacturing. The technocratic approach to rural development caused poverty, unemployment and food insecurity in developing countries. However, in order to improve the living standards of the poor people, Integrated Rural Development Projects were introduced.

## Integrated rural development

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Ruger (2005) opines that the 1950s and 1960s were the decades of growth to increase national income, but little was done to improve the lives of the poor. Many governments were concerned mainly with increasing the Gross National Product (Goldstein, 1985; Thorbecke, 2005), with Machethe (1995) categorising this era as a top-down development framework. The trickle-down effect envisaged during the modernisation phase also did not materialise, but pressure for poverty-focused Integrated Rural Development projects was mounting by the 1970s (Machethe, 1995). It was especially international organisations which led the process in promoting the Integrated Rural Development approach (Basler and Brunswick-Völkenrode, 1979). Integrated Rural Development was considered to be a pro-poor, rural development strategy, participatory in nature, in which the rural poor were expected to run their own development agenda. In contrast to the top-down approach of the Green Revolution, communities were expected to implement these programmes. However, it should be mentioned that in most cases, programmes were implemented by donors, and governments played a pivotal role. The value of the Integrated Rural Development paradigm can be summarised as follows.

First, it is stated that Integrated Rural Development projects targeted certain geographical localities. Researchers point out that the approach enabled governments to provide packages of goods and services to targeted populations in designated regions (Sallinger-McBride and Picard, 1989). The belief was that benefits would trickle down to some other parts of society (Funnell and Binns, 1983).

Second, the literature points out that unlike the Green Revolution and Community Development approaches that focused on specific activities, Integrated Rural Development combined different development aspects, with agricultural and non-agricultural activities being included (Livingstone, 1979). Typical project activities which were included were farm credit, extension, agricultural inputs, reliable marketing facilities, assured agricultural product prices, schools and hospitals, rural public works and stronger village institutions (Livingstone, 1979; Machethe, 1995). The proponents of Integrated Rural Development further argue that besides transforming small-scale agriculture into commercial farming, the approach introduces or expands agro-processing, agribusiness, and related rural industries in order to diversify rural economies, increase employment opportunities, and stimulate internal demand for domestically produced goods (Sallinger-McBride and Picard, 1989). There was thus some emphasis on non-farm industries.

Third, popular participation was a cornerstone of the Integrated Rural Development approach. The proponents of the approach maintain that local participation in integrated rural development (Sallinger-McBride and Picard, 1989; Nemes, 2005) was emphasised where the affected people (the rural poor) were expected to take part in poverty eradication. The idea was to empower the local communities by involving them in national development through self-help development projects (Belshaw, 1977; Livingstone, 1979).

### **Critique of Integrated Rural Development strategies**

Despite the importance of most Integrated Rural Development projects, they were not without criticism. First, the literature points out that despite the emphasis on participation, many of them lacked public participation in the planning process. And in many cases, projects were centrally planned (Nemes, 2005). The lack of participation is thus commonly forwarded as a reason why projects failed (de Janvry, 2004).

Second, it is argued that the integrated approach to rural development failed to improve the lives of the rural people. For instance, Paul (1998) points out that in India, integrated rural development projects did not perform well because the assets provided to the beneficiary families were of low quality. Many Integrated Rural Development projects targeted certain areas while others were excluded in the hope that the benefits would trickle down; this did not happen as intended or expected. The reason seems to be that the implementation of integrated rural development projects selected specific areas, thus implying that others were excluded (Funnell and Binns, 1983).

Third, many integrated rural development projects benefited the richer farmers (Machethe, 1995), while the poor ones remained trapped in poverty. This shows that the integrated approach to rural

development did not reduce inequalities that occurred among communities and individuals. In addition, Machethe (1995) further argues that most integrated rural development projects could not be replicated because it was too costly to implement. As a result, some places in developing countries did not benefit from the integrated rural development approach.

The Integrated Rural Development approach focused on different strategies to reduce poverty in developing countries. It can be observed from the above discussion that the concern was also about introducing extension and marketing services in agriculture. Therefore, this shows that increased agricultural production was expected. The Integrated Rural Development approach also established agro-industries that were used to process the agricultural raw materials.

It can be observed from the above discussion that an integrated approach to rural development in the 1970s focused on improving agricultural productivity through adoption of improved methods of farming. However, the contribution of agriculture to rural and national development in Lesotho can be traced in the 1800.

### **Background of agriculture and development in Lesotho**

Research shows that Lesotho was once a granary of South Africa supplying grain to Kimberly diamond mines in the 1870s (Murray, 1981). This evidence suggests that agricultural productivity was very high in Lesotho. As a result, the country was in a position to market the agricultural surplus in the foreign market. The increased agricultural productivity in the 1870s further suggests that the country was not too dependent on migrant labourer remittances (Rosenberg, 2007). However, grain produced by Basotho farmers faced tariffs in the South African market in the decade that followed. This left Basotho farmers with a limited choice of marketing agricultural produce in the domestic market. In addition, changes in trade relations between Lesotho and South Africa resulted in many Basotho seeking employment in the latter country (Rosenberg, 2007). In this regard, evidence shows that an average of 37 000 Basotho men crossed borders into South Africa in search of paid employment in the mines in the decade that followed 1880s (Rosenberg, 2007). However, migration of Basotho men into South African goldmines was linked to a decline in agricultural productivity in the country (Modo, 2001). This is because agriculture was left in the hands of old and young people (FAO, 1977; Cadribo, 1987).

It cannot be ignored that the migrant labourer system contribute significantly to rural development in Lesotho. The migrant labourer remittances are mainly used to finance agricultural development (Wallman, 1972). According to the Central Bank of Lesotho (2003), about 70% of Basotho residing in the rural areas make a living from agriculture.

The above discussion reveals that, the contribution of agriculture to rural and national development in Lesotho can be traced in the 1800 when Lesotho supplied South African mines with grain. However, sanctions imposed on grain imported from Lesotho in the South African market forced farmers to seek paid employment in the South African mines. As a result, agricultural production declined. There were measures introduced to increase agricultural productivity in Lesotho. The country adopted some of the Green Revolution technologies to increase crop production and animal husbandry. Therefore, the following section studies the contribution of livestock production in rural development.

### **Livestock production and rural development**

Policies to improve livestock production in Lesotho were first implemented during the colonial rule. These policies included among others, cattle dipping and de-stocking (Makoa, 1999) which had been practised since 1949 through the colonial authorities putting pressure on local chiefs (Driver, 1999). Besides culling livestock, the colonial government introduced measures to control unwanted plant species that destroyed the quality of wool and mohair (Uys, 1970). Good quality wool and mohair was to be ensured by increasing the number of dipping tanks, veterinary clinics, wool/mohair sheds, an agricultural credit bank and the provision of extension services to farmers. This led to a dramatic increase in quantity and in the prices of wool and mohair in the 1950s (Uys, 1970).

In the post-colonial era, rural development with special focus on agriculture and mainly livestock production was also given more attention. For instance, according to Mashinini (2000), the agriculture sub-sector in Lesotho involved crop production, livestock production and range management. Policies that aimed to improve the quality of livestock were proposed in the *First Five Year Development Plan*. According to the plan, livestock production in Lesotho accounted for 40% of the Gross Domestic Product in 1970 (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970). Improvement in livestock production considered issues such as, overstocking, uncontrolled breeding, and parasite infestation. Livestock management, especially destocking, focused mainly on sheep, goats, and cattle despite their contribution to the development of the country by providing wool, mohair, hides and skins (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970). To ensure good management of livestock, the government also introduced Livestock Improvement Centres to ensure good quality breeds. Other programmes on livestock management included: better feeding, the improvement of breeds, pasture management and grazing control (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1970). Improvement in livestock production was also included during the *Second Five Year Development Plan*. According to the plan the general objective of the government was to raise productivity in livestock through improvements in breeding, disease prevention and general management (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1976).

Livestock improvement was also part of some Integrated Rural Development Projects that were introduced in Lesotho in the 1970s and 1980s. For instance, even though Thaba-Tseka Integrated Rural Development Project was established as a decentralisation process in Lesotho during the *Second Five Year Development Plan*, the project improved animal husbandry and crop production (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1976). As stated by Wallman (1976), the mountain areas are mostly suitable for livestock production. Therefore, some development of low-cost techniques for producing and improving forage was very important for improved livestock. An improvement in animal husbandry was seen especially in dairy farming and in wool and mohair marketing (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1976).

It can be noted from the above discussion that improvement in livestock production was both a task of colonial and post-colonial government. Agricultural policies such as dipping targeted improving wool and mohair for sale to the colonisers. Therefore, the next part studies wool and mohair marketing in Lesotho since the colonial period.

### **Wool and mohair marketing in Lesotho**

Research on Lesotho reveals that, wool and mohair industry can be linked to the advent of Angora goat into the country. Evidence shows that Lesotho obtained all of its original Angora goat blood from the Republic of South Africa (Uys, 1970). The Angora goats came into Lesotho through different ways. Most of them were imported by government; others were bought by the migrant labourers. However, there was also smuggling of the Angora goats through the livestock theft (Uys, 1970). The Angora goats were also introduced together with the Merino sheep into Lesotho by the colonial government. The main objective was to make Basotho farmers wool and mohair producers for the colonizers.

For over 80 years, Lesotho's major exports come from wool and mohair. Wool and mohair sales form the largest part of domestic income (Mphale, 1993). According to Hunter and Mokitimi (1990) wool and mohair fleeces were sold through any of the three outlets and channels, private traders, government sponsored marketing agent, or, illegally, through smugglers. Wool and mohair from Lesotho was sold on the world market through South African farmers marketing cooperative which belonged to the auspices of the South African wool and mohair Boards. The sale of wool and mohair on the international market was a result of an increase in the number of the Merino sheep. The number of Merino sheep increased 10 times from 300 000 to almost three million, while the Angora goats increased from 100 000 to over one million between 1900 and 1931 (Hunter and Mokitimi, 1990). Hunter and Mokitimi (1990) further argue that Frazers owned and ran 46% of the trading stations and controlled trade in some locales. For example, in the 1980s, Frazers had about one third of the private licenses for wool and mohair purchases (Hunter and Mokitimi, 1990). The authors further point out that, wool and mohair were also traded through hawkers and the licenses were invariably white. However, after 1950s when wool and mohair cooperatives were

introduced, hawkers were banned to trade in wool and mohair, but the number of licenses was very restricted (Hunter and Mokitimi, 1990).

In order for producers to be competitive on the international market, they must produce good quality goods and products. As a result, policies that ensure production of good quality goods must be introduced. In this respect, the Lesotho government introduced policies that aimed at improving the quality of livestock in the country. The next section looks at the different government policies that were meant to ensure good quality wool and mohair.

### **Some infrastructural services provided for production of wool and mohair**

The different infrastructural services were provided to farmers for improvement of the livestock. First, the Lesotho government established some studs at Quthing and Mokhotlong for breeding of livestock. Second, the government established Livestock Product Marketing Service (LPMS) to supply, inspect and grade wool and mohair in all shearing sheds in the country. The LPMS was also meant to ensure refinement of wool and mohair operational systems (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981). Another role of the LPMS was to encourage and attract farmers to participate in livestock improvement through efficient marketing (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981). The LPMS was also established to supply services to local traders and handicraft centres using wool and mohair. Third, the Lesotho government established more than hundred shearing sheds within the country, where shearing and classing of fleeces was done (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981). Evidence reveals that in the 1960s fifty livestock improvement centres were established, two hundred dip tanks and one hundred crush pens (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981).

Besides providing the infrastructural services in different places, Lesotho government through the Livestock Improvement Centres also provided basic animal husbandry and veterinary services to farmers (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981). In this regard, lectures and induction courses were provided to wool and mohair producers on rearing of improved livestock by importing quality rams and classifying of clip (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981).

As indicated in the paper, the Lesotho government provided some services that were meant to improve the quality and increase the quantity of wool and mohair. Once farmers produced good quality wool and mohair, they (wool and mohair) were exported to the foreign countries. The following discussion attempts to study the export performance of wool and mohair industry in Lesotho.

### **Export performance of wool and mohair industry**

Livestock production, especially sheep and goats contribute to rural and national development of Lesotho in different ways. First, the export of wool and mohair fetches some foreign exchange that can be used to increase the national income and improve the living standards of farmers. However, there are contrary views about the contribution of livestock to rural development in Lesotho. For instance, Ferguson (1994) points out that many Basotho rear livestock for prestige. However, the contribution of livestock production to rural and national development in Lesotho is well documented in the literature. The view by Ferguson (1994) ignores the fact that livestock production, particularly rearing of sheep and goats integrated Basotho into the global capitalist economy through the international trade since the colonial period. Empirical evidence shows that in the nineteenth century, Basotho farmers were producing and exporting large quantities of wool and mohair to the overseas countries, mainly Britain (the colony country). In this respect, wool and mohair plays an important role to development of Lesotho and accounts for about 75% of the total exports of the country (Mphale, 1993).

Research on Lesotho suggests that, wool and mohair production started in the 1850s. However, export of wool and mohair took place in the years that followed. According to Murray (1981), in 1873 Lesotho exported 2000 bags of wool to South Africa, and in 1880 export of wool increased to 40 4000 bags. It is further argued by Uys (1970) that in 1893/1894 a total of 30460 lb of mohair was exported at a total value of 792 pounds. And it is believed that that quantity of mohair was produced by not less than 10 000 goats (Uys, 1970).

Evidence further shows that, wool and mohair production in Lesotho was not affected by the rinderpest in 1896/97 which affected mostly cattle. In this respect, during the time of rinderpest about 68023 lb of mohair was exported and sold for 3147 pounds. It is believed that this quantity of mohair was produced by about 25 000 flock of Angora goats. An increase in the export and production of wool and mohair was evident between 1899/1900 where 1942/48 lb of mohair was exported and sold for 9010 pounds. This sharp increase in the quantity of mohair was associated with an increase in the number of Angora goats that were estimated at about 80 000 (Uys, 1970).

The high export performance of wool and mohair was witnessed in 1950 where about 1589 200 lb of mohair was exported and brought 250 000 pounds for the country. At this time, the number of Angora goats was reported to be 610 000 (Uys, 1970). The highest revenues from wool and mohair marketing were collect in 1957, whereby 1056 066 lb of wool was sold for 348 149 pounds. An increase in the quantity and prices of wool and mohair in the 1950s was associated with provision of extension services to farmers. Provision of extension services resulted to the formation of producer cooperatives in 1955 whereby 14 wool and mohair cooperatives were formed (Uys, 1970). It is indicated that the cooperatives exported over 26 000 lb of mohair which earned the country 322 627 pounds (Uys 1970).

Trading of wool and mohair on the international market was also done after independence. According to the Ministry of Economic Planning (1997) the exports of wool and mohair increased by 50% in quantitative terms during the 1980s, and during 1988-1993 wool and mohair production yielded 2.4 million tons and 1 million tons respectively. Therefore, the returns from the sale of these agricultural products was M23 million for wool and M11 million for mohair. Wool and mohair sold by the Wool Grower Association directly to brokers on the coast in RSA fetched good returns than prices paid in Lesotho by traders (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1976).

It can be noted from the above discussion that Basotho livestock farmers participated in the market through the sale of wool and mohair since the colonial period. Therefore, the view by Ferguson (1994) that many Basotho own livestock for prestige does not hold. It is also observed that Basotho livestock farmers participated in local trade by supplying wool and mohair to the local weaving enterprises. Therefore, the next section looks at the production linkages between wool and mohair farmers and weaving industries in Lesotho since the colonial time.

### **Wool and mohair as sources of raw materials for weaving industries/enterprises in Lesotho**

According to Mashinini (2000) there were no industries in Lesotho during the period of colonialism besides weaving enterprises which relied on wool and mohair produced by Basotho farmers as raw materials. These weaving enterprises were known as Village Development Centres (VDCs) or Rural Industries. The establishment of Village Development Centres can be associated with the coming of missionaries in the 1830s. It is stated that, the missionaries imported sheep and angora goats for supply of wool and mohair as raw materials to the enterprises. The missionaries taught Basotho the simple skills in spinning of wool and mohair, but some Basotho learned the skills of spinning while working in South Africa (Uys, 1970). The VDCs produced goods such as hats, socks, and jerseys from wool and mohair using simple technologies, mainly the spinning wheels (Levinsohn, 1976).

There were many weaving enterprises/industries established in Lesotho during the colonial period. First, the first hand spinning and weaving industry in the country was established at Teyateyaneng (Levinsohn, 1976). The industry specialized in spinning of yarns from mohair and weaved floor rugs for export to RSA and other foreign countries (Levinsohn, 1976).

Second, Thabana-Li-'Mele Handicraft Centre was established after independence for production of quality hand woven mohair goods and some pottery (Henry, 1979). It is reported that, Thabana-Li-'Mele Handicraft Centre received bilateral assistance from the Swedish government amounting to M107, 000.00 and human expertise (Uys, 1970). The main activities of Thabana-Li-'Mele Handicraft Centre

included weaving of bedspreads, blankets, balaclavas, caps, garments and ladies jackets using the raw materials from the local wool and mohair farmers (Uys, 1970).

Third, another important weaving enterprise that used wool and mohair from the local farmers for production of hand-woven carpets and other articles was the Royal Lesotho Carpet Weavers (RLCW). This weaving enterprise employed mostly women for producing prototype rugs, carpets and some wall hangings or murals (Henry, 1979).

Weaving enterprises/industries in Lesotho used wool and mohair from the local farmers for production of various goods for sale on the local and international market. These findings indicate that, the forward linkage between farmers and weaving industries is observed when farmers supply raw materials to the weaving industries for processing to earn some income. In addition, the consumption linkage is also observed when goods from the weaving enterprises are sold on the local market. Furthermore, employment linkage occurred when people are employed in the weaving enterprises. In this respect, one can argue that, wool and mohair industry in Lesotho contributes to reduction of poverty, unemployment and food insecurity.

Therefore, a rural development strategy which puts more emphasis on promoting improved livestock production and establishment of weaving enterprises/industries is supported and advocated for. The following part looks at the government policies that were used to promote weaving enterprises in Lesotho.

### **Government policies towards promoting weaving enterprises/industries in Lesotho**

The Village Industries Development Organization (VIDO) was established to promote and market handicraft products after independence (Mashinini, 2001). VIDO, Department of Cooperatives, and local interests worked together and were responsible for the planning of a number of craft production and marketing units. However, Lesotho Cooperative Handicrafts (LCH) was formed to take over VIDO (Hunter and Mokitimi, 1990; Mashinini, 2001). LCH provided marketing and training programmes to the handicraft sector. For instance, by 1975 LCH was marketing crafts from some 3 000 producers and had a turnover in the amount exceeding R200 000.00 (Hunter and Mokitimi, 1990).

During the *Second Five Year Development Plan (1975/76-1979/80)* the Lesotho Government committed to participating actively in the promotion of rural industries in the country. The plan reveals that, government extended the craft centres at the Maseru market, and established 15 small workshops for hire to small entrepreneurs. It was also during the *Second Five Year Development Plan* when the Lesotho government constructed the craft centre at Maputsoe in 1975/76 and in Mohale's Hoek in 1976/77 (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1976). The craft centres accommodated small scale entrepreneurs in the remote rural areas. During the *Third Five Year Development Plan* the government constructed a warehouse in Maseru for storing of craft products. Transport was also provided by government for collecting craft products throughout the country and delivering them to the Sea and air ports (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981). For marketing and selling of craft products, the Lesotho government intended to establish the showrooms in Europe, North America and other areas of the world during the *Third Five Year Development Plan* (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1981). In order to export good quality mohair to overseas countries, the government intended to establish a wool and mohair scouring plant<sup>1</sup> during the *Fourth Five Year Development Plan* (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1987).

Although wool and mohair industry contributed positively to rural and national development, it was confronted with some challenges. The following section studies the main challenges that face wool and mohair farmers in Lesotho.

### **Challenges facing wool and mohair production in Lesotho**

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<sup>1</sup> The wool and mohair scouring plant was never established till now.

The contribution of livestock production to improvement of rural livelihoods in Lesotho cannot be ignored. However, livestock production is confronted with many challenges and problems. First, overstocking was blamed for causing land degradation. As a result, many farmers were advised to reduce the number of their livestock (Driver, 1999; Mako, 1999). It can therefore be inferred that, the culling of livestock caused shortage of wool and mohair for export to the foreign countries, and this resulted in little revenues obtained from international trade. In addition, reduction in livestock numbers, especially sheep and goats resulted to the shortage of supply of wool and mohair to the weaving industries. As a result, many weaving enterprises/industries collapsed (Rantšo, 1998; Mashinini, 2001).

Second, livestock theft contributed to the decline in wool and mohair production in Lesotho. Evidence shows that, livestock theft created shortage of wool and mohair in the country. Therefore, some weaving enterprises started importing wool and mohair from RSA (Setlogelo:nd).

Third, declining terms of trade between developed and developing countries resulted to the decline in wool and mohair prices. Evidence shows that, prices for agricultural products have declined in the international market because of the use of synthetic products. As a result, trading in primary products is perceived as a less viable business activity for many African countries. This was also the case with wool and mohair producers in Lesotho.

## **Conclusion**

It is often argued that Lesotho is not well endowed with natural resources that can be utilized to ensure economic development. However, this ignores the potential and contribution of agriculture to rural and national development. It can be observed from the above discussion that, wool and mohair industry played an important role in rural and national development since colonial period. Wool and mohair from Lesotho were exported mainly to Britain. Farmers were not involved in direct marketing of wool and mohair on the international market, but trading and retail agencies such as Frazers. Evidence reveals that, the local farmers sold wool and mohair to Frazers. However, some farmers marketed wool and mohair on the international market through Wool and Mohair Growers' Associations. The incomes obtained from the sale of wool and mohair were used to maintain the households. As a result, poverty and food insecurity were reduced.

Besides ensuring the means of sustenance to the local farmers, export of wool and mohair increased the national income of the country. Evidence shows that Lesotho exports too little commodities on the international market. However, it is indicated in the above discussion that wool and mohair account for a large percentage of Lesotho's exports. In this regard, the country is in a position to earn some foreign exchange that can be used to provide the social services. The export performance of wool and mohair is observed when the local weaving industries export goods manufactured from wool and mohair to the foreign markets. At this point, one can argue that, wool and mohair industry integrates Lesotho into the global capitalist economy through international trade.

Agricultural policies such as de-stocking, and social problems such as livestock theft and lack of donor funding impacted negatively on the sustainability of weaving enterprises in Lesotho. Many weaving enterprises in Lesotho collapsed due to the above mentioned problems. This led to the situation where none of weaving enterprises graduated from producing on a small-scale to manufacturing goods on a large scale. This is illustrated by the fact that, Lesotho produces wool and mohair, but she imports blankets, jackets, shawls and many items from outside the country, especially from South Africa. Industries that process wool and mohair from Basotho farmers are found/located outside the country (mainly in South Africa), but the end products, especially blankets are consumed in Lesotho. In this respect, one can argue that, export of raw wool and mohair to the foreign countries is a way of extracting agricultural surplus cheaply from the poor farmers.

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