Transforming masculinities to combat violence using adult education in correctional settings: an agenda for peacebuilding in Lesotho

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

There are several challenges currently facing Lesotho Correctional Service including rapid escalations of incidents of mainly direct violence characterized by gangsterism, torture, and other degrading treatment of inmates by corrections staff attributable to toxic masculinities therein. The aim of this participatory action research was the transformation of masculinities using adult education methodologies with the ultimate goal of curbing violence at Maseru Central Correctional Institution. This study was caged largely within social constructionism, conflict transformation, and andragogy as theoretical frameworks policing and guiding the process. Before this study, it was established through statistical records that corrections are male-dominated spaces containing largely offenders and suspects incarcerated for serious masculine driven violent crimes such as armed robberies, man’s slaughter, sexual and gender-based violence.

Correctional facilities are classical and total institutions in nature, meaning its inhabitants who are largely inmates are subjected to strict movement control with most freedoms restricted and access to heterosexual encounter and leisure denied causing them enormous emotional pain and suffering. It is not only inmates who are predominantly men but also staff making the entire correctional setting an exclusively masculine entity. The classical nature of corrections and its militaristic orientation exposed corrections to dominant and violent masculinities depriving also members of staff freedoms of expression, choice, and decision-making. It is these series of deprivations and denials therein and masculinities learnt before either inmate’s incarceration or staff enlistment that connives and makes correctional settings a fertile ground for the production of violent masculinities.

Drawn from the above, this study was designed to explore the nature and magnitude of masculinities; the forms and extent of violence in there; the intersection of masculinities and violence in correctional settings; and to engage adult education methods and techniques as an intervention to transform toxic masculinities thereby curbing violence in there. An exploration approach was tripartite using the desktop study to learn from lessons learnt on the subject matter, followed by one-on-one in-depth interviews with inmates and staff, and two focus group discussions, one with inmates and the other with staff.

In a bid to move into action, the study borrowed from Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs) and designed a hybrid workshop which entailed and utilized information drawn from the Transformative Masculinity Project (TMP) and Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP). The evaluation of the intervention yielded results confirming that it has been instrumental in
impacting knowledge and skills concerning theoretical overviews on masculinities and violence and establishing the intersection of masculinity and violence in correctional settings. It was established that masculinities and violence are largely learnt paradigms, hence social constructs as opined by social constructionism. This contention, however, does not intend to rule out the realities of the biological make-up of masculinity. Conflict transformation and andragogy, which is an adult learning theory assisted the researcher in implementing the intervention which was aimed to minimize the production of negative masculinities; to transform violent conflict into positive conflict, and to create nonviolent correctional settings.
DECLARATION

I wish to declare that this study Transforming masculinities to combat violence in using adult education in correctional settings: an agenda for peacebuilding in Lesotho was done by me and submitted herewith submitted in fulfilment of Masters in Public administration – Peace Studies at the Durban University of Technology. I aver that this is my original work which has not been previously submitted at any other University.

______________________________

Akim Matingoe Retšelisitsoe Phamotse

Student Number: 21751580

I hereby approve the final submission of this thesis.

______________________________

Dr. Sylvia Kaye

Supervisor

This day 4 of 3 2022 at the Durban University of Technology
DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work to the memory of my late parents: Reverend Joas Ramonyali Phamotse and Jeffrou Rose Nting 'Ma-Frank Phamotse
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praise be to God the Maker of heaven and earth and the Mighty Commander of the Universe for having granted me life and time through this academic task of which His immeasurable love provided direction and gave me light daily throughout the process.

This enormous task could have not been accomplished if it was not for the following persons:

First and foremost, sincere gratitude is extended to my supervisor Dr. Sylvia Kaye for having steadily been supportive while performing her professional task of supervising this project. Her firm conviction in performing supervisory role when days were dark and could not be possible contributed in no small way to the completion of this project. Her therapeutic role in times of need and motherly attitude will never go unrecognised.

Professor Geoff Harris and Mr. Ramakoele for opening up this opportunity by inviting me to study peacebuilding at the International Centre of Nonviolence (ICON); Ever ready Prashna for her daily administrative guidance and support with sisterly love and ever-smiling attitude; and DUT staff, at ICON and Library and my classmates for the conducive atmosphere they created for adult learning. You have been incredible.

I salute Lesotho Correctional Service leadership, in particular, former Commissioner ‘Matefo Alice Makhalamele for allowing me time off to enrol in this programme and Commissioner Thabang Azael Mothepu and Acting Commissioner Chabana Majara for continuous psychosocial support when I felt like surrendering. My colleagues, in particular Deputy Commissioner Phaello Malataliana and Assistant Commissioner Matete Mahao for continued words of encouragement and resourcefulness.

Head of MCCl Assistant Commissioner Lesaoana Matijane and all his abled lieutenants for making time and space for me, Head Chaplain of Corrections - Assistant Superintendent Ntholeng Molefi and my classmate for co-facilitating the intervention workshop and continued spiritual support when days were very dark. All inmates and staff who directly and indirectly participated in this study, it has been a pleasure working with you. Mr. Ts’otetsi Makhaba for technical and material support in times of need. He was a wonderful desktop editor and engineer throughout.

My family and friends, in particular, my Aunt ‘Mats’epo Phamotse, my mother-in-law Tselane ‘Maramole Masilo, and all my siblings and in-laws. A special tribute to my late son-in-law, Bokang Masilo who died amid violence, he left when days were days were dark and turbulent. My son Alfred Tsobatsane Phamotse and Mirriam ‘Maphamotse Phamotse my daughter for
their love and words of wisdom and support during hard times. The most commendable is my wife Mosianeng, 'Mapeete, Rahabah, 'Matsoabatsane Phamotse who was able to sacrifice ALL she had throughout time for studies.

May Lord of Peace be with you all.
ABBREVIATIONS

AR:  Action Research
AVP:  Alternatives to Violence Project
EBI:  Evidenced-Based Interventions
LCS:  Lesotho Correctional Service
MCCI:  Maseru Central Correctional Institution
MJCS:  Ministry of Justice and Correctional Service
OFGD:  Offender Focus Group Discussion
PAR:  Participatory Action Research
PHC:  Population and Housing Census
SFGD:  Staff Focus Group Discussion
TMP:  Transformative Masculinity Programme
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CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Introduction
This introductory part of the research paper entails the essence of this study. It contains the background of this research project and its context, the statement of the problem, and the significance of the undertaking. It also states the aim and objectives of the study, methodology and the processes followed. Theoretical and conceptual framework and the synopsis of the subsequent chapters are also covered and flagged in this chapter.

1.1 Research background
The challenge faced by the Lesotho Correctional Service (LCS) is the recurring and escalating incidences of violence largely related to masculinities in its correctional institutions. This was reported by Lesotho's Ombudsman and Judge White Commission (White 2003a: 32-33; Ombudsman 2007: vi). This contention remains public discourse to date as evidenced by numerous print and electronic media reports and periodic reports on the state of human rights in various countries produced by the United States. Corrections statistics indicate that correctional institutions in Lesotho are male-dominated spaces presumably hatching harmful masculinities therein.

The aim of this participatory action research was, therefore, to transform harmful masculinities manifesting in correctional settings and create a nonviolent environment therein. The objectives were: to investigate the current situation regarding the nature of masculinity vis-a-vis violence in correctional institutions; to identify the causes, consequences, and implications of masculinity and violence in correctional settings; and to design, implement and evaluate an intervention instrument to transform masculinity and combat violence in correctional institutions.

The build-up of this participatory action research project has three distinctive intervention stages namely; pre-intervention stage, intervention stage, and post-intervention stage. The pre-intervention stage involved identification, recruitment, and selection of research participants; qualitative data collection, analysis, and presentation of results. The intervention stage involved validation of results, designing, and implementation of the intervention
apparatus which was a training workshop. The post-intervention stage involved participatory evaluation of the intervention eying on the workshop content, content relevance, and activation process. This project was undertaken at the Maseru Central Correctional Institution (MCCI). It was a problem-solving action that was aimed at informing national corrections legal and policy frameworks.

1.2 The context of the project

Lesotho is a small developing, landlocked country surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. The country is divided into ten administrative districts with Maseru being the capital. There are three corrections administrative regions each holding four corrections facilities, The Northern Region is made up of Mokhotlong, Botha-Bothe, Leribe, and Berea districts. Central Region formed by MCCI, Female Correctional Institution, Juvenile Training Centre, Lepereng Open Correctional Institution and Thaba-Tseka Correctional Institution and The Southern Region formed of Mafeteng Correctional Institution, Mafeteng Open Correctional Institution, Mohale’s-Hoek, Quthing, and Qacha’s-Nek districts institutions. This makes up a total of fourteen facilities.

According to Mokhele (2017:4), Lesotho Population and Housing Census (PHC), 2016 preliminary report indicate that the total de jure population for Lesotho is approximately 2,008,081 with 51 % females and 49 % males. Corrections inmates constitute approximately 0.13% of the total population. LCS is a quasi-military public total institution established by section 149 of the Constitution of Lesotho of 1993 (Kingdom of Lesotho 1993: 136). Section 24 of the said Constitution classified LCS as a disciplined force regulated by "disciplinary law". This implies that management of classical and coercive. The mandate of LCS is the general management and administration of prisons of the land (Kingdom of Lesotho 1993: 40).

The notion of human incarceration among the Basotho was introduced in 1871 by the British colonial masters in a bid to incapacitate rivals who were then deviating from colonial administration rules by putting them in lock-up facilities which were administered by magistrates (Mokoma 1984: 3). The Lock-ups system among the Basotho grew until 1957 when Basotholand Prison Service was established by Basotholand Prison Proclamation No. 30 of 1957 (Basotholand 1957: 1282-1347). This was followed by due development that saw Lesotho Independence in 1966 when Lesotho Prison Service was established that was renamed by 2004 amendment to the constitution (Kingdom of Lesotho 2004:832).

Lesotho Correctional Service Act No. 3 of 2016 was enacted to provide a contemporary legal framework governing safe and humane custody of inmates, rehabilitation, and social reintegration of offenders to ensure the protection of a society that is just, peaceful and safe
(Kingdom of Lesotho 2016: 2). In doing this, corrections manage overt and covert safety and security operations aimed to incapacitate fugitives and to ensure safe and humane custody of all inmates. On the one hand, corrections expose offenders to rehabilitation and social reintegration services entailing psycho-social support services, moral instructions, interpersonal skills development, literacy and numeracy skills, technical and vocational education programmes.

Corrections in Lesotho are largely male-dominated spaces, consequently conquered by dominant masculinities, allegedly creating a fertile environment for violence therein. Corrections population at the close of 2016/2017 was 2265, with 82 (3.6%) being females and 42 (1.8%) male juveniles. Generally, offenders are conventionally classified into: male, female, young, adult, locals, and foreign. Technical classifications of correctional institutions are: ultra-maximum security, maximum security, medium security, and open security.

This study was conducted at MCCl. This is the main facility holding male inmates charged with offences compartmentalized into serious offences and other offences. Serious offences are mainly violent crimes against persons such as sexual offences, murders, manslaughter, culpable homicides, robberies, assaults with intent to do grievous bodily harm, car hijacking, abduction, kidnapping, and human trafficking. Other offences include inter-alia; malicious damage to property, arson, petty thefts, burglary, public indecency, traffic offences, and others of similar impact. According to the Commanding Officer of MCCI, the corrections register indicates that approximately forty-seven percent (47%) of inmates are suspects and offenders charged with sexual offences.

The uniqueness of MCCI is that it is a three-tier referral correctional facility made up of four (4) classes of institutions being; ultra-maximum security, maximum security, and medium-security units. It has accommodated male inmates serving prison terms from one month to one hundred and fourteen (114) years imprisonment including those sentenced to death drawn from all districts. The current age range of inmates incarcerated at MCCI range from eighteen (18) to seventy-sixty (76) years.

Hence this study pivots on masculinities and violence in correctional settings. Masculinity is thus defined as the social role, behaviour, and meanings prescribed predominantly for men while masculinities recognizes varying perceptions on masculinity as a socialization product, they are attributes associated with maleness and those behaviours considered appropriate for men (Connell 1996a: 217; Darity 2008:1). Violence on the one hand is considered as the use of physical force or power, either threatened or actual, against a person, a group of persons, or a community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, or psychological harm (World Health Organization 2002:5).
This project delved into the notions of masculinity and violence to explore corrections masculinity and determine its nature, causes, consequences, and implications vis-a-vis violence therein. The finality of the project was to transform negative masculinities and create non-violent correctional settings. The project aspired to unravel corrections masculinities and their linkages with violence therein with an ultimate goal of transforming masculinities. This study was inspired largely by current corrections statistics indicating that males constitute 94.6% of the corrections population, of which 47% are sexual offenders and 78% are violent offenders. The finality of this undertaking has been to find ways and means of transforming unfavourable corrections masculinities thereby curbing violence therein as an agenda for peacebuilding as aspired by Lesotho as proclaimed in the National Strategic Development Plan (Kingdom of Lesotho 2012:2).

1.3 Statement of the problem

The challenge facing corrections today is the escalation of incidents of violence in correctional settings characterised by gangsters' hostility and aggression, bullying tendencies amongst inmates and staff, and inmates' physical assaults and torture by staff. Numerous national efforts to promote a culture of human rights and respect of human dignity amongst the populace including places of detention, as echoed in The National Strategic Development Plan (Kingdom of Lesotho 2012: 131), have not been successful. Notwithstanding the efforts of LCS leadership to create nonviolent correctional settings by crafting an organization that is sensitive and competent in safeguarding human dignity, violence remains a serious concern in correctional work hence a course for professional and public discourse. Corrections leadership is aware of amplification of violence among its population, within both inmates and staff, principally amongst males heading to possible discourse.

"It is clear from LCS records that masculinities have a stake in conflictions in corrections settings, this is affecting inmates and staff alike throughout the country. The situation has to be dealt with promptly if corrections should be stable and peaceful, the most unpleasant situation is that women working in corrections seems masculinised and this is approved by the system" (Commissioner of Corrections, Mrs. Makhalemele. 2016, pers. Comm. 11 March).

Though this problem seems conspicuous, it has not been so far established as to what could be the nature, causes, consequences, and implications of masculinity vis-à-vis violence in correctional institutions since there is no empirical study that has been conducted to unpack and address this problem in Lesotho. It is this state of affairs that makes it difficult for corrections management to find appropriate ways of dealing with this widespread problem effectively and efficiently. This participatory action research is therefore a deliberate attempt
to transform masculinities and combat violence using adult education in correctional settings as an agenda for peacebuilding in Lesotho.

1.4 **Significance of the study**

There is an evident research gap concerning masculinity in correctional settings in Lesotho, hence the undertaking of this project. Studies in other countries, for example, one conducted in Indian male prisons revealed that there are numerous masculinities therein, superior, and inferior. This ethnographic work revealed that superiority and inferiority of masculinities in correctional settings is determined by various issues such as inmate’s background, the type of crime committed by inmates, the victims of such crimes, and inmate’s possessions and opportunities. Superior inmates are often violent and aggressive whilst non-violent are become inferior and or subordinate (Bandyopadhyay 2006: 189).

In a study conducted in South Africa, it was revealed that masculinities in correctional settings are expressed largely through sexuality and violence (Moolman 2015: 6751). An investigative study on sexual violence in South African men’s prisons established the reality of man-to-man sexual coercion in corrections that leaves victims with a sense of demolished masculinity and imposed “womanhood” (Gear 2007: 216). Thus, while studying prison masculinities, one may not ignore gender issues, corrections sex, and violence.

According to Egger (1993: 3), there is unchallenged evidence linking corrections masculinities and violence therein in Australian correctional settings. However, masculinity is not the only cause of corrections violence since there are numerous situational and structural factors responsible for such violence like poor conditions, class or status, poverty, race, and marginality. In a paper titled “Causes and prevention of violence in prison” (Homel and Thompson 2005:2) articulated that there are numerous factors responsible for violence in prisons such as prisoners’ characteristics, structural and situational factors. This remains a relatively unexplored area for scientific research in the Lesotho corrections system; however, there are media reports indicating that there are rampant direct officials on inmates and inmates on inmate’s violence as well as indirect violence motivated by structural and situational dynamics therein.

This PAR has been a problem-solving undertaking which was owned by both inmates and staff. The results of the pre-intervention outlook could serve as a reference point for scholars, policymakers, and corrections managers. As they served as the basis for action in this study. Researchers in the area of masculinities and violence will be using this study as it will be a valuable ingredient for the body of knowledge especially on corrections masculinity, corrections violence, and the correctional system in Lesotho.
1.5 Aim and objectives of the study

Philosophically, the eventuality of Participatory Action Research (PAR) is to empower and enable the oppressed marginalised people to partake in the process of social change and their betterment. This involves engaging the concerned parties in a learning process for transformation. Therefore, this research project aims to use adult learning and teaching methodologies to transform masculinities and create a nonviolent correctional setting as an agenda for peacebuilding in Lesotho. The objectives are:

1. To investigate the current situation regarding the nature of masculinities vis-a-vis violence in correctional settings;
2. To identify the causes, consequences, and implications of masculinities in correctional settings;
3. To consider outcomes of objectives 1 and 2 above, propose, design, and implement an intervention to reduce violence in correctional settings;
4. To evaluate the intervention in enhancing positive masculinities, transforming negative masculinities, and reducing violence in correctional settings.

1.6 Research methodology

This is the direction through which research traverses. According to Jamshed (2014:87), research methodology was defined by Buckley and Chiang as a research strategy, plan, or architectural design by which the researcher maps out an approach or tactical line up in resolving the problem spelled out in the research problem statement. It is further defined as a step-by-step pathway outlining and narrating all the steps or milestones of the research project. In doing this study, a narration of research methodology entails an approach, design, and processes. This includes study population and sample, sampling method, instrumentation and data collection methods, data analysis, interpretation and presentation, action, and action evaluation.

1.6.1 Research approach

This is a Participatory Action Research (PAR) project. It is a qualitative approach of research that was coined by Kurt Lewin in the middle of the 1940s after World War II to combat prejudices and discrimination that were then rife following the atrocities of the holocaust (MacDonald 2012:37; Glassman and Erdem 2014:207). The notion was later augmented by Paulo Freire who believed in "praxis". Praxis is anchored on the assertion that for any practical change to occur, stakeholders in the process must first reflect on the problem to be solved, then act, reflect again, and further action in a sequential manner. As purported, the seed of participatory action research was planted by Lewin and nurtured by Freire (MacDonald 2012:37). Freire's assertion of praxis was anchored on dialogue which he considered as two
dimensional, the other dimension is "reflection" and the other is "action" (Freire 1993:87). That is, praxis is an action that is informed or guided by and linked to people's values and beliefs.

Paulo Freire's work on human emancipation dates back to 1970 in his monograph "pedagogy of the oppressed", however, his critical awareness theory remains useful to date. According to the emphasis of critical awareness theory is to emancipate oppressed people by freeing them from the bondage of ignorance that creates either social or individual dysfunction. The dysfunction I am confronting with this study therefore is, violence in correctional settings.

PAR can be defined as a form of research whereby researchers work with and through communities and/or organizations under the microscope in studying and transforming them. It focuses on stakeholder's participation and action while doing research (Coughlan and Coghlan 2002: 222). According to Jarvis (2005: 485) participatory research is the democratic approach to research whereby 'researcher becomes part of the process under investigation, solving their problems and creating their knowledge'. PAR is largely qualitative thus focusing on eliciting information about feelings, experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of a person or persons in a natural setting (Creswell 2003: 18). Qualitative research according to scholars such as Gillis and Jackson (2002 cited in MacDonald 2012:34) "engages methods and techniques comprising; observations, documenting, analysing, and interpreting characteristics, patterns, attributes and meanings of the human phenomenon under study".

Participatory action research (PAR) is perceived as a subcategory of action research (AR) whereby data is systematically collected, analysed, and presented to bring about a change of status quo by generating practical knowledge and acting on the condition (MacDonald 2012: 35). According to Jarvis (2005: 8) action research is collaborative and the actual process of action is the core of the research project followed by an evaluation of the impact of the intervention on the social process.

The current state of affairs is that ordinarily requires action are those undesired conditions such as masculinity and violence in correctional settings. This study delved into those undesirables and seek to transform the situation. In doing this, Paulo Freire provides a philosophical, developmental, and practical method of getting groups actively involved in the process; breaking through apathy; and developing a critical awareness of the causes of the problem (Hope and Timmel 1984:6).

1.6.2 Research design
Given the preceding articulation, PAR is predominantly qualitative. In doing this study, I have used triangulation approaches, thus triangulation of data sources and instruments (Hopper and Hoque 2006: 476-482). I engaged in desk review, in-depth interviews, and focus group
discussions to elicit information regarding perceptions and behaviours of inmates and staff regarding masculinity and violence in correctional settings.

1.6.3 Research process

This study involves a problem-solving kind of approach. In doing this, I traversed through foundational stages of PAR thus; pre-intervention stage, intervention stage, and post-intervention stage.

1. The pre-intervention stage involved identification, recruitment, and selection of a research team of nine (9) inmates and sixteen (16) officials from MCCI; designing research instruments; conducting initial data collection using, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions; data analysis and presentation of pre-intervention exploration to participants for validation, buy-in, and action planning. In doing this I had to elicit the corporation of participants and engaged them in diagnosing the actual problem and its possible causes; deciding on the suitable intervention and determining the content and methodologies which were engaged.

2. Intervention stage involved; planning, designing, and implementation the intervention apparatus in the form of a workshop for MCCI staff.

3. The post-intervention stage involved participatory evaluation of the intervention reflecting on the content, relevance, and process. The process focused on whether there has been improvement or not and contributing factors for successes or failures then making necessary recommendations (Coughlan and Coghlan 2002: 232; Watters et al. 2010: 12-17).

1.7 Population and sample

The focus of this study was at MCCI. At the close of the 2016 / 2017 financial year, there were approximately two hundred and ninety (290) officials and six hundred and eighty-five (685) male inmates at MCCI. The sample size for pre-intervention analysis was aimed at five percent (5%) of both inmates and staff who were supposed to be purposively selected from all the ranks. However, only nine (9) inmates and sixteen (16) members of staff completed the project with the researcher. Twelve (12) members of staff participated in Staff Focus Group Discussions, while the other four (4) making it up to sixteen (16) participated in each step from inception to evaluation.

1.8 Sampling method

This study purposively selects informants given their unique experience and areas of specialization such as long-term offenders who have served at least one year and known gang leaders. Participating inmates were those who were left with six months or fewer corrections terms. For officials, I picked on officers who served at least five years with specialized duties and skills such as chaplains, social workers, intelligence officers, caseworkers, and administrators across the ranks (Clark and Creswell 2015: 235). AR which was the intervention workshop was conducted with only members of staff for manageability and affordability. This
was instigated by among others, the fact that I would be in a favourable position to follow-up and evaluate the impact of the intervention with a specific group which I was assured of their stay over a reasonable period to determine the effectiveness of the intervention.

1.9 Instrumentation and data collection process

Questionnaires combining closed and open-ended questions were developed and administered to inmates and staff in case of objectives 1 and 2. Furthermore, I conducted guided in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. A questionnaire guided a participatory evaluation of the intervention and also was used to assess the relevance and impact of an intervention.

1.10 Data analysis, interpretation, and presentation

Data analysis in this study is qualitative, it involved a critical examination of informants' submission on their awareness, concerns, and feelings in the light of conceptual frames engaged. Data were analyzed following research aim and objectives. Themes and sub-themes addressing objectives one and two are presented in chapter seven titled "exploration with corrections staff and inmates" as:

i. The nature of masculinities in correctional settings;

ii. The causes of masculinities in correctional settings;

iii. The consequences and implications of masculinities in correctional settings; and

iv. Masculinities and violence in correctional settings.

The third and fourth objectives, (1) to consider outcomes of objectives one and two above, propose, design, and implement an intervention to reduce violence in correctional settings; and (2) to evaluate the effect of the intervention in enhancing positive masculinities, transforming negative masculinities and reducing violence in correctional settings are dealt in chapters six and seven. Chapter eight addressed an intervention and is titled, "taking an informed action: participatory action learning for transformation". It is the report of an intervention workshop held with members of corrections staff which had two prongs. The first prong entails an introduction to the concepts of masculinity and masculinities; conflict and violence; peace and peacebuilding. The second prong entails an overview of the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) as Evidence-Based Intervention (EBI) in peacebuilding. Chapter nine contains an evaluation of an intervention workshop delving into issues that were addressed and management of the intervention workshop.
1.11 Pre-testing
The two instruments, interview guides for inmates and focus groups were developed and tested at Berea Correctional Institution, a farm prison situated approximately three kilometres outside Maseru city while pre-intervention and post-intervention evaluation sheets were tested with a group of inmates and staff at MCCI. The data collection process was piloted to test whether the instruments would consistently yield expected data and if they were fit for the purpose.

1.12 Participatory Action Research
Participatory Action Research was conducted with inmates and members of staff. At this stage, I facilitated the design and implementation of the intervention workshop and participatory evaluation of the intervention. The evaluation focused on the tool itself, methodologies, and intervention processes. The report of the intervention workshop is presented in this paper as chapter eight titled "taking an informed action: participatory action learning for transformation". While the evaluation of an intervention is presented in chapter eight. Evaluation results were analysed and presented under the rubric "implementation and evaluation of the intervention instrument". This entails: (i) the intervention report involving planning, designing, and implementation; and (ii) the intervention report concerning evaluation and accountability.

1.13 Delimitations of the study project
There are twelve correctional facilities in Lesotho located in each district and two open facilities one in Mafeteng and the other in Maseru. Due to the geographical terrain of the country, a large population in question, and limited resources, I focused on MCCI based in Maseru for convenience. The advantage is that Maseru Central Correctional Institution holds inmates from all over the country and staff with varying qualities fit for the study, such as professions, structural positions, and experiences. This means the population at MCCI can safely be considered a representative of the entire country's population and can be presumed a representation of inmates and staff of corrections in Lesotho. The pre-intervention phase of this study engaged both inmates and staff. Due to limited time and resources, I engage only members of staff when implementing the intervention and when doing an evaluation of the intervention. This could probably be considered as one of the shortcomings of the study project.

1.14 Validity and reliability
Both qualitative and quantitative researchers need the credibility of the research process (Bashir et al. 2008: 38). This assertion acknowledges the value of validity and reliability in both
quantitative and qualitative research paradigms. In doing this study, the proposed terms for both reliability and validity are trustworthiness, transferability, and credibility of the process. This requires or calls for integrity which is truthfulness, frankness, and openness. To ensure the credibility of this study, I endeavoured to ensure and uphold research ethics as stated in 1.15 below. Besides, I had to consult with participants when cleaning data before analysis and when validating the results of data analysis for authentication. In doing this I had to call for a session for validation where I shared the results of the pre-intervention phase and invited opinions of the participants to ensure ownership of the product.

1.15 Ethical considerations in doing PAR in correctional settings

The notion of ethics is typically associated with the moral values of human conduct. Ethics deal with the question of wrong or rights governed by certain rules and principles. Ethical issues in research thus, refer to principles of conduct governing research as a profession (Babbie 1995:448). Though the reference is archaic, I hold on that, the question of ethics advanced by Babbie in 1995 in doing research remains relevant to date.

The approach of this research project therefore has taken heed of relevant ethical considerations. In the first instance, I requested authorization to conduct participatory action research in correctional institutions indicating a conceivable research path. Participants were requested to partake in the process and were assured of their rights and freedoms such as the liberty to quit. They were informed that their identities would not be disclosed. Upfront, being a senior officer of Lesotho Correctional Service, it was fair for me to disclose at the onset to all research project participants that the intention of the undertaking was only to meet the requirements of my studies and not in any way an official undertaking. Furthermore, this project was guided by respect for human rights. It took into consideration respect for autonomy, confidentiality, and the freedoms of participants.

According to Armstrong (2010a:3-4) when researching incarcerated populations regarding behaviours issues therein, one must be cognizant of certain ethical issues and challenges such as; lack of enabling environment, voluntary participation, confidentiality, and informed consent. Similar conditions affect members of disciplined services such as military officers and soldiers, police, intelligence officers, and corrections staff, thus, similar issues and challenges when researching with them are overacting and must be prudently tackled. The query of ethics in doing research is further augmented by Clark and Creswell (2015: 434) whose assertion is that "data collection also consists of attending to issues of validity, reliability, and ethics, such as provisions for informed consent".
1.15.1 Lack of an enabling environment

Correctional settings usually offer an unconducive environment with a propensity to expose sexual minorities such as gays and lesbians to some form of discrimination, stigmatization, and abuse by either member of staff or fellow inmates. Being a captive audience makes it easier for professional and student researchers to choose the inmates population as subjects of social, criminal, and legal research. This generally does not augur well with inmates who normally feel coerced by conditions to fall prey to the researcher’s manipulation. Consequentially, the preceding issues may be a cause of insufficient levels of participation. The worst-case scenario could be sarcastic involvement and sharing. This according to Russell Armstrong could lead to failure to achieve required sample sizes to establish frank and honest respondents.

Correctional service management is seen by Russell Armstrong as having a critical role to play in permitting and creating an environment that allows smooth running of research work within correctional settings. In doing so, Armstrong (2010a:3) opined that “inmates and staff must be assured that participation in the research project will respect rights and entitlements, including non-coercion, confidentiality and, where relevant, anonymity”. I am confident that, inmates and staff were well prepared to let go of anxieties, reservations, and uncertainties about the process which resulted in the provision of a relatively conducive environment for research undertaking.

Preparing inmates and staff had to delve into organizational culture and traditions which could have prohibited free and fair participation in the process of this study. This was necessary and relevant since the organisational environment is largely a determined culture and traditions therein, thus a product of the interaction of people and people with the environment itself. Similar opinions were raised two centuries ago by Ralise (1997:88) who opined that ethical issues are particularly important in doing research dealing with traditional and cultural matters which influence attitudes, perceptions, and general behavior.

1.15.2 Voluntary participation

Voluntary consent to participate and assurance to handle the results of the study securely and responsibly are pivotal in doing research. It is a global ethical norm in doing research affecting people’s emotional wellbeing that, unequivocally, all should voluntarily participate in the process and must provide informed consent (Armstrong 2010a:3), before data collection on people held in total institutions such as correctional institution, the researcher must unwaveringly attend to ethical provisions for informed consent (Clark and Creswell 2015:434). In her study, Phaello Malataliana asserted that this dictates that, under no circumstances anyone may be coerced to participate in the process and all should indicate their willingness
or wish to participate (Malataliana 2013:99). In doing this study, all participants were cautioned about this notion, even the freedom to withdraw from the process.

Furthermore, it was noted that corrections policies and practices curtail inmate’s privacy including disclosure of one’s sexuality and confidential information regarding social and health-related issues. The classical nature of corrections personnel management also limits some freedoms of members of staff and seems to be at times harsh on the rights of staff. These general conditions as depicted by Armstrong seem to be potential threats to confidentiality for participants who are inmates and autonomy to choose whether to participate by staff members. Armstrong further warns that, due to the vulnerability of corrections inmates, when researching in correctional settings, the researcher must at all costs avoid enticing statements or the improper motivation for participants to engage in a research project Armstrong (2010b:3).

1.15.3 Anonymity and confidentiality
Participants were assured that all data would be kept securely to ensure that this project does not cause either physical or emotional harm, indeed, I ensured anonymity and confidentiality in doing this project. I endeavoured to keep the informant’s personal information as secretive and private as possible. I did not record real names and any information that may be connected to informants’ identity during analysis or presentation. Notes from interviews and focus groups were allotted codes while all raw information was always locked in a locker. Accordingly, research projects conducted in correctional settings must contain additional measures to guarantee and safe-guard confidentiality and anonymity (Armstrong 2010b:4). This called for secure data storage, whether in print or electronic form. In pursuit of anonymity, I also had to underscore the participant’s voluntary identity disclosure.

1.15.4 Informed Consent
Informed consent was sought from all potential participants, inmates, and staff, in this participatory action research. All were required to fill and sign consent forms which were prepared. All were informed on; the purpose of the project, how the data was to be collected, analysed, stored, and disposal of raw data was also communicated to participants. Armstrong warned that since some corrections inmates have low levels of literacy, all consent materials should be written in a language appropriate for them such as simple local language, or else be thoroughly explained in a language understood by participants.

Ethical issues were essential for this project since it dealt with human innermost feelings such as likes and dislikes. In doing this study, I had to always take heed of the DUT frame of ethics during this study. The implication is that staff and inmates were to participate in the process voluntarily and could withdraw at any time. Confidentiality, anonymity, and feedback were
unequivocally guaranteed, and all had the autonomy to choose to participate or not. It remained my obligation to create an enabling environment for the project for both inmates and staff by assuring participants in the process about their respective rights and entitlements, including non-coercion, confidentiality, and, where relevant, anonymity.

1.16 Plan of research activities

This project entails the following activities ensuing from activity one (1) to five (5) as tabulated hereunder:

1. The project proposal started by filling DUT PG2a form and translated its contents into a research proposal which eventually formed chapter one of this study.

2. The proposal was followed by a literature review that focused on to a large extent the notions of masculinities, violence, and correctional system.

3. Following the review of the literature and probably in tandem with the review, I conducted an exploration exercise which entailed, pre-intervention data collection, data cleaning and coding, data analysis following thematic and sub-thematic issues, interpretation, and presentation.

4. Stage four (4) was planning, designing, and implementation of the intervention and subsequently an evaluation of the intervention, write-up, and validation. The intervention was a training workshop for corrections staff which covered feedback from exploration exercise; definitions and issues of masculinities in correctional settings; Sesotho version of masculinity; conflict, violence, peace, peacebuilding, and conflict transformation. This intervention workshop also introduced participants to AVP utilising andragogical / adult education methods and techniques.

5. The fifth (5) and final stage entailed intervention workshop evaluation focusing on the relevance of the content covered in the training; flow and effectiveness of processual tasks; Methods and techniques utilised; and the organisation and administration of the training workshop, and write-up.

1.17 Theoretical framework

This research project has drawn attention to conspicuous thematic areas being masculinity and masculinities, conflict and violence focusing on the creation of nonviolent correctional settings. The project traversed guided by theories of social constructionism, masculinity and masculinities, conflict transformation, and andragogy as an adult learning theory.

1.17.1 Social constructionism

Social constructionism is a cross-disciplinary viewpoint approved in different disciplines. It is traced from the works of Burger and Luckmann in 1966 who was addressing the nature of reality (Burr 1995: 7; Brickell 2006: 1; Walker 2015: 37; Geldenhuys 2015.: 4). According to Galbin (2014:82) "social constructionism or the social construction of reality is a theory of knowledge of sociology and communication that examines the development jointly constructed understanding of the world". Furthermore, according to Galbin (2014:82) Gegen
opined that social constructionism is defined as a perspective which believes that a great deal of human life exists as it does due to social and interpersonal influences.

Social constructionism theory upholds that reality is constructed as one interacts with others and the environment (Barker 2012: 9). Stemming on the belief that personality is a product of the socialisation process, social constructionism focus on investigating social influences on communal and individual life (Owen 1995:1). This view is also upheld by Abiel Phohlo in his study whereby he considered that social constructionism maintains that what people consider as knowledge of the world and self is the product of socialisation process. That is, for this study, masculinity was considered better described by the community in question (Phohlo 2011:11).

Social constructionism is anchored on assumptions that: meaning and understanding are products of social interaction and are central features of human activities thus behaviour is entrenched in socio-cultural processes specific to happenings, times, and places (Lock and Strong 2010: 7). Social constructionism is entrenched on the assumptions that: we must be critical about the taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and ourselves; and that, the ways we understand ourselves and the environment are historically and culturally specific and that knowledge is sustained by social processes (Gergen 1985: 266-269; Burr 1995: 2-3). These presumptions understandably dovetail with qualitative methods in research work studying social constructs such as masculinities.

Social constructionism underscore that reality is psycho-socially constructed, meaning reality according to Kham is like stereotypes, that is, solid images build in people’s minds. Stereotypes exist in one’s mind and are recorded as true, they do not approve of objective reality. This is relevant in this study since masculinities are not necessarily real but are psycho-socially crafted solid images constructed over time in people’s minds. Social constructionism recognizes the value of language and socialization in learning (Kham 2013:32). The central theme of social constructionism is that people acquire their values, attitudes, aspirations, and perceptions that eventually influence their behavioural patterns by being exposed to the culture and traditions of their society and social institutions, bearing in mind migration issues and chronological events one has been or is exposed to.

1.17.2 Masculinity theory
Masculinity refers to social roles, behaviours, and meanings prescribed predominantly for men, whereas masculinities is the plural form of the notion recognizing varying perceptions on masculinity as a socialization product (Connell 1996a:217; Darity 2008:1) which is the androgynous or genderless essence of manhood. Masculinity, according to Raewyn Connell’s assertion, is the pattern of social practices associated with the place of men in the gender
order, hence differentiable from those practices aligned to womanhood. Connell opined that "masculinity" and "femininity" are appellative configurations of gender practice. Masculinity is, therefore, a customarily inclined manner of behaviour of male persons, thus considered a normative route that is socially prescribed for male persons to enter manhood. It is a perceptual structure, that is a representation of what is perceived about manliness and thus a basic component in the formation of manhood hence a model considered worthy of imitating by a boy child.

Considering that, masculinity largely refers to male bodies, figuratively and indirectly, it remains worthy to take heed that is not determined by the biological make-up of a male person. Connell notes that "it is, thus, perfectly logical to talk about 'masculine' women, when women behave or present themselves in a way their society regards as distinctive of men" (Connell:n.d.). These are referred to as amazons "large strong and aggressive women" (Word Web: online). According to Connell (2008:132) research concludes that there is no single form of masculinity prevailing in all cultures and at all periods of history. She asserted that there are numerous meanings and explanations of what it means to be a man. Accordingly, it is thoughtful to consider that, there are various streams of masculinities such as; men domineering women, men domineering subordinate men, the dominant and submissive (Bandyopadhyay 2006:2).

While masculinities are associated with negativities, it is useful to note that not all masculinities are wicked as there are caring, serving, protecting, and providing masculinities. Lutze and Murphy (1999: 711) submitted that, although masculine attributes are not inherently bad, they have the potential of being detrimental only when alternative behaviours are ignored due to stereotypical beliefs that real men should only behave in a particular manner.

The idea of transformative masculinity seeks to challenge the notion of hegemonic masculinity which is customarily characterised by negative and harmful ideas about what it is to be a real man. The idea suggests that there are desired and undesired masculinities. Desired masculinities seek to encourage men and boys to embrace harmonious ways in their dealings, whereas undesired masculinities hang on dominance and violence as a way of being manly (Chitando & Njoroge 2013:7).

According to Berner-Rodoreda and Neuenroth (2016:4), transformative masculinities embrace respectful and tolerant ways of being manly. The essence of transformative masculinity is thus, masculinity is not static, therefore can be transformed and modified for the better, hence the significance of engaging adult learning in this project. The preceding perceptions seem conclusive that, regardless of the multiplicity of world views regarding masculinity, there are two distinct, main families of masculinities, hegemonic masculinities and transformative
masculinities (Naimasiah 2010: 3). As a result, transformative masculinities can better and easier be explained against traditional forms of masculinity normally hegemonic in nature.

1.17.3 Conflict transformation

According to Jarvis (2005:113), the notion of conflict in psychology denotes some form of disagreement between human drives whereas in sociological viewpoint, "conflict refers to the type of analysis of society in which change is regarded as occurring because of social forces opposing each other". Conflict transformation is cognisant that conflict is intrinsic to humankind (Roberts and White 2004: 1), it can be applied at all levels of conflict being; extra-personal, interpersonal, and intra-personal (Galtung 2000:3). This contention guided this project appreciating that violence develops from conflicting situations. Conflict transformation is seen as a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, and discourse (Miall 2004:4).

According to Frazer and Ghettas (2013:6) conflict transformation is a theory seeking to engage methods and techniques to transform how people deal with conflict, whether in the family, community, and social institutions. Thus, helping them to appreciate that conflict is inevitable, however, "there are always alternatives" while assisting them to journey from violent to non-violent means. In doing this, conflict transformation methods and techniques are obligated to engage with the direct, structural, and cultural causes of conflict.

According to Ugwu and Enna (2015: 59) "conflict is considered as the situation where incompatible interests between persons, groups, organizations or nations lead to a struggle between them". It arises when there is a contradiction of interests and perceptions(Galtung 2000: 4). Ugwu and Enna (2015: 59) picked on Lederach's (1997) typology suggesting that conflict transformation is expecting to yield; (1) personal change, (2) relationship change, (3) cultural change, and (4) structural change.

i. Personal change involves the transformation of individual attitudes, behaviors, identity, and perceptions. This is concerned with intra-personal conflict. It is the change of the inner self that requires self-reflection and introspections.

ii. Relationship change involves a transformation in communication patterns and dealings with others. It deals with interpersonal conflict and necessitates; improved cooperative skills, decision-making skills, and conflict management mechanisms.

iii. Cultural change is concerned with the transformation of normative and traditional practices.

iv. Structural change addresses inequalities, discrimination, and stigmatization based on racial, religious, ethnic, and sexual minorities, access to health services, education and other social amenities, access to justice and rights thereto.
I contend that a training workshop as a learning activity was an ideal intervention in this PAR project directly deal with these levels of change categorically in correctional settings. Given limited time and inadequate financial and material resources, I was only able to run one workshop.

1.17.4 Andragogy: an adult learning theory

Andragogy is an adult learning theory that was propounded by Malcolm Knowles in the mid-1960s. The theory emphasizes adult learning to facilitate behavioural change. The notion was initiated by a German scholar, Alexander Kapp, “titled father of andragogy” in 1833 and promulgated by Malcolm Knowles in 1980, who defined it as “the art and science of helping adults to learn, on the contrary, is a pedagogy which is the art and science of teaching children” (Abela 2009:11; Chan 2010:27; Peterson and Chris M. Ray 2013:82; Jedličková 2014:9).

Adult learning theory is thus regarded as a viewpoint seeking to explain how adults learn, that is, adults’ acquisition of new skills and knowledge, thereby changing their behaviour. This change is considered vital in transforming undesired masculinities in correctional settings (Huang 2002:29; Bass 2012:387). Accordingly, Bass (2012) suggested that to effectively embark on research work eyeing andragogy as an adult education agenda, one must first distinguish adult education as being significantly different from primary, elementary, or secondary education and tertiary education in simplistic terms. Andragogy emphasises adult learning for behavioural change.

The notion of andragogy falls squarely within the precincts of the larger framework of adult education practice. For this study, andragogy is thus considered as a “theory of adult education” as opined Ian Jedličková (Jedličková 2014: 9). According to Andrea, Antonis and Rita (2014:10) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) held in Nairobi on the 26th October to 30th November 1976, at its nineteenth session, comprehensively defined adult education as:

"The entire body of organised educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as an adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development".

At this conference, UNESCO affirmed its conviction that adult education is an integral part of life-long education that can contribute decisively to economic and cultural development, social progress, and world peace. Due to its nature, adult education can be offered to anybody,
anywhere, anytime, permitting various adult education organizations to institutionalize the practice, thereby devising the program to suit the institution.

In this study, therefore, adult education is considered as correctional education when it is applied for inmate's rehabilitation and human resources development; and training when it is applied to members of staff. As asserted by Andrea et al. (2014:14), adult education in correctional settings includes the "entire organized learning activities for inmates" aiming to enrich their knowledge and skills to enable them to become socially and economically active members of their communities. Moreover, adult education delves into the alleviation of social inequalities which are more often considered as causal factors for human suffering. Such suffering is characterised by psycho-somatic disorders, physical ailments, and social illnesses such as wars, criminality and juvenile delinquency, women and children abuse, extreme poverty and hunger and chronic ignorance, all of which culminates in either direct, structural and cultural violence.

For corrections inmates and staff, I, therefore, consider adult education as a vehicle that is valuable and useable to transform their mindsets in so far as masculinity and violence are concerned. It is instrumental to navigate the need, which is "the gap between what it is, and what should be" for orderly, stable, and nonviolent correctional settings. That is, it can carry along corrections inmates and staff while traversing the continuum of conflict. This assertion accommodates and upholds the pronouncement of UNESCO (1997:2) Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning which proclaimed adult education as:

"a powerful concept for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture of peace based on justice. Adult learning can shape identity and give meaning to life."

Given the preceding discussion on andragogy, adult learning, and adult education, I consider adult education as the fulcrum of participatory action research and peacebuilding in correctional settings. I considered participatory action research, peacebuilding, and conflict transformation as adult learning processes due to their nature entailing adult education characteristics. This contention is in line with the view of Paulo Freire (1982) as echoed in his seminal presentation delivered at the Institute of Adult Education in Tanzania, where he tied together adult education and participatory action research (Glassman and Erdem 2014:207).

According to Glassman and Erdem (2014:209), Paulo Freire's work was inclined to social transformation through adult education programs, bringing about the idea of emancipation of those oppressed by social inequalities, "that is those in the bondage of ignorance". He believed that the form of education provision should be such that leads people to recognize their
abilities to transform their paths in life. Thus, adult education fits squarely in all intents and purposes of this study.

According to York (2014: 57), “transformative learning refers to the processes by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that would prove more true or justified to guide action”. This is augmented by Kaye and Harris (2017: 20) in their article “An overview of action research and its relevance to peacebuilding”, who viewed transformative learning as “change in attitudes, behaviour, and expansion of one’s worldview” with the view to empower and emancipate one from the bondage and oppression.

According to Glassman and Erdem (2014: 210), Hall (1985) identified the fundamental ideals of participatory action research as research, learning, knowledge production, and action. Accordingly, Glassman and Erdem (2014: 214) asserted that adult education initiatives are vital in fostering individual and social lifelong learning. Adult learning theory regards the acquisition of new skills and knowledge as vital in transforming undesired behaviours. This research project considers being undesired masculinities in corrections (Huang 2002: 29; Bass 2012: 387). The preceding contentions count on Paulo Freire’s impression that owing to their nature, the linkage between participatory action research and adult education is apparent, and thus undeniable. Guided by andragogical principles, it remains my contention that, the efforts to transform masculinities are tied to adult education, given its transformative nature.

There are seven basic principles of andragogy as expounded by Malcolm Knowles. The first is that adult learners are relevancy-oriented. The emphasis of this principle is that, before engaging in a learning activity, adult learners need to know what is it they are supposed to learn; why is it important for them to learn that, meaning what is the relevance of what to learn in their day-to-day life; why is it necessary to learn that; and how the learning experience will be evaluated. In principle, adults need to be informed and prepared for the learning experience before undertaking to learn.

The second principle is that adult learner’s motivation to learn is largely internally motivated, thus, adult learning is self-directed. This means that adults have a high motivation to learn when learning experience helps them acquire new knowledge to help them solve significant problems affecting their practical life situation. Self-directed learning is the ability to take control of the learning environment. Third is that adult learners bring prior life experiences and knowledge to the learning situation, that is, the bulky reservoir of life experience. This means adults do not come empty-headed or as a clean slate to the learning situation. They bring with them a rich learning resource, creating biases, and providing adults’ self-identity.
The fourth principle is that adult learners are practical. Through practical fieldwork experiences and their real-life situations, adults move from classroom and textbook mode to a hands-on problem-solving situation where they can recognize first-hand, how, what they are learning can be applied to their real-life situation and the work context. The fifth principle is that of, adult learner’s orientation to learning. Adult learners come to learning with an end in their minds, which is their learning goal in general. The sixth principle is that adults mainly prefer problem-solving learning experiences to learn for the sake of learning. They learn best when knowledge is presented in a real-life context. Finally, Knowles identified readiness to learn as the seventh adult learning guiding principle. This implies that adults become ready to learn when their life situations create a need for them to learn (Stephen 2012: 3; Andrea, Antonis and Rita 2014: 19).

The relevance of andragogical principles in this participatory action research is that corrections inmates and staff are considered adults. For this reason, I had to recognize that they had prior experience which they brought into the process. It was also important to take heed that participants in the process would be engaged in an activity that directly affects their real-life situation thereby targeted to solve their day-to-day life problems.

The preceding assumptions insist that learning activity for adults should integrate the day-to-day life demands, consider that adults’ quest is to solve immediate emerging problems affecting them and that adults are best motivated intrinsically than extrinsically (Abela 2009: 11). According to Wolff et al. (2007: 597), the task of offender rehabilitation in correctional settings is almost unworkable and impossible to achieve when inmates are confined in environments where violence is persistent, hence, endeavours to eradicate violence in correctional institutions in Lesotho using adult education methods and techniques in this AR aimed at eradication of violence therein.

1.18 Definitions of concepts

Corrections: Corrections are considered as the supervision of offenders incarcerated in correctional facilities. In this research project, it is used to mean a prison service. This is per the Lesotho Fifth Amendment to the Constitution Act No. 8 of 2004.

Correctional Institution: Correctional institution means a prison. A place where criminal suspects and offenders are kept to serve their sentences and are subjected to correctional programmes.

Gangsterism: Activities associated with members of prison/corrections gangs such as smuggling of contraband and violence aimed to destabilize law and order to achieve something usually unlawful.
**Gender:** It refers to the social stereotypes and expectations of society from how male and female persons behave and conduct themselves. It is thus a social phenomenon as it is something that is socially created and maintained by the society in its life practices (Carter 2014:246). It is a social construct based on a particular human sexual identity (Motsamai 2015:2; Niumai 2018:7). This concept seeks to explain psycho-social differences between male and female persons in terms of what male persons can do or perform vis-à-vis female persons.

Gender is thus that social, political, and cultural fabric of a group, community, or society that seeks to explain relationships related to masculinity and femininity (Anderson 2009:5). R. W. Connell, considered as an expert of the study of men and masculinities, gender is how the social practice is ordered. She emphasizes social processes as gender determining factor vis-à-vis biological make-up (Connell 2005b:71). In their workings, MenEngage Alliance, United Nations Women, and United Nations Population Fund (2014: 15) have adopted a definition of gender as “the socially constructed attributes and roles associated with being male or female” which dictates “what is expected, allowed, and valued in women and men”.

The concept of gender refers especially to social or cultural traits (American Psychological Association. 2020:5). It becomes significant and cannot be taken for granted in this study since masculinities, as the nucleus of this project, have been found to have shaped the gender order in any given social context like correctional settings. In essence, masculinities are the features and formations of largely a masculine gender, In her words, Connell who propounded masculinity theory, writes that “speaking of masculinity is doing gender in a culturally specific way” (Connell 2005b:68). Sex is setting up the premise for gender identity throughout one’s life, or rather it can be considered a springboard or point of departure for gender discourse, hence seeking to intersect sex, gender, and masculinity in this study.

**Inmate:** A person incarcerated in a correctional institution as a convicted offender or criminal suspect awaiting trial in competent courts of law.

**Offender:** An inmate found guilty of an offence and sentenced to serve corrections term.

**Sex:** The concept of sex is largely used to make a distinction between a male and female persona, and animals. It is used sometimes as a figurative expression to drive a message when referring to plants and other non-living things. Oxford English Dictionary defines sex as “...each of the main groups (male and female) into which living things are categorized based on their reproductive functions each of the main groups (male and female) into which living things are categorized based on their reproductive functions (Oxford English Dictionary: online).
An example of a figurative expression driving the message is that of a mortice and tenon joint and a dovetail joint in woodwork that has figuratively male and female parts. It is defined as the fact of being a male or a female (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English for Advanced Learners 2014:761; Motsamai 2015:2). Thus, sex seems to be a natural term that is static in all situations. It is denoting the biological state of the person. However, medical research has unearthed that there are people and animals born with a “reproductive anatomy that does not correspond to a typical definition of a male or a female owing to their ambiguous sexual differentiation or genitalia” (Ernst et al 2018:1). Thus, the noun sex is considered as the sum of structural and functional differences of a male, a female or an intersexed person, or any other living organisms. Similarly, the American Psychological Association (2020:5) refers to sex as “a person's biological status and is typically categorized as male, female, or intersex”.

The dictionary of sexology defined sex as “one's personal and reproductive status as a male or female, or uncertain, that is intersexed or transsexual as may be declared based on the external genitalia” (Pranzarone 2015:57). Sex is also commonly considered a verb and of course, loosely used to describe an act of sexual intercourse. It is defined as an activity associated with sexual intercourse or a sexual act meant to derive sexual pleasure. Also, the dictionary of sexology considered sex as “a vernacular synonym for genital interaction, as in the expression, to have sex” (Pranzarone 2015:57). This is corroborating with Reber and Reber (2001:673) who contend that sex is a noun for “those organic and physiological pleasures and satisfactions associated with sexual activities.

However, for this study, sex was considered as the summation of characteristics distinguishing human beings based on the nature of their reproductive organs and functions (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1993:1058). It shall treat sex rather, as the sum of biological attributes on which male or female distinction is based within the family of human species (Colman 2015:690; Niumai 2018:7).

1.19 Structure of the study

Chapter one: Introduction and background of the study:

This chapter contains the background and context of this research project. It has the statement problem which guided the foundational stages of the project. It also flags the aim and objectives, methodology, approaches or techniques, study design, instrumentation, ethics, validity and reliability, research plan, and structure of the study.

Chapter two: The notion of masculinity:
The purpose of the review was to identify and review the literature to inform the researcher on the first core subject of this study which is masculinity. The review looked into the theory of masculinity and its related terms and facets such as gender and sex, forms and hierarchy of masculinities, and transformative masculinity. The essence and thrust of this study were to explore masculinities to understand masculinities in correctional settings. The ultimate goal was to find ways of curbing violence therein. The focus of this part of the literature review therefore pivots and hinges on the theory of masculinity and the Sesotho notion of masculinity. This chapter, therefore, pivots on the notion of masculinity, in plural masculinities, in and out of correctional settings.

Chapter three: Conflict, violence, peace, and peacebuilding:

This review intended to exhibit what has been learnt about conflict, violence, peace, and peacebuilding in correctional settings. It is acknowledged that in chapter two the focus was on the notion of masculinity and it is accordingly overflowing into this chapter since it is one of the core issues anchoring this study as per the topic. Peacebuilding practitioners around the world and Lesotho, in particular, are adamant that conflict is inherent in social engagements, but people can learn to live with it. This portion of the review, therefore, seeks to explain the notions of conflict and violence and their relationship. It further seeks to explain the intersection of conflict and violence in correctional settings. Thus, the thematic issues in this chapter are conflict, violence, and peacebuilding. It was indispensable to learn about peace and peacebuilding since the ultimate goal of this study is to create a peaceful environment in correctional settings.

Chapter four: Correctional system in Lesotho:

This chapter is a review of the literature on the correctional system in Lesotho. It contains the history and philosophical basis of corrections in Lesotho and beyond. The chapter also presents the context and environment in which the correctional system is setup.

Chapter five: Theoretical framework:

This is the presentation of the review of literature on core theories engaged in this study which are social constructionism, conflict transformation, masculinity and masculinities, and andragogy. This comprises; relevant theories and empirical studies already done guided by these frames of mind. The intention has been to identify and learn from what has already been done along this line of thinking and find its applicability in doing the current study.

Chapter six: Methodology:
This chapter shed light on the nature of this study, the research methodology, research design, methods, and processes followed in doing this study.

Chapter seven: Exploration with corrections staff and inmates:

The chapter presents participants' pre-intervention knowledge assessment and analysis and the analysis and interpretation of data based on the objectives of the study. Pre-intervention knowledge analysis was aimed at establishing the level of knowledge and awareness of inmates and staff on the depicted issues of concern in this study.

Chapter eight: Taking an informed action: participatory action learning for transformation:

This chapter presents the implementation report of the intervention workshop that was carried out at Maseru Central Correctional Institution. The report contains planning and design, implementation, and workshop processes, methods, and techniques.

Chapter nine: Evaluation of the intervention:

Implementation of the intervention: evaluation report. This entails mainly the evaluation of the relevance of the intervention content; the suitability of the methods of delivery of the intervention; and the impact of the intervention.

Chapter ten: Conclusions, and a summary of findings and recommendations:

This chapter describes conclusions made and a summary of the findings based on the aim and objectives of the study.
CHAPTER TWO:
THE NOTION OF MASCULINITY

2.0 Introduction

Before field research aimed to explore masculinities and violence in correctional settings as the focus of this study, I found it prudent to set the tone by reviewing available relevant literature on these concepts. This is in essence a desk study or secondary research whereby the researcher utilized the existing pieces of information at the disposal referred to as secondary data. Secondary data is explicated as information that has previously been garnered through empirical methods, scholarly verified, and disposed to form a body of scientific knowledge. These include published books, encyclopaedias, and journal articles.

This literature review is, however, also comprised of selected information deduced from some publications derived from print and electronic media including newspapers, fliers, posters, conferences, and workshops presentations which are publicly available even if not peer-reviewed and published (Clark 2013: 57; Clark and Creswell 2015: 488). This form of data has been looked at and utilised largely as indigenous knowledge with a caution about its authenticity. According to Magni (2017:438), indigenous knowledge is scholarly defined as “a complex, dynamic and practical system with a scientific and logical validity”. It is said to “represent generations of creative thought and action” within a particular community or society.

Following Babbie and Mouton (2007 cited in Matela 2020:9) “every research should be placed in the context of the body of scientific knowledge”. Thus, the purpose of this review was to determine and set up ‘navigation margins’ guided by ‘the body of knowledge’ as I venture and traverse through the stages of this research project. The essence and thrust of this study were to explore the notions of masculinities and violence and to determine how they intersect in correctional settings in Lesotho. The ultimate goal was to transform violent masculinities and find ways of curbing violence therein.

The focus of this part of the review therefore pivots and hinges on the notion of masculinity with particular attention on the Sesotho concept of masculinity and corrections masculinities in Lesotho. It is imperative to take heed that this study delved into the notion of masculinity among the Basotho as a society. However, the geographical context of this study is the Kingdom of Lesotho, narrowed down to correctional settings in Lesotho, concerning Maseru Central Correctional Institution. It is an appreciated habit that, scholars embarking on research on masculinities permeate their task by also examining the notions of sex and gender as prime
rudiments of masculinity theory. This review, therefore, is setting a similar tone by defining sex and gender to avoid possible misperceptions and to ignite better appreciation of these founding elements as they form the essence of masculinity which is the crux of this study. This chapter, therefore, discusses the concepts of sex, gender, masculinity, and Sesotho masculinities as acceptable in theory and practice.

2.1 The notions of masculinity

According to Wariboko (2019:2), masculinity is the socially assigned characteristic or behaviour typical for men. It is frequently considered synonymous with maleness. Raewyn Connell, an Australian sociologist and masculinity scholar who is by self-description a transsexual woman (Kummer 2019:31), is considered globally as the seminal author and the leading guru of masculinity theory. However, the concept, masculinity was found to have been earlier used in America by Helen Mayer Hacker in 1957 in her monograph 'The new burden of masculinity' where she stated as societal expectations about masculinity traits "self-starter, red-blooded, and go-getter" as troubling men (Hacker 1957:228). However, Niumai (2018:13) opined that the term masculinity emerged after Freud's theory of sexuality in 1962 which is based on the make-up of men and women. The notion according to Hacker (1957:228) carries along with behavioural standards which are socially considered appropriate for men and boys in many parts of the world. These standards were found to be exerting psychological and social pressures on most of the male persons as they would want to be perceived as real men in their communities.

Connell acknowledges that masculinity is the cultural account of gender which is the lifeblood of any given society, though she was quick to note that, not all societies have conceptualized the notion of masculinity (Connell 1995:67). She further acknowledged that masculinity is the relational term since it is explained in contrast with femininity (Connell 1995:68), just like a coin that has a head and tail, it is so with masculinity and femininity which are both sides humanity. Masculinities are inherently historical with their construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction is influenced by economic, social, religious, and political processes. This in turn affecting the balance of interests in society, thus bringing about changes in the direction of social change (Connell 2000b:44). Generally, masculinity entails "what it means to be a man" in a particular setting (Hadebe 2013:6).

The concept of masculinity refers to socio-cultural representations, societal norms, and practices associated with being a male person. The plural form masculinities came into use in recognition of the fluidity and varying multiple facets in the manner in which male persons present themselves in response to societal expectations (Pilcher and Whelehan 2016: 82). It has been in use in many quarters to signify the quality of manliness. However, for Connell,
either masculinity or femininity may be acted out by anybody, whether male or female. A similar opinion was echoed by Pascoe (2007) who asserted that masculinity is an assemblage of socially constructed behaviour by any male or female person (Namatende-Sakwa 2018:2).

According to Kummer (2019:31), masculinities are fluid since they are influenced by numerous factors such as politics, economy, and general social stratification. This becomes apparent in case personality traits displayed by royalties, politicians, heads of business, and peasant farmers. Royal family members and politicians have a word of command, and power based on their authority to direct activities of commoners and the general public. This is attributable to the economic power that elite members of society have. The other group of men positioned at the apex of masculinity hierarchy in Lesotho is senior government officials such as chiefs of disciplined security services like army, police, corrections, and intelligence. This is by the power they have based their abilities and responsibilities to command and duty for those commanded to obey. This is not the case with peasant farmers and manual workers, they are normally humble and polite, while due to poverty levels many of them resort to criminality and juvenile delinquency.

Writing on her website, Raewyn Connell argued that masculinities are not equivalent to a male person. However, she opined that masculinities have to do with the positioning of male persons in gender order as per a given group, community, or society. Masculinities are seen as “patterns of social practice” (MenEngage Alliance, United Nations Women and United Nations Population Fund 2014:15) having some reference to biological properties of male bodies, with particular reference to industrious activities, labour, violence (Fleming et al. 2014:1029) and parenthood (Connell 2011:1677). In essence, the term masculinities is used presumptuous of the fact that individual conduct is consequential to the nature of the person in question (Connell 2005b:67)

According to Hartline (2013:68) masculinities are diverse since they vary between varying social contexts. In Lesotho, the concept is fairly new and recounnts on various issues such as politics, evolving culture, socio-economic technological advancements. According to Connell, Radican, and Martin (1987:1) masculinity is produced through socialization process over varying historical epochs. Thus, masculinity is not about sexual status but a stereotypical description of manhood by society (Khotso 2017:1). Similar sentiments were shared by Rwanda Men's Resource Center (2010:21) defining masculinity as the “perception of men and women about the role of men in the society”.

According to Niumai (2018:12), masculinity is best described in contrast to femininity as quality of womanhood or rather a femininity. It seeks to describe features, abilities, and qualities typical and distinctive of a male person (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English for
Advanced Learners 2014:1123). It is all that is not considered femininity and disapproving feminine qualities (Connell 2005b:70). However, both masculinity and femininity are described as substructures of gender relations and they are both gender categorizations (Niumai 2018:12).

Thus, masculinity is seen as a phenomenon influenced by universal and local aspects of gender, sex, and patriarchy. Consequently, Basotho masculinity becomes a product of historical foundations of the society such as the tribal wars, and wars against imperialism and protecting their perceived land and property such as animals and plantations; migration for labour markets and job opportunities at the dawn of industrialization in South Africa and contemporary issues such as modernization and globalization (Connell 2012:6). This is supported by (Monyela 2017:1) whose assertion is that Basotho manhood is not static therefore, shuttles with history and is negotiated through varying environments hence considered as a social construct.

Some scholars see masculinity as a composite and fluid concept making it difficult to precisely define. It is not a natural attribute thus a socially constructed and fluid idea and perception with definitional variations counting on numerous factors including inter alia; socio-economic, ethnical, social stratum, history, and chronological age (Shefer et. al 2007:52). An example outlined in this case is that of aging, high class, peasant, rural or urban masculinities (Biçer and Günenç 2017:26).

In her paper titled ‘Knowing about masculinity, teaching boys and men’, (Connell 1995:3) defined masculinity as formations of practice within the multifaceted assemblage of issues in the gender order. In the same manner, Connell acknowledged that there is no one masculinity in any social setting, hence multiple masculinities erratic between and within cultures, over a given historical epoch, between and within social locations. Furthermore, Connell acceded that most research on the notion of masculinity concluded that there are multiple patterns of masculinity originating and residing in various cultures and constructed throughout in diverse epochs of the history of a given society (Connell 2008:132; 2012:6). This could be historical periods of formal or informal groupings or institutions such as corrections. Therefore, the pluralistic term masculinities are used to echo the dynamism of the progressively inclusive definition from an assortment of numerous socio-cultural settings.

Connell sees masculinity as the day to day activities and social practices linked to the position of men in the gender order. It is a social construct coming to the fore in many forms and various representations subjected to power relations and ideology. However, it is defined by men’s action and choices (Cenk 2018:480) that is symbolically linked to the male physiology though is not determined by any biological makeup (Connell 2010:140). Accordingly, (MenEngage
Alliance, United Nations Women, and the United Nations Population Fund 2014:15) adopted the definition of masculinity as "the particular pattern of social behaviours or practices that is associated with ideas about how men should behave and their position within gender relations". Masculinity theory acknowledges that there is no single form of masculinity existing everywhere, hence multiple masculinities emerging from several cultures, over specific historical background and from diverse geographic locales. That is, "different societies and groups construct their ideal masculinity basing themselves on what they consider to be an ideal man" (Connell 2000:3; Connell 2005a:22; Jewkes, Flood and Lang 2015:5; Modie-Moroka 2016:288).

Connell further identified typical attributes of masculinity as identical to manhood. These features include inter alia; dominance, machismo, toughness, and risk-taking. Nevertheless, multiple masculinities are fluctuating with time within and amongst a wide array of social spaces, ranging from the dominant to the oppressed (MenEngage Alliance, United Nations Women and United Nations Population Fund 2014:15). According to Levant and Wong (2017:5) when defining masculinity, one must be cognizant of its multiplicity, hence masculinities, and be acquainted with other influential theoretical and conceptual frameworks such as social constructionism. Therefore, central to the theory of masculinity is the pluralistic nature and hierarchical formations of masculinities (Connell 2000:3).

The preceding contention calls for recognition of the fact that there are various forms of masculinities discovered in various social settings placed in a hierarchical pattern (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005b:846). A similar sentiment was also echoed by (Hall 2013:36) who acknowledged that there are numerous observations and perspectives on the multiplicity of masculinities. Also (MenEngage Alliance, United Nations Women and United Nations Population Fund 2014: 15) in the monograph, "Men, Masculinities, and Changing Power: A Discussion Paper on Engaging Men in Gender Equality From Beijing 1995 to 2015" resonate that there are multiple masculinities, fluid over time, between and within specific social settings. As thus MenEngage Alliance when developing their "Accountability Training Kit" they adopted a definition of masculinity as "those patterns of attitudes and behaviours that are associated with ideals about how boys and men should behave and their position within gender relations" (MenEngage Alliance 2018:13).

Consequently, there is no man, group, or society with a single form of masculinity, every day all time, as a result, there are numerous meanings of what it means to be a man in a given society, group, or social institutions (Connell 2005a:22). That is, masculinities are a circumstantial phenomenon. Raewyn Connell, in an interview with one Nascimento, while narrating her background and academic journey in the study of men and masculinities noted
and acknowledged that in her then twenty years of experience in gender work, she discovered the diversity and multiplicity of masculinities (Nascimento and Connell 2017:3972).

According to Chang et al. (2018: 5) masculinities and femininities are differences between the social roles of a man and a woman in society. Benya (2016: 78) revealed that scholars assert that masculinities are those patterns, performances, or practices that are socially constructed. It is an emergent phenomenon, that unfolds and changes over time and geographic spaces. Levant and Wong (2017: 5) also emphasized that definitions of masculinity fluctuate with chronological time, geographic space, culture, and circumstantial factors. In their opinion, Fields et al. (2015: 122) the notion of masculinity is that psychological, social, and cultural aspects are largely associated with sexual practices among heterosexual men and sexual minorities. It is a social construct linking to power and authority whereby dominant masculinities are domineering over subordinate masculinities and femininity. Accordingly, masculinity is said to be inclined to power and authority, thus culminating in the idea of hegemonic masculinity (Leshota 2012:153).

In her presentation “Botswana construction of men: towards transformative masculinities” delivered at the workshop on transformative masculinities organized by the African HIV and AIDS Initiative in Africa (EHAIA) held in 2013 in Windhoek, Reverend Musa Dube noted that Mike Leach opined that masculinity operates at mainly two levels. First as a form of identity and second as an ideology. As a form of identity, masculinity is considered as a way of understanding oneself which constructs one’s particular demeanor, attitudes, and behaviours. As a form of ideology, masculinity presents a set of social and cultural ideals that defines appropriate roles, values, and expectations for and of men.

Dube concurred in her deliberations that masculinity is not natural per se, she acceded that unlike the biological state of maleness, masculinity is a gender identity constructed socially, historically, and politically. She emphasized that masculinity is thus, a cultural understanding of maleness, learnt through active participation in societal and institutional activities and processes moulding societal expectations of masculinity which are those vantage points people have about a boy or a man (Dube 2013: para. 2 line 5). Dube’s contention from the African perspective is that what we traditionally mean by masculinity is considered in the “positive and negative adjectives that society usually assigns to male persons”.

This notion of masculinity shares the ideas about being a man or a boy in each social setting such as a correctional institution. It is also imperative to take heed that masculinities are better explained in relation to femininities since they are formations of behaviours arranged according to gender relations. Both masculinities and femininities are characteristically historical, and their construction and reconstruction are a political process affecting the
balance of interests in society and the direction of social change. Masculinities are composed of a set of manners, language, and activities, prevailing in a given socio-cultural and organizational localities mainly linked with males and as a result traditionally and culturally defined as manly (Itule-Abumere 2013:42).

According to Ratele (2013:145), the notion of masculinity is not merely concerned with biological make-up. Similarly, Kimmel and Bridges (2014: online) opined that masculinity refers to the behaviours, social roles, and relations of men within a given society as well as the meanings attributed to them. The duo insisted that the term masculinity denotes gender, unlike male that denotes biological make-up or sex. Likewise, Mfane (2016:3) discoursed that, masculinity among the Zulus in Southern Africa refers to practices associated with being a real man.

In essence, conceptualizing masculinity brings into fore the common question “what does it mean to be a man?”. This remains, however, a highly contested concept with conflicting views from different fields of study. The idea of masculinity becomes peculiar to an individual situation informed by contextual issues such as; one’s upbringing and socialization, cultural issues, and socio-economic circumstances (January 2017: 43). In Lesotho, for example, the problematisation of the notion of masculinity emerging from research work in the era of HIV and AIDS suggests that masculinity seems to be responsible for toxic sexual practices promoting the spread of the human immuno-virus. The consensus in the recurring research work on men and masculinities proposes that there is no universal definition of masculinity. However, central to the demarcated conclusions is that masculinity is a social construct reliant on one’s socialization and also masculinity signifies one’s social position and relationship within the gender order (January 2017:43).

Moleko (2016:22) recognized Boonzaier and De La Rey (2003:1020) and concurred that features of South African masculinity include inter alia violence, supremacy, assertiveness, resilience, and self-confidence. They agree that South African black communities develop a boy child to become the head of the household, family breadwinners, and protectors. The duo opined that it is considered a birthright for a boy to become a leader and decision-maker in South Africa. Moleko concluded that South Africans can be described as a patriarchal society troubled with dominant and violent masculinities (Moleko 2016:22). Consequently, given the socio-economic, political relationship, and geographic positioning of Lesotho, which is surrounded by South Africa, and descending from Bantu tribes, Basotho culture and traditions remain rich across Southern Africa, hence the making of Sesotho masculinities remaining patriarchal, dominant, and violent as in South Africa.
Accordingly (Fleming et al. 2016:2) opined that one's masculinity rests on how he or she conducts him or herself in public and how he or she interacts with others and also the entire social environment describes them. According to Benya (2016:78), Connell, and Messerschmidt in 2005 opined that masculinities are those patterns, performances, or practices that are socially constructed. The notion refers to those attitudes and behaviors linked with the ideas about how men and boys should be conducting themselves and their positioning within gender frames. Dube also opined that masculinities as those social formations and practices of gender relations is relatively an emergent concept, that unfolds and changes over time and geographic spaces (Dube 2016:75). This is counting on those versions of manhood associated with, for example, protection of the family, grazing land and community properties, state and its people; crop farming, sheep and cattle rearing enabling provision of clothing, food, and shelter for the family; and heterosexuality and reproduction.

There are various indigenous definitions and versions of manhood defined by Basotho customs and traditions. It is also worthy to take note of contemporary versions of masculinities shaped up by westernization initially brought by colonialism; the influence of Asian traders like Indians, Jews, Arabs and lately Chinese; the advent of Christianity, Islam, and other emerging religions; global technological advancements and mass media including social media are seen as influential on Sesotho versions of masculinity.

The advent of HIV and AIDS among the Basotho; emerging and rapidly increasing cases of prostate cancer and other forms of illnesses; and the need for caring masculinities in the era rampant numerous chronic illnesses has kindled the immense research work in the areas of gender and HIV and AIDS, men and masculinity, women and child abuse and sexual and gender-based violence in Lesotho and entire Sub-Saharan Africa. However, little has been done on Basotho men and Sesotho masculinity. As Lesotho male national, I found it frustrating when noting that, more often than not, research initiatives on male person's issues in Lesotho mainly focus on men and boys as key perpetrators of social unrest, violence and as responsible for driving the spread of HIV and AIDS pandemic hence clarion call for transformative masculinities. This study, therefore, aims to explore masculinities and violence in correctional settings with the ultimate goal of curbing violence therein.

2.2 Masculinity in the mist of feminism

In 1985, Raewyn Connell jointly with Tim Carrigan and John Lee authored an article 'Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity' whereby they acknowledged the need for theorizing the notion of masculinity in an effort for men and boys to fit into and to endure the stormy and turbulent environment caused by extremist feminism discourse. The discourse which mostly converged on the wickedness of masculinity and viewed all men as agents of subjugations of patriarchy
(Carrigan, et. al 1985:552) as the popular sweeping statement by radical feminists goes “all men are the same”. This contention seems to disregard conducive forms of masculinity found along the continuum or on the hierarchy of masculinities. There are also other forms of masculinities that are in opposition with toxic masculinities which have proved to be healthy. However, the stance of feminism on men and masculinism, coupled with the actions and teachings of feminist activists rapidly infiltrated the world and left some men and boys with diverging and squabbling gender politics endorsing a sense of guilt in their psyche (Carrigan, et. al 1985:552).

Feminism is a theoretical frame described as the movement, ideology, or school of thought which pursues equality for men and women in terms of access to social amenities and equally shared state funds and natural resources. It calls for the emancipation of women and girls from patriarchally purported oppression and discrimination. Contrary to claims by the right-wingers or conservatives, the main intention of cultured feminists is to uphold the human rights of all male and female people. The movement promote respect for human dignity through social mobilization and advocacy for peace and avoiding violent conflicts by all possible means (Connell 2012:15).

In Africa for example, feminism has toiled to challenge toxic masculinities manifesting in unhealthy patriarchal norms and customs (Ahiike 2014:9). According to Mosetse and Khalanyane (2016: 91), feminism is not a static notion. As a result, it is defined by a given context regarding time, location, and circumstances. Therefore, the theory of feminism per se, may not successfully emancipate and empower Basotho women from patriarchal oppression. This contention is augmented by the fact that there is a lack of clarity on what is meant by notions of equity and equality since this viewpoint appears to adore and cherish many features of masculinity (Mosetse and Khalanyane 2016:95), especially dominant features of masculinity. The theory of feminism aims to expose gender issues that impact negatively on female persons with the ultimate aim of eradicating such imbalances and oppressions felt heavily by female persons (Thekiso 2016:13). In Lesotho, such issues include sexual and gender-based violence, the law of inheritance, family lineage, and succession onto headship of the family, clan, or chieflyship in case of royalties.

It is the hard stance of feminism that masculinity is toxic and destructive. Nevertheless, I have decided to align myself with an assertion raised by Barker (2012:6) and as opined by John Jeffery, South African Deputy Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, who argued that even though violence, mainly against women is seen by and large as male-driven (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development 2017:4), some men do not use violence against women, Barker also acceded to the view (Barker 2012:6). However, this does
not erase the reality that largely, violence has become a way of claiming and asserting masculinity (Reid 2018:4). This is evidenced by elite class men and the advantaged groups of Basotho men such as politicians and uniformed security service agencies who are prone to use of violence to sustain their position and probably continue domineering over various subordinated sects of the society (Connell 2005b:83).

When entering into the research arena on masculinities and violence, with intent to bring about positive change or rather, to become instrumental in effecting reconsideration of issues affecting men, boys, and masculinity, I am further inclined to also take note of, in particular, men who became influential over the past decade and made some landmarks on the landscape of the notion of masculinity while toiling for transformative masculinity through their teachings and activism. This is contrary to most of the teachings of feminism. These in Lesotho include the likes of Dr. Paul Leshota who authored 'Under the spell of discrete islands of consciousness: my journey with masculinities in the context of HIV and AIDS' published in 'Redemptive masculinities' edited by Chitando and Chirongoma (2012). In this article, Leshota acknowledged the need for psychological, social, spiritual, and physically healthy and mature masculinities for both men and women in the era of HIV and AIDS to maneuver the tricks of the pandemic (Leshota 2012: 150).

Adriaan van Klinken who coined the notion of 'circumcised masculinities', acknowledged that the idea was suggested by the preacher who was addressing men and boys' congregants. According to Van Klinken (2011: 168) the notion of circumcised masculinity was an illustration that changed or converted men who can be in control of themselves to avoid HIV infection. Circumcision is seemingly a painful operation and one who seeks to be "a new man" has to endure the pain like it has been used by Basotho as a rite of passage to manhood. The other cultural metaphor I would bring to light is that of 'ho tsoa lesoleng', shedding the snake's skin. Like changing from archaic masculine traits, men and boys must, like a snake, endure the pain of shedding the skin for the snake must get rid of skin parasites on the old skin 'archaic masculinities' and also shedding of old snakeskin allows it to grow bigger and since the old skin would be stretched and loose, it must be removed. In the same manner, a man must get rid of old masculine traits to live up to transformative masculinity values.

Abiel Phohlo also investigated 'men's journey with masculinity in Lesotho' whereby he discovered the notion of 'temohano consciousness' which calls for popular participation. "Temohano" means recognizing and caring for one another, Thus "temohano consciousness" calls for the engagement of each other, men, women, boys, and girls, in all life issues regarding gender. This seems to be contrary to some of the canons of patriarchal masculinity (Phohlo 2011:271).
Masculinity can best be defined by its characteristics. Like (El Feki et al. 2017: 98) when conducting qualitative interviews in the Middle East and North Africa, respondents composed of men and women defined masculinity by a physical, ethical, and domestic authority. In this study, men, in particular, described masculinity as being a real man characterized by responsibility, dedication, loyalty, honesty, dignity, reason, hard work, and respect for others whereas women considered the ideal man as one who affords women their due, respecting human dignity and helping their spouses with household chores.

In sum, from the definitions of masculinity and masculinities, it is significant for this study to highlight outstanding characteristics of masculinity theory. The research unearthed the following as salient in this field. First is that masculinity is not a rigid or fixed state but rather flexible and changing with and over time, meaning they are not static. Secondly, we should be cognizant that there are various patterns of masculinity conduct, hence masculinities, are learned in various social settings such as correctional institutions. And third is that masculinities in any given psycho-social environment such as correctional settings were organized and arranged in their hierarchical order. Forth is that, having borrowed from Morrell’s assertion that construction of masculinity in Southern Africa is influenced by both globalization and indigenous issues and processes (Brown, Sorrell and Raffaelli 2005:587). It is recognized that masculine behaviours are informed by both external and internal factors. This is extrapolated from the importation and adaptation theory of prisonization as it was propounded by Donald Clemmer in 1958 in his monograph titled “The prison community” (Lopez-Aguado 2016).

I believe, like in the global north, masculinities in Southern Africa, regarding Lesotho, largely refer to manhood and therefore to a larger extent signifies male persons and their conduct. It is not a static phenomenon as alluded to. They are fluctuating based on the historically defined events and social contexts. Like Hadebe opined in his article “Zulu masculinity: culture, faith and the constitution” philosophies about masculinity are not fixed, but are constantly changing, according to social, cultural, and historical circumstances (Hadebe 2013:6).

2.3 Collective nature of masculinities

Collective masculinities are sustained and enacted not only by individuals, but also by groups, institutions, and cultural forms like the mass media. Multiple masculinities may be produced and sustained by the same institution (Breines et al. 2000:24). The idea seeks to explain that masculinities can be defined communally. This is a social agreement that is well-defined and sustained in communities, groups, institutions, and organizations such as the army, police, and correctional institutions. Informal groups such as corrections gangs also have communally acceptable definitions of masculinity (Breines et al. 2000:4). According to Connell (2016:11)
military masculinity is another element of collective masculinity induced through some form of training of militaries and par-militaries are subjected to put together the forces during times of war and eliminate the fear of combat; to enhance a sense of compliance and obedience to orders; to boost a sense of cohesion among the forces and avoidance of weakness. This form of masculinity is typical of corrections staff masculinity in Lesotho. This follows that correctional service in Lesotho is para-military and classical and is organised in a hierarchical order of ranks. The staff of corrections is trained physically and emotionally to eliminate the fear of death and encourage the willingness to disapprove the enemy and execute the condemned offender when duty calls.

The principle suggests that masculinities can be defined in a group, by a group such as the corrections community. This could be the way corrections inmates or staff, collectively define themselves through actions or words. Collective masculinities in correctional settings may perhaps manifest in informal inmate’s number gangs such as “26 gang” and “28 gangs” with typical rivalry and breeding violent collective masculinities. The other assemblage in corrections breeding collective masculinities that are conspicuously different is that of staff members deployed in correctional service specialized operational service units such as Emergency Support Services Unit and Chaplaincy Unit (Connell 1996b: 208-209).

Given the scenarios alluded to, the other group exhibits hostile behaviour characterized by aggression, toughness, and bravery in their operations. On the one hand chaplaincy unit staff largely present and advocate for redemptive masculinities. This is influenced largely by the nature of their work that targets to mould the moral aspects of inmates and provide spiritual mentorship for staff. The notion of redemptive masculinities reminds one of the spiritual dimensions and resonates with the theological aspects and religious dimensions of human life. It triggers contemporary debates on masculinity in the era of rising sexual and gender-based violence coupled with HIV and AIDS that have for some time not critically considered the role of religion in shaping up positive masculine attitudes (Chitando and Chirongoma 2012: 2). Redemptive masculinity injects hope for the eradication of social ills, sexual and gender-based violence, and other forms of violence. In essence, masculinity can be viewed as a culture-specific idea and inspiration, as roles and behaviours that men are supposed to live up to, the socio-culturally acceptable norms to be accepted by members of their communities(Padare Men's Forum 2007: 23).

2.4 Active construction of masculinities

According to Breines, Connell, and Eide (2000:24) “Masculinities do not exist before social interaction but come into existence as people act. Masculinities are actively produced, using the resources available in each milieu”. Active construction of masculinities emphasizes that
masculinities are produced as people daily interact in their agencies and communities (Connell 2000:4; Connell 2001:18). According to Pitikoe (2016:179), since gender is the way male and female persons are perceived by society, masculinities as patterns of gender are therefore social constructs.

According to Song and Hird (2014:4), Connell in 2005 considered the organisation and structure of masculinities as a product of collaboration and interaction amongst the indigenous and universal conventional and topical issues about manhood. The indigenous forces may perhaps include local traditions and cultural aspects. Whereas universal forces may perhaps entail possibly modernization and global technological advancements. The emergence of Christianity and other foreign religions; modernization of politics, international trade, mass media, and recently social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter in Lesotho is the typical example of universal forces that have influenced Basotho masculinities over the past years. These followed in the footsteps of the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1833; the advent of British interventionism in 1868 and lately the influx of Asians and of course Africans from North, East, West, and Central.

The preceding scenarios remain often blamed on the corridors of Basotho traditionalist who draws from orthodox schools of thought as to have instigated cultural degeneration, moral decay and disintegration of Basotho norms and traditions thereby reconstructing Sesotho masculinities. Conventional issues affecting the construction of Sesotho masculinities include inter alia: herding, traditional male circumcision, and initiation schooling as a rite of passage among the Basotho could perhaps represent a typical example of local traditions and culture.

2.5 Internal complexity and contradictions of masculinities

According to Breines et al. (2000:24), masculinities are not homogenous but internally alienated with each pattern having the potential to change. There are tensions and contradictions in the manner in which men conduct themselves and the way they perceive general life. Thus within any cluster of masculinities, there are potentialities for complexities and conflicting interests which some masculinities may of course be supportive to femininities and other caring masculinities. The internal complexity of masculinities seeks to explain that the reason why masculinities are not stable, or static is that they do not manifest in just simple and standardised patterns (Connell 2000:5; Connell 2001:19).

2.6 Dynamism of masculinities

According to Breines, Connell and Eide (2000:24), Masculinities are created in specific historical circumstances, as this is liable to be challenged, reassembled, or displaced. The forces producing change include contradictions and inconsistencies within gender relations,
as well as the interplay of gender with other social forces. The implication is as thus masculinities are not static thereby always changing, and this creates motives for learning. However, as an agenda for change is likely to be against some groups’ interests, controversy and conflict are to be expected. The dynamism of masculinities explains that various forms of masculinities exist in diverse cultures and historical periods (Connell 2000:5; Connell 2001:19). These views are largely influenced by historical events, consequently, changes from time to time and from place to place. Thus they are not fixed nor static thereby remain heterogenous other than homogenous hence the dynamism of masculinities (Connell 2012:6). This squarely dovetails with the suggestion that masculinities are capable of and can transform, hence transformative masculinities.

2.7 Sesotho notion of masculinity

The Kingdom of Lesotho hereinafter referred to as Lesotho, is a small, mountainous, and generally rural country situated in Southern Africa. It is fully land-locked by South Africa with approximately two million three hundred thousand (2,300,000) official inhabitants. The country is largely inhabited by the Basotho (Kynoch 2000: vii), a predominantly indigenous society made-up of Basotho ancestry and several Bantus and Nguni clans who merged with Chief Moshoeshoe of the Bakoena and the founder of the Basotho nation. Basotho are an arm of Bantu-speaking societies whose language and socio-cultural practices are largely intertwined with significant similarities. The amalgamation of Basotho with other clans including rehabilitated cannibals in Southern Africa that were forged by “lifaqane” or “Mfecane” wars and quest for peace as promulgated by the founder of Basotho nation Chief Moshoeshoe I brought together the groups on a similar footing in terms of socialization, practices, and of course constructing Sesotho masculinities and femininities.

Sesotho masculinity is a product of a creator influence of various tribes and clans who came into contact with Basotho society in different situations for various reasons such as “lifaqane” wars, extreme poverty, famine and cannibalism; amalgamation of clans that came to form a nation with King Moshoeshoe I; Basotho wars over territorial rights of Basotholand; migrant labour system that pushed Basotho men into South African mining zones in search for employment; and accordion music groups rivalry.

2.8 History of Sesotho concept of masculinity

Contemporary Basotho masculinities are largely a reflection of their turbulent and ferocious history, characterized by ‘lifaqane’ the mfecane wars that caused extreme poverty, hunger, and cannibalism; the first and second world wars; colonialism and struggle of independence; Lesotho’s pre and post-independence political upheavals; tribal wars in South African mining areas during apartheid South Africa; wars amongst illegal mining immigrants in South Africa
and gangsterism (Mthombeni 2017:13). Shava and Kolobe (2016:46) identified critical moments in the history of the Basotho nation that had a direct bearing on the construction of the Sesotho concept of masculinity such as, the burden of “khafa ea monna”, the hut tax on all able-bodied men introduced in 1870 (Maliehe 2015:51). Extreme poverty and chronic hunger due to the outbreak of rinderpest during the 1890s. The political disagreements and general power struggle towards independence in the early 1960s. The atrocities of “gomatsi”, the state of emergency declared by The Right Honourable Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan in 1970 which left some Basotho devastated due to upheavals and brutalities that forced some men and women from opposition parties into exile while other people were bodily and mentally injured, while some were cruelly killed and eliminated by secret agents.

The beginning of “bokhukhuni”, guerilla wars pioneered by Ntsu Mokhele led Lesotho Liberation Army which fueled violence through insurgent activities; and the military coup d’état in January 1986 followed by a hard military rule that banned political activities in the country. The atrocities instigated by Leabua Jonathan lead by the then government militia “…have left a legacy of bitterness and revenge which will take generations to eradicate” (Khaketla 1972:281). All these influenced Basotho men as they were mostly participants in the unfolding events as they were front liners in those violent conflicts. Many of the participants in the events were largely men who were ultimately incarcerated in correctional institutions Thus correctional settings became highly masculinized and violent spaces.

2.8.1 Pre-colonial Sesotho concept of masculinity

Sesotho's notion of masculinity can be explicated and demonstrated by the analogy of prominent masculinities displayed by two famous Southern African founding Kings namely; King Shaka Zulu of the Zulu and King Moshoeshoe I of the Basotho. This is owing to the long-term relationship of the Basotho and Zulus ignited by mainly peace accord entered into by their founding chiefs. The teachings and leadership of these chiefs are purportedly considered by the researcher as founding principles of both AmaZulu and Basotho masculinities.

King Shaka grew miserably as he was unwanted by his biological parent who fathered him out of wedlock. Consequently, Shaka had suffered an acute “father wound” that allegedly left him with an emotional scar. The concept of “father wound” is explained as the physical and emotional absence of a father figure for a child while growing (Sidebothan 2013:152-153). Father William Guru purported that father wound is the emotional or psychological injury suffered by a person who did not receive “fatherly love” during his or her upbringing. It is referred to by other schoolers as “father hunger” or “father need”. Father Guru opined that this is attributable to toxic masculinities (Guru 2013 and Coetzee 2016:251). Shaka grieved the loss of his living father and endured horrific and unresolved trauma (Long et al. 2014:136).
This state of affairs created a father wound which King Shaka suffered and consequently shaped his masculinities.

This followed that, at the age of six, Shaka's father and the chief of his clan, banned and evicted Shaka and his mother "Nandi" from her rightful clan. Though Nandi found refuge in another clan, her son was occasionally bullied and intimidated by his agemates who had hard feelings about his royal ancestry. As a result, Shaka grew lonely and abused by almost everybody except his mother, as a result, he developed a sense of revenge and became ambitious, ruthless, and determined masculinity. He began mastering war skills at age of fifteen and displayed fierce and intimidating combat techniques which had put to an end the bullying he endured and suffered.

In his monograph, Major Calvin Allen purported that King Shaka's masculinities were constructed during his bitter upbringing where he was taught that nobody wanted him alive except his mother. The conditions then, motivated by extreme hunger and poverty, coupled with the teachings of his spiritualist and mentor, justified the hostile masculinities Shaka possessed and infused in his warriors who in turn displayed aggressive masculinities. King Shaka was eventually characterized by extremism and violent energy, enthusiasm, and readiness for war. He invaded, killed, and conquered other chiefdoms and clans. He navigated hegemony among the neighboring chiefdoms and successfully established Zulu dominance in Southern Africa through military innovations and strategies. His aim was enlarging Zulu territory by unifying the neighboring chiefdoms and clans (Allen 2014:7).

Great King Moshoeshoe I, born Lepoqo in 1786, on the one hand, developed from a relatively stable family of the Bakoeena Ba-Mokoteli clan (Pheko 2017:6). History does not indicate peculiar suffering of any 'father wound' as endured by King Shaka. He was initiated and named himself through self-praise songs, Letlama, meaning the binder. He had anticipated binding the devastated tribes, Sotho chiefdoms, and clans as it was King Shaka's quest initially. After initiation, Letlama decided to invade Chief Ramonaheng territory and grabbed a large number of herds of cattle, consequently praised himself as "razor blade" with a sound "shoe-shoe" while shaving, hence the name Moshoeshoe. He likened his act to the sound of a razor blade when shaving the hair (Pheko 2017:6). He was an aggressive, antagonistic, and ruthless fighter in his early years. He was sent to Chief Mohlomi who was a traditional doctor and a soothsayer for mentorship. He was initiated into democratic chieftainship and became the true binder, Letlama as he praised himself, he became the protector and merciful chief. Moshoeshoe who is considered the father of the Basotho nation assumed chieftainship and began gathering some tribes and chiefdoms such as Ndebeles, Baphuthi, Batlokoa, Bataung,
and Makhoakhoa who were dispersed transversely in southern Africa during the reign of King Shaka of the Zulu.

King Moshoeshoe I rose in status as the create commander, democrat, diplomat, and was a highly respected leader. He was known to extend grace towards his fallen enemies. King Moshoeshoe I founded the current Kingdom of Lesotho guided by the principles of peace and nonviolence, however, he fought wars in a bid to protect his people, their land, and property against the British and Boers during the Anglo-Boer wars (Help Lesotho 2016). He was also trained in leadership, peacebuilding, and restorative justice. As a result, Moshoeshoe’s acquired nonviolent, diplomatic, compassionate, and kind masculinities. History teaches that King Moshoeshoe’s quest for peace obliged him to uphold high ethical ideals and principled leadership canons that saw the building of the Basotho nation (Mofuoa 2015:23). His tactics and quest for peace attracted and lured many chieftoms, clans, and dispersed groups from different places across southern Africa who were fleeing from ‘lifaqane’, the Mfecane wars which were incredibly devastating wars ignited by King Shaka Zulu’s quest for power. This was the period of turmoil pioneered by ruthless Zulu warriors and commanders of great attacks performed leading assault teams eyed by Mfecane hence named ‘lifaqane’ wars by Basotho (Pheko 2017:7).

Both, Shaka and Moshoeshoe philosophies, Shakaim and "Se-Moshoeshoe" or Moshoeshoeism, saw the construction of numerous masculinities among the Zulu and Basotho which were much influenced by their psycho-social development from their infancy, childhood, and adolescence. The amalgamation of the two tribes because of the peace talks and nonviolent gestures mainly advanced by Moshoeshoe and their general experiences marked the compositeness and fluidity of the notion of masculinity. Modern-day Lesotho and Basotho nation are a brainchild and a “handicraft” of Great King Moshoeshoe I. Consequently, today’s Sesotho concept of masculinity is largely traced from the reign of King Moshoeshoe I who initiated, organized, and shaped up Basotho society from early 19th century from minor chiefdom of Bakoena Ba-Mokoteli. The emergence of the Basotho nation occurred approximately in around 1818 when Moshoeshoe started bringing together some chiefdoms and clans who were then hit by tribal wars, famine, cannibalism, consequently scattered in the south of Vaal river, along with and around maloti mountain range 'The Drakensberg'. King Moshoeshoe’s fame grew and he commanded the support of many peace-loving chiefs leading him to ascend the throne and ruled from 1822 till his death in 1870 on top of “Qiloane plateau" which was renamed Thaba-Bosiu.

According to the United Nations Resident Coordinator in Lesotho, Salvator Niyonzima, at the official launching of the "Lesotho National Dialogue and Stabilisation Project", Lesotho has a
historical, almost legendary, connection to the concepts of peace and dialogue. Niyonzima asserts that King Moshoeshoe I built the Basotho nation on a rich history and tradition of consensus, peace, and diplomacy among the Basotho and between Basotho and their neighbours. “Indeed, the peace tradition of the Basotho is condensed in the famous words of King Moshoeshoe I, ‘khotso ke khaitsele eaka’ translated as “peace is my sister” denoting that Moshoeshoe had an unmeasurable quest for peace (Niyonzima 2018:4). The other proverbs inculcating peace culture is “Ntoa ke ea malula-mmoho”, meaning conflict arise as people live together, and “pharela ha e eo banneng”, translated as, there is no stalemate, impasse or deadlock among Basotho men, meaning, Basotho men are capable to resolve conflicts amicably. This means nonviolence is one, undoubtedly an appendage of Sesothe masculinity.

Besides numerous ‘lifaqane’ or Mfecane wars Basotho endured, there are six conventional wars Basotho men were exposed to that I further suppose had a negative influence on Sesothe masculinity, are:

- The 1851 Hendrick Viervoet battle which the British miserably lost to Basotho (Pheko 2017:9);
- The 1852 Berea plateau war was led by Sir, George Cathcart as British troops commander who also suffered a loss to Basotho;
- The 1858 Senekal war engaged Basotho who happened to intimidate the Boers who then lost to Basotho;
- The 1865 seqiti war left Basotho devastated on top of Thaba-Bosiu with most of their herds of cattle grabbed and grain fields destroyed. The war was named ‘se-qtti’ owing to the heavy sounds “qtti, qiti, qiti” which were sounds and ricochets of cannons and explosives;
- The 1880 – 1881 Basotho guns war left the British perplexed and the Basotho troops surrendering their guns to the government on their own set of conditions.
- The other wars which immensely affected Basotho men were World War I and World War II.

Connell (2016:6) acknowledged Ashis Nandy (1983) whose assertion is that violence experienced during the colonisation epoch shaped up masculinities of both colonial masters and the colonized. This contention ropes in the assertion that colonialism had a creative influence in moulding Sesothe masculinities during the colonial era. Morrell (2001 cited in Mthombeni 2017:13) concurred that Sesothe masculinities like in many African countries are yoked with geographic, social, economic, and historical contexts. For Basotho, this includes inter alia: chronic impoverishment and hardships of life in densely rural and mountainous areas; herding in a hard to reach areas, and ritual murders. Mthombeni further made assertions that, from the earlier stated life patterns among the Basotho, new forms of masculinities arose while pre-colonial and those preceding independence similarly were unharmed.
2.8.2 Colonization and Sesotho concept of masculinity

The arrival of Christian missionaries in 1833, followed by the advent of colonialism in 1868 brought about remarkable changes in the way Basotho used to run their spiritual, economic, and political affairs. The new developments gave way for the introduction of new governance and economic systems that embraced European models of public administration such as the hut tax in 1871 as earlier mentioned (Shava and Kolobe 2016:46). The similar imposition of the hut tax also affected Batswana and many other colonial satellites who were coerced to comply with the hut tax (Malila and Makgala 2016:13). Rantšo (2015:2652) asserted that hut tax left developing societies like Basotho with poverty and hunger since they had to leave their families, farm fields, and livestock to earn money for tax compliance. Due to fear of punishment by colonial masters, Basotho men sold their livestock and eventually left to South Africa for employment in mining and farming industries for salaried work to pay the hut tax (Pasura and Christou 2017:525). Basotho were left impoverished, consequently, Basotho gradually developed dependency syndrome with supplicative masculinities due to perpetual hunger and poverty.

Daemane and Mots’oene (2015:4) observed that the introduction of hut tax and other forms of taxes among the Basotho compelled able-bodied men into the migrant labour system whereby they left agricultural production and went to seek paid jobs in South Africa where many were forced into cheap and exploited labour. In support of Daemane and Mots’oene’s contention, Maliehe (2015:51) opined that hut tax forced Basotho to live on earnings from mines, industries, and cheap labour in South Africa. This enabled them to pay hut tax in cash it was demanded by colonialists. This rapid change in the lives of Basotho men and women harmed the economy, mainly food production.

The most affected was the stability of families and welfare of women and children since men had to leave their spouses and lived in the farms and mining areas of South Africa which affected sexual behaviour and sometimes spilled over to breaking the families. Some men and women got involved in promiscuous kind of life while some men developed a sexual interest for the same-sex “homosexuality” in the mining compounds. This has been one of the sharp curves in the history of the concept of masculinity among the Basotho as it affected Basotho men’s demeanor.

2.9 The nature and dimensions of Sesotho masculinity

The nature of Sesotho masculinity is an architecture of an ideal Mosotho man. It is a three-pronged phenomenon or magnitudes made of physical aspects, psycho-social aspects, and cultural aspects hereunder specified as dimensions.
2.9.1 Physical dimension of Sesotho masculinity

Physical dimensions of Sesotho masculinity relate to those observable characteristics of manliness. In their study on dimensions of masculinity and violence among Yugoslavian men, Eckman et.al (2007:16) discovered that physical characteristics of masculinity include among others; broad shoulders, visible large muscles, wide chest, large larynx, bearded and hairy, physical strength spilling into masculine activities such as contact sports like rugby, football and martial arts such as wrestling. Furthermore, large penis size and robust sex were also identified as significant characteristics of an ideal man as the large size of the large penis is an indicator of respectfulness and strength. This count on sexual virility (maleness) and being ready for sex as a key masculine characteristic (Eckman 2007:18). The ability to engage in war and fighting is in Sesotho an indication of masculinity. According to Breines, Connell, and Eide (2000:24), men's bodies do not fix patterns of masculinity, but they are still very important in the expression of masculinity, which constantly involves bodily experience, bodily pleasures, and the vulnerabilities of bodies.

2.9.2 Psycho-social dimension of Sesotho masculinity

Psycho-social characteristics of masculinity discovered by research include readiness for sex; self-confidence, commanding respect, power and authority, mental strength, drinking, and smoking. Eckman et.al (2007:27) identified man's obligations as; providing for the family, working hard and over time, ensuring that there are peace and order in the family and community, making decisions, and engage in technical work – deal with works such as gardening, changing car tires, the bulbs, and fuses. Eckman et.al (2007:19) also discovered that having relations with many women defines masculinity among the Yugoslavs.

2.9.3 Cultural dimension of Sesotho masculinity

Sesotho masculinity is a product of the patriarchal system which is explained as rule by a male figure, is one typical illustration of the hierarchy order of masculinities among the Basotho (Matsumunyane 2014: 18). The dictionary meaning of patriarchy is a form of social organization in which a male figure is the head of the family and the lineage or title is traced through the male line up. According to patriarchy is a system of structures and institutional arrangements created to sustain and recreate male supremacy and female subordination. It is characterized by current and historic unequal power relations between women and men whereby women are systematically disadvantaged and oppressed.

My personal experience with patriarchy among the Basotho was when decisions are made regarding the marriage of my siblings and the burial of my parents and departed siblings. Women are excluded from such strategic and highly emotional decision-making processes that directly affect them. I had to tell my mother to leave the meeting room when family men
were discussing the marriage of her daughter and the burial of her husband and children. Patriarchy among the Basotho is largely characterised by patrilocality and patrilineality, inheritance and succession into chieftainship, particularly into monarchy which is constitutionally a no-go area for women and girls regardless of their ability and seniority in the family (Pitikoe 2016: 74). Regardless of his socio-economic inabilities, physical and mental disabilities derailing his cognitive functioning, Mosotho male enjoys a position of power and authority in the nuclear and extended family structures, spilling over into the community and society in case of chieftainship and royalties. His wife becomes “mother of the clan” if he gets married. This is instilled in a boy child’s psyche from birth by both parents and the larger family including sisters, younger brothers, men, and women regardless of their chronological age.

Patriarchy is described by Kalabamu (2006 cited in Disele 2015:235) as “both a system and ideology shaping up and determining gender relationships in a society”. According to Mats’umunyane (2014:19), patriarchy is as old as Basotho society; thus it is a lifeblood of Basotho society; patriarchy is characterized by the supremacy of man in the family and clan recognizing and tracing the family lineage from the father figure; control of family resources by a father figure, regardless of how the family fortunes were acquired; and inheritance of family leadership, chieftainship, and property by the father figure considered most senior according to such family or clan ancestry.

Like Disele (2015:236) attested, Batswana are a predominantly patriarchal society, the supremacy of patriarchy remains a philosophy of life amongst the Batswana in Botswana, South Africa, and elsewhere Motswana resides. Similarly, Hone et al (1996 cited in Thabede 2017:39) opined that Zulu traditional society is wholeheartedly patriarchal and all other cultural practices geared towards maintaining the domineering status of men. According to Modie-Moroka (2016:288), Batswana men are groomed to be proper heads of families and providers. They are trained to be strong, coercive, and tough enough to control their families and intimate partners, to have good income and property such as a farm, herd of goats and cattle, and a house for the family. Batswana men also learn that real men must be violent to ascend to positions of power and authority thereby maintaining hegemony. In a similar fashion (Sikweyiya, Jewkes, and Dunkie 2014: 5) suggested that a proper man should be able to provide a secure home for the family, fulfil a role as providers and ensure the survival of the family line through childbearing and raising of children. For Mosotho, he must be able to bear a male child for family line up.

Basotho society is typically patriarchal, hence watertight Basotho custom following patrilineal traditions governing inheritance and succession (Johnson 2016:136). Traditional practices that are entrenched in the Laws of Lerotholi are the clear illustration that Basotho are
traditionally patriarchal with decision-making powers and rights vested in male persons. The idea is engulfed among others in the Lesotho Chieftainship Act No. 22 of 1968, section 10 is an example of pieces of law that formally embodies discriminatory provisions augmenting patriarchy. The roots of patriarchy among the Basotho were deepened by colonialists through the Basotholand Native Trade Proclamation of 1936 which disqualified women from trade licensing (Maliehe 2015:79). This gender discrimination was camouflaged by the fact that women could not appear for themselves in courts, even where they were wrongdoers they were represented by their husbands, and punishments were inflicted on their husbands. Also, women were not subjected to hut tax, hence it was named “khafa ea monna” men’s tax as it was called by Basotho.

According to Metsing (2015:19), Lesotho’s patriarchal system exclude women from inheriting chieftainship status permanently. It provides that women can only be regents in case the heir to the seat appears young and thus a minor. Accordingly, The Laws of Lerotholi, published under the hand of the former Paramount Chief of Lesotho, the heir to the chieftainship in Lesotho is the first male child from the first marriage or senior wife in the household. In the case of where there is no male child in the first marriage, the heir will be drawn from the next wife (Johnson 2016:136) or the immediate family according to the particular patriarchal lineage. This is evidenced by the recent case of Ms. Senate Gabasheane Masupha v. Senior Resident Magistrate of Berea District whereby following the death of her father, Chief Gabasheane Masupha, his daughter Princess Senate Gabasheane Masupha challenged and lost the case regardless of her, Senate, being the only child of the late Principal Chief David Gabasheane Masupha.

In summation, Basotho, Batswana, and Zulu culture are patriarchal, implying that, these societies are male-dominated, or male-focused seeing women as the inferior gender. The patriarchal system has been for time immemorial the lifeblood of these African societies. Basotho through their culture, customs, and laws to date, have endorsed the patriarchal system in many spheres of their life. The example is that of popular cases of inheritance and family lineages. This is, according to Bafana Khumalo Senior Strategic Advisor of Sonke Gender Justice Network, similar in South Africa where indigenous customs and traditional attitudes endure regardless of the level of development characterized by advanced laws and policies promoting gender equity and equality (Khumalo 2014: online).

2.10 Construction of Sesotho masculinity

Construction in this part relates to the make-up, building, or development. This part, therefore, advances what literature findings are on how Sesotho masculinities are being constructed from the cradle stage. This part entails socialization of Mosotho child; aspects of Sesotho
language and culture; childbirth, infancy, and childhood; herding and boyhood; traditional circumcision and initiation; and famo music and marashea gangs.

2.10.1 Socialization

Considering socialization, Flood et al. (2007:390) put it that Raewyn Connell asserts that masculinity is not purely biologically programmed but socially put up while one is growing socially, and psycho-sexually interacting with self, others and objects there around. This says to scholars, masculinity is an overall product of socialisation process occurring in social institutions such as; family, school and general academia, religion and church, community, politics, social clubs, and workplace.

This is augmented by (Kimmel and Mahalik 2005) whose assertion is that masculinities do not exist in socio-cultural vacuums but are constructed within specific institutional settings which is socialization. Carter (2014:244) opined that human beings embark on a socialization process at birth whereby parents and society do not treat boys and girls alike. It is mainly at the childhood socialization stages where we constantly acquire new knowledge, attitudes, skills, behaviours, and aspirations largely through incidental, accidental, and non-formal learning modes. We tend to identify with the roles, behaviours, and attributes which the society has approved as appropriate and unique for a male or female identity referred to as stereotypes.

Socialization is that process of individual and group learning of new skills and change in behaviour to better perform new roles in each social institution. The process involves social interaction resultant in the acquisition of new knowledge necessary for thinking and acting meaningfully. It is through socialization that we learn about cultural norms and traditions, behaviours and beliefs that are expected of us to become a socially acceptable member of a particular group (Sallee 2011:188) accordingly, socialization is considered as the process of internalization of an integrated culture suited the prevailing social contemplations such as fitting into and surviving corrections culture (Frønes 2016:12).

Understanding masculinities as a product of socialization is central to this study given that, prisonization is by and large a process of socialization within correctional settings. According to Ryan in his deliberations, during the round table discussions on male identity, masculinities, and violence in South Africa, Ezra Chitando underscored that Musa Dube opined that:

- Masculinities are socially constructed, meaning it is learnt through socialization. It is a product of human socialization;
- Masculinities can be deconstructed, meaning it can be analysed and re-analyzed to put-up a socially acceptable definition after having determined the; life-giving and invigorating, negative, harmful, destructive, and unaccommodating.
• Masculinities can be reconstructed, meaning it can be reconstructed or restructured incorporating the new socially accepted perceptions about masculinity (Ryan 2014:6).

In her presentation titled "Botswana construction of men: towards transformative masculinities", Dube (2013:2) recognizes that one Brian Wren underscored that, central to the theory of masculinity is power and control. This says a true man should be in control of himself, of others, of events, and the femininity within himself and others. She further outlined characteristics of Setswana masculinities as:

• A form of identity that structures personal attitudes and behaviours.
• A form of ideology, presenting cultural ideals that define appropriate roles, values, and expectations for and of men.
• A gender identity, constructed socially, historically, and politically.
• Not natural or biological, but a social construction of men.
• A cultural interpretation of maleness.
• Learnt through participation in society and institutions.
• Into control of the self, others, and events.
• Not permanent or uniform, that is they change over time and are different in different places and groups.

Masculinity is, therefore, a customarily inclined manner of behaviour of male persons, thus considered a normative route that is socially prescribed for male persons to enter manhood. It is a perceptual structure, that is a representation of what is perceived about manliness and a basic component in the formation of manhood hence a model considered worthy of imitating by a boy child. Considering that, masculinity refers to male bodies, figuratively and indirectly, it remains worthy to take heed that is not determined by the biological make-up of the male person. Connell notes that; "it is, thus, perfectly logical to talk about "masculine" women, when women behave or present themselves in a way their society regards as distinctive of men" (Connell:n.d.).

Connell's (2008:132) assertion is that research concluded that there is no single form of masculinity prevailing in all cultures and at all periods of history. She asserted that there are numerous meanings and explanations of what it means to be a man. Accordingly, it is thoughtful to consider that, there are various streams of masculinities such as; men domineering women, men domineering subordinate men, the dominant and submissive (Bandyopadhyay 2006: 2). While masculinities are associated with mostly negativities, it is thoughtful to note that, not all masculinities are wicked as there are caring, serving, protecting, and providing masculinities. Lutze and Murphy (1999: 711) submitted that, although masculine attributes are not inherently bad, as they have the potential of being detrimental only when
alternative behaviours are ignored due to stereotypical believes that real men should only behave in a particular manner.

### 2.10.2 Language and culture

Sesotho is both the language and culture of Basotho people (Hincks 2017:1; Noko 2017:6), on the same note, Noko (2017:2) asserted that Basotho culture is deeply embedded in their language. While Pitikoe (2016:168) opined that culture constructs an identity unique to the society and sort of binds the nation. According to culture is the manner of doing things within a group, community, or group. Culture is thus the framework used by individuals to make sense of their surroundings while making sense of themselves, at the same time as they reproduce and transform that same framework (Rodrigo-Alsina and Medina-Bravo 2016).

The more precise definition is that of organizational culture as articulated by Uttal (1983) who opined that culture is “shared values and beliefs that interact with a company’s people, organizational structures and control systems to produce behavioural norms” (Edwards, Davey and Armstrong 2013: 4). Thus culture is considered as a set of rules and norms that the society, community, group of people, or organization follow to survive in each defined environment. It encompasses societal information, knowledge and skills, feelings, attitudes and opinions, visual and performing arts, language, morals, laws, customs, as well as other behaviors and capabilities attained by members of the group of people living together (Gladkova 2014:33; Poortinga 2015:9-10).

According to Hincks (2017:45), cultural rituals embracing and nurturing Sesotho masculinity includes the key rites of passage such as; childbirth and naming, child-rearing and initiation, marriage, old age, death, and burial. Other practices recognizing masculinity entail: the establishment of a new family house “ho aha motse”; general medicine and other traditional healing practices; prevention of lightning, social and other natural disasters; production of food and household commodities; and preparation for war which was compulsory for every Mosotho male person.

According to Pitikoe (2017:105), culture has a significant influence on the social construction of Sesotho masculinity. It guides the training and development of adolescents, imparting into their psyche socially acceptable conduct and responsibilities as Basotho men. Basotho culture enables the reproduction of some forms of masculine behaviour expected of Mosotho man. Pitikoe and Preece (2016) in their study on herder identity in Lesotho, acknowledged that cultural practices in their different forms contribute significantly towards molding one’s identity. Therefore, one may safely assert that culture is pivotal in shaping Sesotho’s concept of masculinity.
There are significant cultural similarities such as customs, traditions, and language amongst the Bantu-speaking societies characterized by common proverbial connotations and oral literature like proverbs, folklore, riddles, and music. This is a strong indication of the close relationship among the Bantu, particularly of Sotho speaking descendants. These groups comprise of Basotho breakaway clusters such as Basotho of Lesotho and those residing in South Africa; Basotho communities in Dawure Purchase Areas in Gutu (Mujere 2013: 3) and Kafusi, Gwanda South in the rural areas of Matebeleland South in Zimbabwe (Noko 2017:1); and the Balozi of the Kingdom of Barotseland in Zambia. Sesotho is both culture and a dialect of Sotho languages spoken by Basotho (Kynoch 2000:7). It is constitutionally an official language of Lesotho and South Africa (Grimwood 2016:30).

Language is a social system used to transmit culture and traditions from one societal generation to the other, or between and amongst communities, formal and informal organizations, and individuals. Language is expected to act as a cultural vehicle through which a community engages issues that impact its very survival. The community also uses it to transmit its ethos, customs, traditions, and values from generation to generation (Pitikoe 2016:199). It is instrumental in communicating ideas and philosophies destined to maintain the culture and traditions of a given society. It uses signs, symbols, and sound to convey certain messages (Weitzman 2013: 189). According to with language, people can divulge their hidden feelings and thoughts through speaking, singing, or writing.

Language has strong relationships with society and culture in the sense that society use language to pass on information for learning and teaching as well as transmission of culture from one generation to the other. For illustration, Palesa Morojele believed that Sesotho language and all debate thereto, play a vital role in reinforcing inequalities and inequitable gender relations by adoration of hegemonic masculinities over femininities and other types of masculinities (Prah 2013: 364). Thus De Valoes (2014) asserted that language influences the life of individuals irrespective of their socio-economic background. It helps one to express his or her feelings, desires, and queries to the world surrounding him or her using words and gestures as well as tone.

Proverbs as 'intelligent sayings' are a substantial part and parcel of Sesotho culture demonstrated by a day-to-day spoken language (Possa 2014:61). According to Khotso (2017: 2), folk tales also are part and parcel of Sesotho culture passed on using language hence it would be a great mistake to leave them out when unpacking the construction of Sesotho masculinity. They are meant to drive home directly and indirectly a significant message intended to culturally yield projected outcomes such as behaviour change. The dictionary meaning of the proverb is a summarized but noteworthy saying aimed to illustrate societal
experiences and understanding of practices and facts considered to be true by the masses (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1993:920). It is of such utmost importance to note that, some Sesotho proverbs are extremely gendered and stereotypical favouring male persons (Prah 2013: 364). For example, "letsoho la monna le mokolla" meaning man's hand is backing and is supportive, and "pharela ha e eo banneng" meaning men always have a solution to a stalemate.

Proverbs, like riddles and fairytales, are an integral part of traditional adult education among the Basotho entailing; incidental education, informal education, non-formal education, and formal education and remain at the core of Basotho culture. According to Khotso and Mashege (2011:105), proverbs are viewed as a vehicle that carries and transmits culture. Proverbs are instrumental in transmitting social value systems and replacing archaic practices, maintaining and stabilizing social order as well as preventing and reducing social disasters. Through proverbs, Basotho was able to induce patriotism, characterized by loyalty, allegiance, and trustworthiness to the society and families which is an aspect of Sesotho masculinity. According to Motsamai (2015:30), while conducting the study aimed to examine the relationship between language and gender, she defined gender as the term that relates to the roles which boys and girls, women and men are socialized into, that is their respective and different types of behaviour, attitudes, and practices. It is socially learned behaviour and expectations between femininity and masculinities.

The study at hand pivots on Basotho masculinity and its relationship with violence in correctional settings, and ways of combating such violence. The preliminary stage of this action research involves exploration of Sesotho masculinities and therefore, like Motsamai (2015:30), I find it sensible to take note of Sesotho sayings found and proved to be in a way, responsible for shaping, reshaping, and nourishing Sesotho masculinity which were identified by Khotso and Mashege (2011) as adages encouraging violence, cheering recklessness and promiscuous behaviour and those encouraging deviancy, juvenile delinquency and to a significant extent masking criminal behaviour.

Table 1: Proverbs encouraging violence amongst Basotho men:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An adage in Sesotho</th>
<th>Translation and meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monna ke pela oa itebela</td>
<td>A man is a rock-rabbit he safe-guards himself, meaning a man must always be ready for war and other hardships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khang ea monna e khaoloa ke letlaka</td>
<td>The quarrel among men is settled by vultures, meaning a man would rather die and be eaten by predators as a settlement of misunderstandings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phohe ea monna he e behe, ea ipeha</td>
<td>A person bull is not chosen but imposes himself, meaning a man should fight and skirmish to get his desired position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phohe e tsejhoa ka mendoapo</td>
<td>A bull is known for scars, meaning a man should not shun to fight and sustain injuries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monna ke ts'epo e nts'o</td>
<td>A man is black iron, meaning a man is identified if he is like hard as iron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoana moshemane ke pholo e letlaka kabela manong</td>
<td>A man is prey of vultures, meaning a boy will grow and be killed at war and vultures will feed on his flesh as a sacrifice for his people. This signifies the tough way ahead in the life of a male person (Pitikoe 2016:75).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monna ke nku ha a lle</td>
<td>A man is like a sheep, he does not cry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motsamai (2015:30) and Khotso and Masehego (2011:106)

Table 2: Proverbs encouraging recklessness and promiscuous masculinity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An adage in Sesotho</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moqala o khaoela koaring; e shoela jokong</td>
<td>Crowbar breaks while working; a bull dies on the yoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molamu oa monna o khaoela ntoeng</td>
<td>Man's stick breaks at the battlefield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botle ba monna ke ho shoela nyatsing</td>
<td>Man's beauty is proved by dying at concubine's place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau e liloa le ngata</td>
<td>A lion has several places to rest and sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nong ha le lapa lea solla</td>
<td>When a male vulture is hungry, it roams about for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebitla la monna le ka thoko ho tsela</td>
<td>A man's grave is by the road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monna ke mokopu o noba; thankha, thankha kea tsoala kae</td>
<td>A man extends like a pumpkin and bear fruits around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monna o oeloa ke 'maene</td>
<td>Mine roof fall on man as he is working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mopho-le-motho o shoela ntheo o a e ratang</td>
<td>A man dies for what he likes most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monna o pata seholtsa</td>
<td>A man conceals his limp; a man cannot disclose his family weaknesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monna haa tsoale</td>
<td>A man does not give birth, meaning a man do not divulge secrets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motsamai (2015:30) and Khotso and Masehego (2011:108)

Masculinity is much highly valued amongst the Basotho. Thus Sesotho culture attaches significant value to masculine attributes expressed through certain characteristics including inter-alia; bravery and boldness, achievement and economic success, power, and authority, invention, word of command and self-control (Niumai 2018: 15). The manner of training and development of Mosotho man from infancy to adulthood is such that indoctrinates and teaches that man is expected to be physically strong, be emotionally intelligent and do not show emotions, be economically successful and be in control by all means including violence, have multiple sexual partners and marry many wives. Masculinity is influenced to a great extent by
social, cultural, religious, political, and economic factors. This is flagged through language and its usage, mode of dress, and colour of clothes, games, and social chores (Khotso 2017: 1).

2.10.3 Childbirth, infancy, and childhood

In her paper presented at the workshop on transformative masculinities held in Mahalapye, Botswana in 2011, Reverend Bonginkosi Moyo-Bango opined that parenting practices are grounded on societal customs set out, bearing in mind what the child needs and what is expected of the child. Childrearing practices therefore are entrenched in the cultural beliefs and traditions of a given society. This includes caring for the expecting mother, child’s birth, infancy, and general parenting practices paving the way for infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. According to Basotho customs and traditions, when a boy child is born, the father is informed by beating with a stick as an indication that “a warrior” is born while on the one hand if it is a girl, will be informed by pouring water on the father which indicates that the one who will fetch water is born.

Sesotho’s concept of masculinity is defined by actions, principles, and labour such as herding. Sesotho masculinity is defined by body shape, parts, and physique, morals, and family authority. Also, to be recognized as a real man among the Basotho, one must display characteristics including inter alia; dedication and perseverance, responsibility and accountability, loyalty, honesty, hard work, self-respect, and respect for others. Some respondents stressed that men must be emotionally and physically strong; be critical, decisive and in control, power and authority; providing for the family, and if need be resort to violence and aggression (Pitikoe and Preece 2016:10; El Feki, Helman and Barker 2017:98).

When the boy is born, village men will sing ‘mokorotlo’, war songs and drink traditional beer, women will be ululating and chanting “a warrior and protector is born”. On the contrary, when the girl is born, women will be ululating and chanting ‘sekha-metsi’, the one who will fetch water and ‘likhomo li tille ka lapeng’, meaning the newly born will be married and bring wealth in the form of cows to the family. The crux of the two scenarios is that, culturally, Basotho begins to shape masculinities at birth.

Basotho parenting practices are set to train boys in such a way that inculcate in their psyche a sense of superiority and dominance, combat and conquering, possession of the land, cows, many wives, and children. This practice aims to toughen the boys to produce brave, tough, emotionally strong, and domineering masculinity (Connell 2016: 9; Niumai 2018: 14). Through role modeling, reinforcement, covert and overt threats, coercion, beliefs, and values related to masculinity. Batswana boys and men in a similar manner are socialized to assume risky lifestyles such as multiple concurrent sexual partners, drunken driving, and over-speeding and some even indulge in juvenile delinquency and criminal elements (Modie-Moroka 2016: 288).
2.10.4 Herding and boyhood

Pitikoe and Preece (2017:461) opined that customarily, herding chores are the responsibility of boys exposing Basotho males to masculinity characterized by authority, power, and dominance (Pitikoe and Preece 2017:465). According to Carter (2014:250), one’s masculinity can be engaged and stimulated by numerous, differing circumstances. Herding, for example, is one of those chores exposing Basotho boys to some form of masculinity. It is a vital aspect of true masculinity among the Basotho (Pitikoe 2016:179). According to Pitikoe and Preece (2017:465) and Pitikoe (2017:110), herding exposes herders to survival skills such as; self-protection, hard-working, gallantry and bravery, assertiveness, and ability to bounce back from physical and psycho-social atrocities. Herding exposes Basotho boys into no-nuisance, unsociable and aggressive manhood as expected of a well-rounded Mosotho man.

Herding was also found to strengthens masculinity through socialization into manhood. Basotho boys are introduced to herding at a very tender age where they are introduced to techniques for survival such as; animal care and farming practices, hunting, “seqata-majoana” stone-fighting and “ho kalla” stick fighting where the best performing becomes “mampoli oa balisana” chief of herd-boys. In this manner, a boy is introduced to masculinity associated with being tough and rough (Pitikoe 2016:75). These survival skills were introduced in a form of games aimed to introduce young herders into appropriate masculinity character and hegemonic or hierarchical respect, social stage, and transition into manhood (Pitikoe 2017:110). Herd-boys would fight over grazeland and animal drinking water to prove their capabilities. They would build toughness by enduring intentionally inflicted physical and emotional pain circumventing crying since “monna ke nku ha a lle” meaning, like a sheep, a man does not cry. In this manner, one is socialized into an acceptable way of manhood possessing an appropriate and socially acceptable form of masculinity.

Basotho boys are subjected during the day at the veld where village animals are put for grazing to; a long day without food; heavy farm chores; obstacles in managing untrained animals; running, wrestling, and tussling as to perfect bodily masculinity to fit in military operations as compulsory for all able-bodied Basotho males to join forces to defend the people, property, and land. It is at this childhood stage when one is introduced to the observance of general authority and respect of elders. This attitude towards childhood is put glowing by the proverb “lefura la ngoana ke ho rongoa”, meaning, children benefit from serving their elders (South African History Online 2016:4).

In the rural highlands of Lesotho, which constitutes two-thirds of the country, herd boys who are normally young boys of primary school age, resort to violence as customary for they must always protect their lives, livestock, and grazeland from all odds. Fighting is their culture as it
has been normalized by the Sesotho proverb, ‘khang ea monna e khaoloa ke letlaka’ meaning the fight is the means to conflict resolution. ‘Letlaka’ is a vulture, a bird that feeds on meat. This proverb, According to Plikoe and Preece (2017:465) symbolizes that fight must end with one party emerging a winner of the fight and probably with the loser left dead for the vultures to feed on his corpse. This is, of course, an aggressive concept of masculinity.

Violence in the herding areas, therefore, has become a norm as it is the only way to assent who becomes “mampoli” grazeland territorial captain. Lineo Johnson conducted a qualitative study on “cultural and social issues of orality and functional literacy” (Johnson 2016:5) targeting the herd boys which revealed that some of Basotho men, grew and lived alone in the rural, lonely, mountainous area, looking after livestock for many years of childhood and adolescence (Johnson 2016:5). According to the custom, Mosotho boy, before initiation, must be exposed to some years of life at ‘motebong’ the ranch in the mountains, sleeping in the small grass shack where he is exposed to hardships such as: fighting with thieves to squelch in dissent of stock theft; protecting himself and livestock against wild animals; surviving very cold and snowy weather; fighting with neighbours to protect one’s grazeland, and surviving hunger and loneliness. For Van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2016:279), masculinity seems to be closely intertwined with violence.

2.10.5 Circumcision and initiation

Traditional initiation schools are conducted over a while, away from settlements, in secluded areas (Mohlakola, Jacobs and de Wet 2016:20). This means that traditional initiation is a generational ritual that is passed from one generation to the next to ensure that the legacy of that community or family is kept alive for a long time. ‘Lebollo’ is a traditional cultural practice involving the process that indicates the transition from boyhood to manhood (Mohlakola, Jacobs and de Wet 2016:20).

According to Kananelo Boloetse on Public Eye on Friday, April 19, 2019. Traditional initiation locally known as lebollo, has from time immemorial been a crucial step in the development of Mosotho child. It has been an important part of Basotho culture that has for ages been respected, protected, and preserved. According to Historians, initiation schools were equivalent to universities, preparing boys for their adult responsibilities as husbands and fathers, as guardians of cattle, and as warriors and loyal subjects of their respective chiefs. Traditional schools are conducted over some time, varying from a few months to six months in secluded areas away from the settlements. The initiates are separated from social activities and kept in a secluded place, usually a top of a mountain where their transition from boyhood into manhood takes place.
According to Modie-Moroka (2016:288) African traditional masculinities change historically, following shifting perceptions of gender roles, expectations, and prescriptions. Basotho are no exception in this regard. Basotho boys at the teenage stage, mainly in rural and semi-urban areas enroll at initiation schools for traditional circumcision and learning. According to Pitikoe (2016:3) initiation school is a rite of passage for Mosotho boy to graduate to Mosotho man (Monyela 2017:2).

2.10.6 ‘Famo’ music and ‘marashea’ gangs
Marashea “Russians” is a society of loosely affiliated migrant/immigrant gangs, primarily composed of Basotho, which has been in existence in South Africa since the late 1940s. The genesis of the Marashea can be traced to the Basotho gangs established in the mining compounds on the Rand in the early 1900s. Collective violence (Kynoch 2001:251 and 2000:259). According to Kynoch (2006:629) gangsterism among Basotho men ‘marashea’ gangs emerged in the Rand mining areas in the 1940s as a way of ventilating their herding experiences characterized by hardships in the rural, mountainous areas coursed by extreme cold and lack of food.

The name ‘marashea’ was coined by Matsieng faction to indicate their strength as Russians were during world war II, while Ha-Molapo faction was named ‘majapane’ Japanese since they were defeated during world war II and the Ha-Molapo faction was considered weaker. ‘Borashea’ and ‘bojapane’ denote philosophies of life, it is, therefore, some forms of masculinity among the Basotho. Marashea represents domineering masculinity while Majapane is the subordinated masculinity. However, Kynoch revealed that Majapane diminished, Ba-Molapo and Ba-Matsieng factions merged as Marashea with close linkages to mineworkers in the gold mines (Kynoch 2000:79). ‘Famo’ songs are some small narratives of self – identity, the songs are constructed of the way the singer think of and experience themselves as Basotho of their country Lesotho.

Palesa Khotso conducted research examining the relationship of ‘famo’ accordion music and the development of Sesotho masculinity. In this study, Khotso concluded that the present form of Sesotho masculinity is dangerous and mount risks to men and women hence the need to reshape this Sesotho masculinity (Khotso 2017: 300). This, according to media reports in Lesotho and neighbouring South Africa, is demonstrated and proved beyond a reasonable doubt by the brutal and merciless killings amongst members of clutching marashea gangs associated with ‘famo’ music. ‘Famo’ music composers are using their product ‘songs’ to communicate a slice or portion of Sesotho masculinity which in my opinion as informed by literature a ‘wildfire’ sort of masculinity which is extending and rapidly spreading in a form of conflagration or inferno in Lesotho and neighbouring South Africa.
Music as a language is largely used by Basotho to facilitate the learning of some sort, communicate ideas and feelings, and to pass on the essential history of the family, a clan, or society. Music, therefore, constitutes an essential part of Basotho culture and traditions. Famo music genre amongst the Basotho, emerged when Basotho migrant workers met with some Europeans who introduced to them concertina and later piano accordion. This was mainly around industrial areas and adjacent to mining areas of South Africa. As put forth by Soai (2017:2) accordion-based music style “mino oa koriana or ‘mino oa famo’ as popularly known, originated from the encounter of Basotho men with the migrant labour system.

Famo music is interchangeably referred to in this study as accordion music or “mino oa koriana” is the popular genre among the Basotho in South Africa and present-day Lesotho. Composers of the famo music are stirred by their experiences mainly with childhood, adolescence, work, civic responsibilities, politics, and death of loved ones. Some are profoundly moved by a feeling of injustice and unfairness of some sort. Famo music dovetail with Sesotho masculinities for the reason that Basotho men largely expose and exhibit masculinities through music whereby they express their emotions, manly anger, through violent poems and praise songs “lithoko and lifela tsa letsamaea naha”. Famo is the combination of praise songs, basic musical instruments beat, and dance, more often coupled with violent poems.

According to Soai (2017:2), accordion music festivals are violent. Thus the criminal justice system in Lesotho and South Africa asserted that for some time, accordion music has had its share of conflict among the Basotho spilling into physical violence. It draws the name ‘famo’ from the act of flaring one’s nostrils when singing and women splaying their skirts when dancing to the tune of accordion (Mokuku 2006 cited in Khotso 2017:15). Accordion music has a creator influence on the militaristic traditions of Basotho men who were fighting the oppression of apartheid and dominance of Zulus, Xhosas, and AmaShangani on Basotho in the mining areas and miners living camps (Kynoch 2006:629).

When extrapolating on the meaning of ‘famo’, one shepherd and artist described ‘famo’ philosophically as simply a war, an act of endless revenge, and killings. While on the one hand, Sosibo sees ‘famo’ as poetry, solidarity, unity, and a sense of identity for the Basotho men who worked in the mines. The praise poetry engulfed in this music gives strength and courage to fight an enemy. This is a reality also in the occupational mores of herding and shepherding, which is prevalent in Mafeteng and many other Lesotho rural areas (Sosibo 2017:5). At the core of “famo” is the troubling tradition, one that, at its core is a martial response to the tribulations of forced labour, evils that had no song for the captives (Sosibo 2017:6).
In doing her doctoral thesis, ‘Masculinity as a popular theme in the development of Basotho accordion music’ Palesa Khotso was concerned with how Basotho accordion music artists verbalize and show out their masculinity through music. The study concluded that masculinities among accordion music artists are toxic and harmful and need to be transformed for a well-functioning society (Khotso 2017:7).

Basotho mineworkers were known for their tendency to entertain gang violence whereby whenever off duty they would flock the townships with stick-fighter gangs “Marashea” literally meaning “Russians”, the naming of these Basotho street fighters groups followed that Russia is a militarily stubborn world power (Khotso 2017:7). “Marashea” is known in South African mining areas such as Kimberly, Welkom (Goldfields), Carletonville, and Randfontein in Gauteng, Rustenburg, and others. These groups were known for: wearing colourful “seana-marena”, Basotho blankets; expensive attire, and well-polished black and white shoes; roaming the streets holding “melamu ea mabetlela” fighting sticks; property grabbing and abduction of women and girls.

2.11 Corrections masculinities

Corrections in the context of Lesotho are para-military or quasi-military, as thus it suffices to consider corrections in Lesotho as a militant organization. Presenting his argument on the 05 November 2018, Retired Commissioner of Corrections, Commissioner Mojalefa Thulo echoed that prisons, penitentiaries or corrections in all Southern African Development Countries (SADC) excluding South Africa are militant, totalitarian, classical, and para-military in nature, thus, upon recruitment, corrections officials are subjected to para-military training exposing them to, by and large, military masculinities. It is against this backdrop that I contend that corrections staff are socialised to adapt to militaristic masculinities, therefore possess classical masculinity attributes such as violence.

Evidence was given by the former female commander of Female Prison, Maseru Central Prison, and Regional Commander of Northern Prisons, Retired Superintendent ‘Mamaria Motebang (2018, pers. comm. 05 November) suggest that even corrections female officials and general staff have masculine tendencies which they have adopted in their corrections career. This view is reinforced by Raewyn Connell on her webpage where she articulates that masculinities are patterns of practice by which male and female persons engage. However, Connell was quick to mention that even though masculinities are not equivalent to male persons, they are largely inclined to male persons.

When exploring masculinities within the British army, Duncanson discovered that military masculinities are moulded by military gender (Duncanson 2015:3). As a result, when aligning
myself with the discourse, I am opinionated that given the nature of corrections, staff masculinities therein are shaped by militant gender order. Whereas, inmates' masculinities are shaped up by prisonization processes as opine by Donald Clemmer (Lopez-Aguado 2016:14). To make sense of the notion of masculinities in correctional settings, it goes unquestionable that upfront, one must put forth the definitions of two concepts; masculinities and correctional settings.

As earlier stated, masculinity is what society deems to be the perfect conduct of an ideal man, as thus masculinity is culturally defined. Then the notion of masculinities denotes that there is no one pattern of masculinity that is found everywhere because different cultures and periods construct gender differently (Gennrich 2013:96). This means that there is more than one kind of masculinity in a given setting, be it in the society, community, group, or within an individual himself. In the same manner, correctional settings in this study are used to refer to the contexts and locations reserved for correctional services.

This consists of the dwellings put up for corrections inmates boarding space, corrections staff accommodation, and social amenities thereof (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018:2). Masculinities in this case are considered as those patterns of the male gender, Thus masculinities embrace behavioural patterns of manhood. I need to emphasize that correctional settings are demarcated spaces delineated for the incarceration of offenders and accommodation of corrections staff. As a result, corrections masculinities are those masculine behavioural patterns displayed by the corrections community.

2.12 Transformative masculinities: An emerging phenomenon in Lesotho

Transformative refers to that phenomenon with a tendency and ability to change (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1993) Thus transformative masculinities are those reformed or changed masculine behavioural patterns. The notion of transformative masculinity seeks to encourage men to embrace pleasant and tolerant ways in their dealings, whereas traditional masculinity hangs on dominance and violence as a way of being manly (Chitando and Njoroge 2013b: 7). Transformative masculinities, therefore, pursue to contest negative and harmful ideas about what a "real man" is. It is a brainwave trying to find out ways to engage mainly men and boys to contribute towards more helpful and life-giving ideas about what it means to be men. The idea suggests that there are desired and undesired masculinities.

According to Deepan (2017:4), the notion of transformative masculinity is anchored on holy scriptures of various religious, traditional, and cultural convictions such as Christianity, Islam, Bahai Faith, Hinduism, and other indigenous faiths. It focuses on those social norms and religious believes and practices enhancing harmful gender performances promoting gender
inequalities; it also seeks to transform organizational, political, and socio-economic systems to create nonviolence in social institutions like family, church, and schools. In doing this, Deepan (Deepan 2017:8) purports that key principles are guiding transformative masculinities aiming to address gender inequalities, social privileges, and advancing discussions promoting positive masculinities. These principles include:

- Personal transformation entailing accountability to self and others, relational reflections and personal reflections as core philosophies;
- Stakeholder engagement to allow multi-dimensional action and response in efforts transform masculinities;
- Promotion of dialogue among various stakeholders, such as public institutions, non-state actors, churches, and the corporate world; and
- Commitment and accountability amongst role players; promotion of intervention stakeholder ownership.

The qualitative study conducted with the African diaspora in London which utilized in-depth interviews and observations methods revealed that transformative masculinity is the born-again form of masculinity which is in pursuit of transforming destructive gender perspectives regarding masculinities, thus erasing destructive behaviours considered to be masculine such as violence (Pasura and Christou 2017:256).

Emerging initiatives in Lesotho such as “Banna khotla” Men’s courtyard; “Banna ba tent’sana ts’ea” Men’s Peer Support Group; Association of Lesotho Theologians: Transformative Masculinity Project; and One Body Project of The Nordic – Federation of Christian Councils in Southern Africa (FOCCISA) church cooperation on HIV and AIDS are some of the creativities striving towards transformative masculinities in Lesotho. Again, the introduction and legal registration of Matrix Support Group (MSG) in Lesotho signified a sharp curve in the journey of masculinities in Lesotho. MSG is a non-governmental organization focusing on promoting human rights for the lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals, and intersexed (LGBTI) community in Lesotho (Matrix Support Group Association 2014 para. 2 line 3). This has seen men having sex with men (MSM) vigorously engaged in advocacy and social mobilization activities aimed at promoting the rights of these sexual minorities forming the base or sub-sub structure of the hierarchy of masculinities in the country.

2.13 Masculinity crisis: Sesotho masculinity on the crossroads

Modern Sesotho masculinities are currently influenced by modernity compelling Basotho men to take care of self, family, and communities; be there for the family in any kind of situation; to raise children; to be faithful and gentle with their spouses; to share their inner-most emotions; to be humorous; be good listener, non-violent and exhibit emotional intimacy. According to Dube (2016:74), the notion of masculinity crisis was initiated in America with the idea of
drawing the attention of academia and practitioners to genuine problems and factual problems confronting men and boys generally. In South Africa for example, the notion is used in academic and general discourses to explain escalating incidences of violence against women and girls, and largely stigmatization of sexual promiscuity.

According to social constructionists, masculinity discourses in South Africa revealed that there are uncertainties and misperceptions about being a man amongst South Africans of all races including the Basotho. This state of affairs referred to as masculinity crisis, marks the hallmark of confusion and misunderstandings amongst scholars of gender, men, and masculinities. Not only scholars are struck by the phenomenon, but men and boys find themselves logged into this ambivalence. A considerable population of men and boys, even women and girls find themselves pegged at the masculinity crossroads where they are simultaneously exposed to traditional masculinity and modern masculinity. Thus in Basotho society, men and boys, in particular, are psycho-socially and culturally torn apart between the desired or favourable and undesired or unfavourable masculinities. They are trapped by a confusing set of instructions issued by the society. This state of affairs becomes an issue of concern to modern society since it factors into it whether one belongs to the old school or the new school, whether one is an old man or modern man.

In doing this study, masculinity crisis theory would be instrumental when exploring and explaining masculinities and violence in correctional institutions. It can also be generally useful in Lesotho while interrogating topical issues like sexual and gender-based violence, high rates of sexual offences, and the alarming rise of statistics of HIV infections and AIDS cases. The conundrum, according to Adamson (2017:121) stems from a paradigm shift from orthodox forms of masculinity characterized as old, archaic, and male chauvinistic, to contemporary or modern masculinity referred to as new man masculinity.

This state of affairs seems to have messed up with a male character in South Africa. This is consequential to male identity confusion and frustration brought up by hesitations and doubts of whether to perform traditional masculinity characterized by dominance and homophobic attitude or play new man masculinity linked to contemporary gender equality discourse. As Adamson further explored both traditional and contemporary masculinity discourses whereby, he revealed that predicaments of male dominance in South Africa are that it is not only tormenting women and girls but also adversarial to other categories of masculinities which are not agreeable to hegemonic forms of masculinity (Adamson 2017:122).

Expatiating on masculinity crisis theory, Gelfer (2016:275) propounded the five stages of masculinity as a new model for understanding masculinities and a 'springboard' to consider when deliberating on various viewpoints of masculinity. The five stages are; unconscious
masculinity, conscious masculinity, critical masculinity, multiple masculinity, and beyond masculinity. At stage one, the unconscious masculinity is where much of the characteristic scrutiny of masculinity happen. This stage is the home for hegemonic masculinity which is characterized by patriarchy and homophobia which are more inclined to negativities such as; power, violence, and domination. Stage two is the conscious masculinity which accommodates all other stages. This stage encompasses four distinct categories namely; naturalists, spiritualists, men’s rights advocates, and agnostics. The naturalists perceive masculinity as natural and as thus innate. They believe masculinity is being weakened, emasculated, and deprived of by contemporary society. The spiritualists believe that ideal models of masculinity reside in religious books and are guided by spiritual principles.

Men’s rights advocate also housed in stage two, believe that men are unfairly treated and feel that masculinity is dishonorably attacked by feminists. The advocates draw attention to numerous problems affecting masculinity such as; all forms of violence, physical and mental health, formal and non-formal education, homelessness and begging, and incarceration. The agnostics opine that there is trouble with masculinity but struggle or fail to articulate convincingly the nature and magnitude of the trouble, thereby fail to identify a solution to the problem. Men’s rights advocates seek to emancipate masculinity from criminalization and demonization syndrome. In Lesotho, such are men’s clubs such as ‘Banna ba tents’ana ts’ea’ and ‘Banna khotla’.

Stage three of masculinity is critical masculinity. This stage is largely aligned to feministic approaches and is concerned with critical issues such as thus: society operates via patriarchy oppressing women, children, and subordinate forms of masculinities such as gay men and other men resisting patriarchal order. Critical masculinity upholds that masculinity is socially constructed rather than natural. Critical masculinity also believes that masculinity is not singular rather pluralistic and dynamic.

Stage four of the model is multiple masculinities. This model draws on three core fundamentals being: masculinity can mean anything to anyone including men and women; masculinity is defined and categorized through power dynamics such as hegemony and patriarchy as an ideal manner through which people are regulated.

2.14 Summary

This review began by explaining the concepts of gender and sex as a precursor to understanding the notion of masculinity. Gender is in the review defined as a social stereotype and community expectation of males and females while sex is defined as an act of sexual intercourse and as the state of being male or female. It was further established that there is
no single masculinity hence masculinities. Thus masculinities were defined as socially assigned characteristics or behaviour typical for men. Masculinity was characterised in South Africa by violence, supremacy, assertiveness, resilience, and self-confidence. This assertion is supported by Andersson who opined that social practices and cultural norms generate certain societal perceptions about masculinity and behaviours expected of male persons. Andersson further noted that Duggan (2018) purported that men are more often considered and regarded as violence instigators while women are normally taken to be victims of the said violence (Andersson 2020:4). The review also stipulated that: there are multiple masculinities; that masculinities are hierarchical with hegemonic masculinities, complicit masculinities, marginalized masculinities, and subordinate masculinities. It was also unveiled that: masculinities are sustained and enacted not only by individuals, but also by groups, institutions, and in cultural forms; masculinities are socially constructed; masculinities are not stable, or static; and that masculinities are dynamic.

This review traced Sesotho masculinity from the birth of the nation. It unearthed that Sesotho masculinity is the product of the history of the nation, pre-colonization, during colonialism and post-independence. It looked into the nature and dimensions of Sesotho masculinity such as physical dimension, psycho-social dimension, and cultural dimension. Factors responsible for the construction of Sesotho masculinity were also examined as; socialization of largely a boy child from childbirth, infancy, and childhood; Sesotho language and culture such as songs, praises, folklores, and adages; herding and boyhood; traditional circumcision and initiation. The review also looked into how ‘famo’ music and marashea gangs influenced Sesotho masculinities. Corrections masculinities were also reviewed and amongst stuff was militarily styled while among inmates were influenced by conditions of correctional institutions and the prior experiences. Finally, Sesotho masculinities were found to be at crossroads, that is in between traditions and customs, and also modernity where men are compelled by situation to adopt new ways of living such as taking care of children and the sick.

The following chapter deals with the concepts of conflict, violence, and peacebuilding as this study aims to eradicate violence in correctional settings using peacebuilding evidence-based interventions. Learning from other scholars could shed some light as to what has already been done in the field and how such works were approached as well as in which context the works were done to inform the current study.
CHAPTER THREE: CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND PEACEBUILDING

3.0 Introduction

This review intent to exhibit what has been learnt about conflict, violence, and peacebuilding in correctional settings. It is acknowledged that chapter two has dealt with the notion of masculinities and is accordingly overflowing into this chapter since it is one of the core issues anchoring this study. Masculinities are largely held responsible for violence in and out of correctional settings. of being Peacebuilding practitioners around the world and Lesotho, in particular, are adamant that “ntoa ke ea malula 'moho" meaning that conflict is inherent to indwellers. The other axiom linked to this issue is that 'conflict is inevitable, but violence is a choice'. This assertion solidifies the idea that conflict is inherent to human existence, it is the lifeblood of humankind. However, if not contained, no matter how healthy it may be, by choice, conflict may spill over into large-scale violence as Sesotho idiom says "thutsoana e chesa hlaha" translated as ‘one match stick is capable to burn acres of land’. This portion of the review, therefore, seeks to explain the notions of conflict and violence and their relationship. It further seeks to explain the intersection of conflict and violence in correctional settings. Thus, the thematic issues in this chapter are conflict, violence, and correctional settings.

Meanwhile, though seemingly theoretically are interwoven, the concepts of conflict, violence, and peacebuilding are all typologically multifaceted phenomena. There are no uniform or universally accepted definitions for them due to their complexities. Thus, the said notions are considered differently by various scholars and laypersons given their varying socio-economic and academic backgrounds, culture, and norms which all have constructed their schools of thought. More relevant in this case, is that the definitions are mostly influenced by varying levels of analysis such as micro, meso, and macro-level of analysis. However, while there are no universally established definitions of these concepts, there are generally agreeable definitional elements or attributes acceptable in defining them.

3.1 The notion of conflict

"Conflict is inevitable, but combat is optional". This is one of the famous quotes in peace and conflict studies that was postulated by a renowned American writer Max Lucado (Workplace Conflict Resolution, 2020:online). Similarly, in his teachings, Geoff Harris persistently echoed that "conflict is inevitable, but violence is a choice". The axiom remains sound in conflict studies to date. It is a landmark and signpost for peace work globally. To strengthen the opinion of Max Lucado; Colgan et al (2018:31) opined that conflict is not only certain and unavoidable by humankind, but it is also an indispensable phenomenon of humanity.
Accordingly, Kariuki (2015:1) also opined that conflict is an inevitable phenomenon existing in every social institution resultant from varying viewpoints emanating from divergent value systems or schools of thought. It comes out when individuals or groups begin to undertake inconsistent actions aimed to achieve their aims and objectives; or when the individuals or group’s needs or wants differ. Largely, conflict is an exhibition of opposing interests between at least two parties or more on a particular issue.

According to Ebombolo et al (2012:2) conflict is delineated as the situation whereby “two or more people cannot agree on something” it may be uncomfortable to conflict with others but it does not necessarily have to be malicious or devilish but just a natural manner of displaying the difference in views and opinions (Ebombolo et al 2012:3). According to Austin, Giessmann, and Jäger (2012:10) conflict is considered as a collision between adversative ideas, attitudes, or goals of a person, groups, or states in a quest for incompatible desires. It is a multifaceted social phenomenon that manifests at all layers of the society from intrapersonal and interpersonal levels. Conflicts may also be extra-personal. That is, it can exist between a person and non-humans such as animals, time, or weather. More importantly in this study, extra-personal conflict is seen when the interests of individual inmates or members of staff are contrary to the interests of correctional service as an entity, or the state as correctional service in an arm of state machinery.

It is the situation of divergence of viewpoints of two or more people, groups, or nations whereby one party is making headway to ensure acceptance of its stance on the issue or issues at hand (Thakore 2013:7). Furthermore, Thakore opined that conflict is the manifestation of negative attitudes, leading to misunderstanding, rivalry, hostility, and aggression. This is augmented by Ugwu and Enna (2015:59) who opined that the concept of conflict denotes the involvement of two or more parties in some form of conundrum leading to disagreement in a manner in which each party perceives a given situation. The status quo leading a divergence of perceptions emanating from incompatibility of interests or values, or is thinking of ways and means of partaking in any given undertaking aimed to achieve the set goals. According to Reber and Reber (2001:145) conflict is “an extremely broad term used to refer to any situation in which there are mutually antagonistic events, motives, behaviours impulses”. Similarly, Like Thakore, Ugwu, and Enna (2015:59) also perceive manifestations of conflict as disagreement, incompatibility, misunderstanding, competition, anger, and hostility.

According to Pathak (2014:8) conflict is the cognitive process affecting the human psyche. It reaches a “violent climax after passing through several stages” along the continuum of conflict traversing from inner feelings to the discussion, disagreement, and appearance of conflict, escalation, segregation like in the case of then apartheid in South Africa, then to the outbreak
of confrontational violence, then destructions from all walks of life causing injuries, loss of lives and property.

These definitions acknowledge that conflict is an unavoidable part and parcel of human life, and therefore, an essential part of the enduring reality of human existence. It is a consequence of human interaction, thus it is an essential part or lifeblood of human existence. Thus, conflicts in social settings cannot be avoided, therefore is an inevitable phenomenon. The definition of conflict is precisely rooted in its scope, that is the breadth and width of the conflict at hand. That is, it can be analyzed in three levels, the micro-level ‘that is a smallest unit’ such as a family; meso-level ‘that is medium-sized level’ such as institutions like correctional settings; and macro-level ‘which is large scope’ such as ethnic groups or countries (Ebombolo et al 2012:2). It can also be defined from intra-personal level ‘in person’, inter-personal level ‘between persons’ and extra-personal level between persons and non-persons’.

This contention is supported by Kariuki (2015:1) who states that “… conflicts arise in the basic units of society such as within families, clans, villages, locations or other small units”. Johan Galtung, a leading global guru of ages in peace studies, when extrapolating on theories of conflict acknowledged that various authors defined conflict in terms of goal-post incompatibilities (Galtung 2009:31). Like he said, “action-system is said to conflict if the system has two or more incompatible goal states” (Galtung 1965:1). According to conflict is seen as the interaction between individuals, groups, organizations, or countries whereby one party clash in opinions, views, perceptions, and aspirations with the other party in a manner that intentions of the other party are held back by the other party. It rises mainly when two or more individuals have partly or completely incompatible means and ends (Ajayi and Buhari 2014:140).

In an endeavor to disintegrate the concept for clarity and simplicity (Durojoye et al 2013:13; Mancia 2017:11-15) states that Galtung championed the ABC triangle in his endeavor to explain conflict by its elements as; contradiction, attitude, and behavior. Contradiction explains that irreconcilable intentions among stakeholders attract disagreements, attitude involves how the other interpret other’s representation such as culture, religion and, or ideology influenced by either hate, anger or revenge, whilst behavior is what the other could do like in this scenario could be threats, coercion, and physical attack.

Cited by Prause and Mujataba, the Oxford Dictionary (2010) defined conflict as “a condition in which people experience a clash of opposing wishes, wants or even needs”. Furthermore, Prause and Mujataba in their 2015 article ‘Conflict Management Practices for Diverse Workplaces’ scrutinised conflict from a workplace perspective. Thus, they found conflict as
comprising of “a disagreement or differences in the position of the parties participating in the conflict”. For a conflict, to occur, according Prause and Mujtaba (2015:15) opined that:

- There has to be inconsistencies regarding opinions, needs, and wants of parties to conflict.
- There has to be some misinterpretation of the opinions by either of the parties to conflict.
- Conflicting parties should be identified and singled out for any disagreements.
- There should be different sides according to their beliefs, values, and needs in any conflict.

Furthermore, Afzalur Rahim defined conflict as an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or difference within or between human beings or social entities. It should, however, be noted that being an interactive phenomenon, should not rule out the fact that conflict can manifest within an individual, that is an intra-personal type of conflict (Rahim 2017:270), hence soliloquizing or thinking aloud. Accordingly, Stalenoni (2014:33) conveniently described conflict using the ABC triangle model, with (a) representing the attitudes of the parties to the conflict, (b) representing the behaviour of the parties to conflict while (c) represent the contradictions between the goals and interests of parties to the conflict.

Considering the case of correctional settings, a conflict could arise from topical, practical, and functional matters such as depriving inmates and staff of certain rights and privileges about the nature of corrections, prisons, and penitentiaries. Like Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus stipulated in the definition, there are simultaneous but incompatible interests between corrections officials and inmates; between senior in rank officials and junior officials and amongst inmates themselves. Conflict in correctional settings can also arise from conditions of service, remuneration and benefits, promotions and transfers, decision-making, superiority and inferiority complexes, nepotism, favouritism, and general discrimination. Competition over inadequate resources such as transport and office space, inmate’s meal rations, inmates clothing, boarding, and lodging utensils.

In sum, the advanced definitions indicate that conflict is an inevitable part and parcel of social life, thus, the lifeblood of humanity. It arises when there is a disagreement between two or more people, two or more groups, agencies, or nations. The origin of a conflict according to Johan Galtung is a contradiction of ideas and incompatibility of goals which can be translated into social divisions consequently into violence (Galtung Institute: online). On the one hand, Jäger 2015:5. Sees conflict as “an opportunity for change” which could be a positive aspect of the conflict.
The preceding cited authors above, are agreeable that life is blended and “spiced” with conflict. However, the bottom line or decisive point is how one may react to conflict, breaking into violence, or striving for calmness. The following topic intends to discuss the notion of violence and its facets.

3.2 The notion of violence

Borrowing from multidisciplinary dimensions and theoretical foundations, violence is defined from somatic perspectives, sociological, psychological, anthropological, criminological, and legal foundations. This part of the review of literature considered definitions of violence, its causes, and implications in correctional settings. While there is no standard definition of violence as yet, the simpler and comprehensive of all definitions was coined by the World Health Organization in 2002 which defined violence as: “the intentional use of physical force or power, threats or actual, against oneself, or a group or community that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (World Health Organization 2002:5).

According to Hamby (2017:168), there are essential elements to be considered when defining violence. First (1) it is a human behaviour “that is an act by commission or omission”; the second (2), it involves intentional harm to oneself, another person or a group of people “that is, it is a deliberate and premeditated malicious action”; thirdly (3) it is nonessential and unwanted. According to Kim and Krause (2012:5), in their manual on violence, state that all forms of violence embody some elements of conflict, however, it is not all elements of conflict that are necessarily violence. Violence can cause grievous bodily harm and physical injury; psychological injury; and psycho-social or sexual maldevelopment

There are various ways of defining violence that depend on “who is defining it” for “what purpose it is defined” and “the circumstances” peculiar at the time of definition. The example is that, legally, according to the suggestion by Assistant Superintendent of Corrections and head of Corrections Human Rights Unit, Adv. ‘Mopha (2018, pers. comm. 10 August), violence should mean the commission or attempt to commit any of the offences set forth to exert any physical force to injure or abuse. In law, for the definition to be all-rounded and stand the due process, it should identify the perpetrator and the victim; the state has to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that there was “men rea”, meaning that is there has been an intention to cause injury; and that the act was pointless, malicious and harmful.

Furthermore, World Health Organization identified three broad categories of violence as (1) self-directed violence, which is an intra-personal form of violence intended to injure oneself, thus it is self-inflicted violence such as suicide or attempted suicide; (2) inter-personal violence
occurs between individuals such as spouses, workmates like “corrections officers” or members of the community like “corrections community” and (3) collective violence taking place between groups such as political movements, militia groups or terrorist organizations (World Health Organization 2002: 4). Accordingly, to Rutherford et al (2007:677) and World Health Organization (2002:4), collective violence is defined as “instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group against another group or set of individuals, to achieve political, economic or social objectives”.

The practical instances of collective violence in correctional settings are that of number gang’s violence, inmates’ riots, and demonstrations, and staff members revolting against the management over conditions of service. In his article Violence, “Peace, and Peace Research”, Johan Galtung considered violence as “the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual” (Galtung 1969:168). It is that avoidable obsession that widens the gap between what it is, and what should be. Galtung’s definition is inclined to explain violence as that thing, which hinders the closure of the gap between the current state of affairs and the desired state of affairs which he considered as that which causes the discrepancy between the ‘actual’ and ‘potential’ conditions. The model that Johan Galtung used to illustrate contends that, if a person died from tuberculosis in the eighteenth century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable, but if he dies from it today, despite availability all the medical resources, then violence would be present according to this definition.

Sharing a similar assertion, I am also inclined to the attitude that, if a woman died of childbirth complications before enlightenment in the rural areas of Lesotho, it was unavoidable and therefore tolerable, but it is violence if a woman dies of similar complications in the twenty-first century when the Kingdom is so much exposed to technological advancements with a wide array of capabilities. Also, when HIV was first discovered in Lesotho, people were ignorant and HIV incompetent, there were no anti-retroviral drugs and prevention commodities were expensive and not accessible, people were then dying daily in dozens, it would be violence if similar deaths occur today despite the availability of prevention commodities and anti-retroviral drugs in galore.

The other practical example that struck my mind when internalizing this notion is that of a man who died in a hospital, lying on the floor in the main male medical ward where I was on duty guarding a sick inmate in the hospital. This man fell from the bed, he pleaded for help from ward attendants who ignored him literally, nobody was willing to attend him since nurses were then on industrial action. That man died helplessly on the cold floor. From my personal,
layman's observation, the death of this man was avoidable, therefore, I assume that man died of violence.

According to Martin (2003:257) violence includes aggressive conduct towards property as well as persons and extends to conduct causing or intended to cause injury or damage. Mindful of the preceding definitions of violence, I am inclined to consider violence as either commission of an aggressive, brutal, or violent act; or omission to champion fundamental human rights and uphold human dignity especially by the bourgeoisie and those holding positions of power and authority. The implication at this juncture could be, all peacebuilding endeavours should be seen striving to close the identified gaps by rallying efforts aimed at dealing with and resolving the issues hoisting dissatisfaction. The notion of violence can range from simple assaults and threats to the actual man’s killing (Kelly 2014:1). Violence is considered as the power to impose an outcome on someone like forcing out a self-implicating confession from a criminal suspect. This could be applied in any form of physical and psychological assaults on another human being (Lynamouri-Bajja et al. 2012: 277).

Galtung, on the one hand, states that violence is the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. It is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance (Galtung 1969: 168). It is defined “with peace, as an absence of peace” (Galtung 1985:13). Galtung further defined violence as avoidable harm of basic human needs or, to put in more general terms, the injury to human life, which lowers the actual degree to which someone can meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible (Ho 2007: 3). It emerged imperative to recognize and take note with care the inclusion of the expression “avoidable” as an important aspect of Galtung’s definition of violence (Ho 2007: 3). This means that violence is an avoidable and preventable phenomenon.

3.3 Forms of violence

There are three types of violence exposed by research work mostly done by Johan Galtung who remains a prominent theorist of conflict, violence, and peace, thus; direct violence, structural and cultural violence. According to the type of violence that is noticeable and meted out by identifiable perpetrator is referred to as personal or direct violence whereas structural or indirect violence is not necessarily meted out by tangible persons or identifiable perpetrator, the form of violence is embedded into structures of the organisations and social institutions and manifest in unequal power leading into unequal life chances. Galtung coined the concept of cultural violence in late 1990 as a response to unanswered questions in his research work. This form of violence, in his view, surfaced to legitimise, substantiate, or justify direct and structural forms of violence (Galtung 1990:291). The three forms of violence postulated have
availed a framework for the understanding of the roots of violence undermining order and stability of correctional settings.

3.3.1 Direct violence
Direct violence, often called personal violence, entails physical and, or psychological harm that may go to an extreme bodily or mental injury including manslaughter. In correctional settings, this is reflected in a form of violent acts including bullying, rape, and gang violence directed to inmates and staff. According to Kaufman (2014:1), direct violence is defined by Johan Galtung as the avoidable deprivation of fundamental human needs such as; fresh air to breathe, food and clean drinking water, elimination of body waste, sexual activity, and adequate rest or impairment of life which makes it impossible or difficult for people to satisfy their needs or achieve their full potentials such as self-actualization, self-preservation, and self-propagation (Kaufman 2014:1). Galtung further noted that direct violence is related to physical injury or which he termed somatic incapacitation or deprivation of health which may involve homicides in extreme cases by an identifiable actor to realize the consequences. He concludes that direct violence is; physically manifested, it is related to a discernible event, and that it must involve a perpetrator and a purpose. A threat of violence such as a show of force which is a threat to apply force is also recognized as violence (Galtung 1990: 292).

This form of violence is more often witnessed: when states display their military capabilities; when police conduct beat patrols; and when heavily armed corrections personnel patrol correctional institutions' perimeter fence to deter inmates from escaping or committing corrections offences. Direct violence, often termed physical violence in corrections, entails direct assaults on another human being such as inhumane fastening or handcuffing, punching and whipping, shooting, and assassination. This form of violence is usually but not limited to being perpetrated by state pieces of machinery such as law enforcement agencies and corrections officials, non-state actors such as corrections number gangsters and hooligans, school teachers, intimate partners, and parents. Various formal and informal reports on corrections matters, states that violence in correctional settings is mainly manifesting in physical force, torture, rape, sexual and other gender-based driven assaults, beatings, verbal abuse, and ridicule by; staff on inmates, inmates on inmates’ and inmates on staff (Modvig 2014:20).

3.3.2 Structural violence
The notion of structural or indirect violence was propounded by Johan Galtung in 1969 in his monograph “Violence, peace, and peace research” as violence where there is no observable or noticeable perpetrator (Galtung 1969:170). It can be defined as psychosocial violence mainly emerging from undue, exploitive, and domineering social structures affecting people's
chances in life such as undue human incarceration and denial of required goods and services. This indirect and quiet form of violence is affecting many people than direct and obvious violence as it weakens the ability to gain access to goods and services necessary for human survival through genuine activity.

Structural violence is that form of violence that is built into the structures of the organization, community, or society such as gender inequalities or discrimination against the minorities like sexual minorities, ethnic minorities, political and religious minorities. Other groups that often experience structural violence are those in difficult circumstances or the vulnerable groups such as; the elderly, people with disabilities, the hospitalized, rural girl child, herd boys, commercial sex workers, children in conflict with the law, and corrections inmates (Galtung 1969:170; Lyamouri-Bajja et al. 2012:277).

Johan Galtung opined that structural violence is preventable harm or avoidable damage that does not necessarily have an identifiable person responsible for (Galtung 1969:170). The notion emphasises the responsibility of poor environmental conditions rendering settings that are detrimental to good health and generally not conducive for human habitation. It could emerge from dissatisfactions emanating from inter alia, unfair treatment by the state machinery, and unequal distribution of power and wealth. Structural violence is largely covert and entrenched in socially acceptable structures such as the criminal justice system; state police, national intelligence, prosecution authorities, and correctional services. An example is the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights explored Maseru Central Correctional Institution and Female Correctional Institution situated in Maseru city and the Juvenile Training Centre in 2012. The two facilities were overcrowded, and conditions were poor, evidenced by poor ventilation, poor nutrition, and inadequate heating system. There was a lack of adequate education and rehabilitation services for young offenders (Kaggwa and Tlakula 2012:41).

My experience of over thirty years working in correctional settings, witnessed that structural violence in correctional settings is also manifesting in denial of; adequate quality inmates feeding, adequate inmates clothing and bedding, poor ablution facilities and use of bucket systems for bathing and toileting and exposure to communicable diseases due to overcrowding. This institutional form of violence undoubtedly affects adversely both inmates and corrections staff alike since they are all exposed to the said conditions inhabitable for human living or work.

3.3.3 Cultural violence
In an endeavor to conceptualize cultural violence, it would be prudent to be in harmony with the essence of ‘what is culture?’. The concept of culture has been described differently by various writers. According to Durojoye et al (2013:42) culture pivots on "shared knowledge
and schemes created and used by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing and responding to social realities”. It is a way of living and dealing with issues communally approved by a group of people or society. “It is generally regarded as all that individuals learn from others that endures generating customs and traditions, and continues to shape vast envelops of human lives” (Poortinga 2015:10).

It is in correctional settings, “carceral geography” as referred to by (Turner 2016:7) considered as daily routines, rituals, and formalities activities. Carceral geography attends to corrections cultural issues as they manifest emphasizing experiences and practices therein (Moran et. al 2018:2). Many scholars over many years from different fields of studies such as theology, sociology, psychology, philosophy, and other behavioural sciences have defined culture as meaning the way of life. According to Spencer-Oatey in 2008 culture is defined as “a blurry set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member’s behaviour and his/her interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour” (Spencer-Oatey 2012:2). Therefore, in this study, corrections culture is focusing on the daily conduct and practices of the corrections community.

Organizational culture can be a robust instigator for positive change, similarly, it can be the strongest inhibitor of positive change. Thus corrections as an organization have its culture that pursues cultural violence therein. It is acknowledged that patterning of corrections community following its social stratification, gender, and hierarchal order of masculinities have been considered peripheral or core to social dimensions of organizational culture within correctional settings (Phillips 2012:13).

Cultural violence as yet another paradigm in peacebuilding studies, ropes in the facets of culture such as customs, language, and religion. The concept has an inclination to lean on those aspects of culture that seeks to legitimize direct and structural violence, making direct and structural violence to come out correct or normal, or else, at least not wrong and it seeks to legitimize and put forth good reasons for infliction of violence (Galtung 1990:291). Johan Galtung developed a construct of cultural violence to explain how direct and structural forms of violence are legitimized in society and taken for granted. This is a built upon or an extension of the previous theorization that takes into account the symbolic spheres of life where direct and indirect violence is embedded (Standish 2014: 47).

This form of violence dovetails with the corrections culture of gangsterism and intimidations nourishing the malicious cycle of violence mirrored in the high levels of sexual violence and a systemic institutionalised hegemonic masculinity fostering a culture of violence in correctional settings. Cultural violence in correctional settings is by and large a subject of dominant values
and norms embedded in the corrections community. This is dictated by life routine in corrections as a total institution where torture and other degrading treatment of inmates and abuse of staff have become a norm and direct violence is the most suitable means of responding to a conflict therein.

3.4 Violence in correctional settings

In this section, a review of the literature is presented focusing on materials that have been reviewed to gain an insight that shed light on the understanding of corrections violence. It remains obvious for scholars that conditions in correctional settings render fertile ground for structural violence endured by inmates and staff in Lesotho. According to the report by the United States of America. United States Department of State (2016:2) prison conditions in Lesotho remain poor and inhabitable exposing largely inmates to violence which at times effectively causes needless deaths of inmates. These conditions are characterized by overcrowding which compromises adequate space for sleeping and social amenities; and adequate supply of quality inmates' rations, medical drugs and dressings, uniforms, footwear, bedding, and protective clothing. Corrections physical structural conditions are dirty and unhygienic, old and dilapidated rendering poor sanitation facilities, inadequate natural lighting and ventilation, lack of heating and cooling systems, cold and poor water supply for bathing. The report further disclosed that inmates are exposed to assaults including rape which is direct violence and are denied adequate medical attention which constitutes structural violence.

Evidence was given by Assistant Superintendent of Corrections in the Human Rights Unit, Adv. ‘Mopa (2018, pers. comm. 10 August) corrections staff disciplinary cases submitted to his office for legal review and opinion thereof, suggests that inmate’s torture and other forms of unauthorised use of force remain embedded in corrections culture and continue to be the main course of concern about the observance of human rights of inmates.

A similar opinion was also advanced by Guillermo Sanhueza, in his study "Exploring correlates of prison violence in Chilean prisons". The study revealed that there are various theoretical justifications advanced by different scholars for violence in correctional settings. These include; individual characteristics of the inmates, conditions of confinement, the role of corrections administration, and the specific characteristics of violent situations. The study further highlighted theoretical viewpoints explaining some factors influencing adaptation into correctional settings and violence therein as the importation model and deprivation model (Sanhueza 2014:13; Shammas 2017:2).

Correctional settings are in many countries overwhelmingly beset with violence seemingly endemic in places where a captive audience is held in reserve. This is consequential to the
reality that; people are held therein against their will, with people they despise and do not want to be with, and are compelled to things they may not like (Stohr and Walsh 2011: 122). The example is that; inmates do not choose whom to share a living cell and ablution facility with and most of the time they find themselves compelled to live with their mismatch, they are made to eat, wash, sleep and work at times they do not want. The nature and complexities of correctional settings, therefore, renders them unique opportunities to contain various forms of violence previously articulated as; direct, structural, and cultural violence. Like in India, corrections are criticized for unsatisfactory living conditions emanating from overcrowding and to some extent inhuman treatment by staff (Kaur 2015:13).

Corrections culture has been blamed for being a significant contributor to violence therein (Tew et al 2015:15). opined that corrections culture breeds and nurture violence consequently puts both staff and inmates at risk of harm or death Gibbons and Katzenbach (2006 cited in Trammell 2012:4). According to Clemmer (1940 cited in Huey 2008:25) corrections culture is moulded through prisonization as the process of adaptation to life in correctional institutions. Prisonization is defined as an interaction of unique characteristics of corrections environment and characteristics which people bring with them into correctional institutions whereby they tend to adopt institutional inmates culture (Stohr and Walsh 2011:115).

Furthermore, corrections are perceived as extra-ordinary settings influenced by philosophies, culture, and history of the society. They are said to contain distinct community holding unique culture which has been defined and operationalized in diverse ways such as “violence being part of corrections culture and corrections culture impacting on levels of violence therein”. They are architecturally designed to lock-up difficult to handle persons and carry out any form of punishment put forth by competent courts of law (Stohr and Walsh 2011:116).

Fundamental to violence is perhaps the existence of basic elements driving violence being power and control. Power and control of “world powers” over weaker states, rulers over subjects, husbands over wives, parents over children, and men over women have been accepted and condoned for many years by many cultures as a way of living. Corrections violence emanates mainly from the quest for power and control over correctional institutions by authorities and inmates driving mandates of their gangs which are endemic to correctional institutions. There are two lines of thought in which violence can be viewed in corrections; that is in terms of an act of force or terms of violating human rights and disrespect of human dignity by the system of persons therein (Bufacchi 2005:1), whether inmates, officials or significant others like visitors.

Lesotho country reports on human rights practices for 2012 revealed that MCCI conditions were poorly characterised by inadequate health services and poor food quality. The LCS
Statistics Unit reported then, that, total adult corrections population was 2,501 of which 2,438 (approximately, 97.5%) were men while 63 (approximately, 2.5%) were women. The total untried population was 428 (414 men and 14 women) young offenders’ population was 63 (44 boys and 19 girls). The statistics suggest that corrections are male-dominated social spaces. Thus overwhelmed by masculinities. The entire corrections capacity is recorded as 2,936 as a result, LCS, unlike it, is with similar settings on the continent and beyond is not overcrowded. The conditions at MCCr were characterised with inadequacies of bedding, uniforms, boarding and lodging facilities; lack of natural or artificial ventilation, lighting, heating or cooling system (United States Department of State (2013:2-3; 2014:2-3; 2015:2-3; 2016:2-3; 2017:2-3; 2018:2-3; 2019:2-3; 2020:2-3). These conditions are cause for structural violence.

In 2013, conditions were still poor, the buildings were reported “appallingly unpleasant and that the situation was compounded by the fact the main building is very ancient.” The LCS statistics office reported then, that, total adult corrections population was 2,326 of which 2,265 (approximately, 97.4%) were men while 61 (approximately 2.6%), were women. Over regular inadequacies, there were reports of inmates-on-inmates violence in the form of brutal assaults and rape coupled with the rise of new HIV infections perpetuated sexual assaults therein (United States Department of State (2014:3). There were also reports of solitary confinements whereby inmates were stripped naked and denied a complete daily meal. According to the United States Department of State (2020:4) in 2019, corrections conditions were severely “harsh due and life-threatening due to gross overcrowding. LCS during this period there were reports, investigations, and disciplinary prosecutions of inmates’ physical abuse by correctional officers; and inmate-on-inmate violence.

According to Goulding (2007: 1), the study conducted in Australian corrections revealed that correctional institutions are insecure places where the threat of violence is ever-present. Corrections inmates do not have, for example, control their living environment and they have little or no choice regarding the people they get along with and have few avenues of escape open to them if violence erupts. Correctional institutions, as a result, can be considered high risk and high fear environments with potential physical and psycho-social harm. The other study conducted in four Romanian correctional institutions revealed that inmates are on many occasions resorting to violence to guard against the imminent threat of violence therein (Dâmboeanu and Nieuwbeerta 2016: 347).

Goulding’s work further identified and compartmentalized corrections violence into four cubicles by who is the perpetrator and who is being victimised as thus: violence against self, such as suicides and self-mutilation; inmate on inmate violence; inmate on official violence and official on inmate violence. The violent, dehumanising, and brutalising culture in almost
all correctional settings, along with consequences of incarceration such as loss of liberty, authority and power, detachment from the family, and homesickness frequently leads to one's feeling of despair, depression, and loss of hope; and self-hate among inmates. The preceding state of affairs could be a potential cause of violence therein (Goulding 2007: 407). It is, however, me pathetic that the study failed to unearth staff on staff violence since this is one other element of corrections violence that is usually left unattended by many scholars.

It is against the preceding discussion on masculinity and violence in correctional settings that, for this study, my inclination is that violence in correctional settings is caused, sustained, and legitimized by masculinities therein. It is apparent from this discussion that, corrections masculinity appears to attach personal power and authority to physical violence and further admire physical violence and domination as a way of life in correctional institutions. Conclusively, empirical results from research studies, official statistics, and victim surveys provided unchallengeable evidence to date, of the relationship between masculinity and violence (Egger 1993: 3).

3.5 Causes of violence in correctional settings

Causes are events or issues that afford the propagative force that is the basis of something, in this case, violence. According to Connell, the causes of violence include inter-alia "poverty, greed, nationalism, racism, prejudice and desire, dispossession and other forms of inequalities" (Connell 2000:223). In correctional settings, dispossession could include scarcity, withdrawal and, or denial of certain human rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of movement, and deprivation of heterosexual relationships for inmates as alluded to by Sykes (1958) in his article, "The pains of imprisonment". This notion is tackled below as prisonization process and its philosophical two models; deprivation model and importation model. It seeks to explain the main emotional pains and suffering that corrections inmates must endure while in incarceration, usually resulting in violent burnouts, thus violence. Due to their craving for autonomy and freedom inmates tends to develop violent behaviour as they experience burn-out cropping up from their frustration.

3.5.1 Prisonization

The concept of prisonization was coined by Donald Clemmer in 1940 in his monograph "The prison community". The notion stressed that corrections culture is mainly shaped through prisonization as the process of adaptation into a correctional setting (Huey 2008:12). Prisonization is thus the interaction of; unique characteristics of the corrections environment and characteristics which people bring with them into correctional institutions. Adaptation to the predicaments of imprisonment also requires the creation of informal hierarchies of power often achieved through violence between and amongst inmates. It can be conceptualized as
the extent to which inmates respond to the culture of correctional settings (Paterline and Orr 2016:71).

There are two conspicuous views on how corrections culture is cultivated and nurtured being; the importation model and deprivation model of prisonization. According to Irwin and Cressey are proponents of the importation model of prisonization. The importation model explains that people bring to correctional settings their cultural aspects from their prior localities into correctional institutions thereby influence life therein (Stohr et al 2012:115) these aspects may include violent histories, troubled backgrounds, and complex needs of each inmate (Tew et al 2015: 15). The other view is that of mortification, meaning inmates are embarrassed by the loss of various roles in society such as; priest, teacher, police, corrections official, chief, or village headman (Stohr and Walsh 2011: 115). More often inmates’ behaviour is a response to experiences therein that may include inter alia; shame, stigmatization, fear of violence, powerlessness, losses due to incarceration, and pains of imprisonment emanating from deprivation of personal needs and wants which aggravates violence in correctional settings (Tew et al 2015: 15).

According to Spearlt (2011:97), the importation model of prisonization is grounded on the belief that corrections culture, mainly inmates’ behaviour is a replication of one’s socialization before incarceration. That is, masculinities displayed by inmates in correctional settings reflect attitudes and beliefs garnered before. This assertion does not, however, rule out that most research works revealed that the environment within corrections seems responsible for the augmentation of hegemonic masculinity therein.

According to, while adapting to life in correctional settings, inmates experience largely emotional pain resulting mainly from deprivation of; security, liberty, autonomy, heterosexual relationships, and access to goods and services. Adaptation to the pains of imprisonment also requires the erection of informal hierarchies of power often achieved through violence amongst inmates in a bid to reduce the risk of victimization by others. The relationship between masculinity and violence in correctional settings has been met with unchallenged evidence, however, it is prudent to take into cognisance that masculinity is not the only cause of violence therein as since there are other numerous situational and structural factors responsible for the causation of violence such as; conflictions state of affairs, social stratification, ethnicity, poverty and hunger, race, marginalization and personal idiosyncrasies (Egger 1993: 3).

In a paper ‘causes and prevention of violence in prison’ (Homel and Thompson 2005:2) articulated that there are numerous factors responsible for violence in correctional settings such as inmates’ characteristics, structural and situational factors. This remains a relatively unexplored area for scientific research within Lesotho correctional system, however, there are
media reports, Ombudsman and Ad hoc Commissions reports indicating that there are rampant direct official-on-inmates and inmates-on-inmates violence as well as indirect violence motivated by structural and situational dynamics in Lesotho.

3.5.2 Deprivation model

Denial of inmates of certain goods and services referred to as the deprivation model of prisonization provides a framework for thoughts on the impact of imprisonment on inmate's behaviour and conduct while incarcerated. According to incarceration mainly deprives inmates of their liberty. This model asserts that situational factors are responsible for violence and aggression in correctional facilities. Shammas further acknowledged that Sykes's paper "The pain of imprisonment" discovered five major frustrations experienced by inmates as; deprivation of liberty, deprivation of goods and services, deprivation of heterosexual relationships, deprivation of autonomy, and the deprivation of security (Sykes 1958: 286-293; Dhami et al 2007: 1086). Inmate's reactions to this frustration could be responsible for burn-outs such as violent acts.

Deprivation of liberty acknowledges that inmates are denied the right to freedom of movement and the phenomenon on its own explains the reason why corrections inmates get it tough to live in correctional institutions. Offenders are put to corrections against their will since they are implicitly rejected by society and are found untrustworthy to live freely in their communities consequently are made to lose their right to liberty. Corrections inmates are also deprived of access to some goods and services which they could easily get if they were not incarcerated. This also mounts stress and frustration on them. Heterosexual men are denied female companionship hence feeling of reduction in self-worth consequently mounting tension, stress, and depression. They have also lost their independence and have been denied the power of choice. All the time, they are under the strict control of corrections staff denying them freedom of movement and right to association, and freedom of speech. This situation also increases stress levels leading to a sense of helplessness resulting in hostility and aggression since they are unable to do most of the things they are happy with (Shammas 2017: 2-4).

Many inmates time and again are exposed to insecure situations due to troublesome and aggressive inmates around them causing an intense sense of physical insecurity and life threats. The deprivation model holds that corrections environment and loss of freedom are the main causes of inmates' psychological trauma, as a result, for self-preservation; inmates create an oppositional corrections subculture promoting violence therein. This model, therefore, would direct corrections violence prevention efforts towards environmental factors and general corrections climate, which need to be addressed by the prison management (Shammas 2017: 2-4).

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3.5.3 Importation model

Contradictory to situational factors affecting corrections community, is that behaviour carried along from experiences is referred to as the importation model of prisonization. The proponents of this model, Irwin and Cressey (1962, cited in Dâmboeanu and Nieuwbeerta 2016:334), asserted that the problematic conduct of inmates is largely the behaviours brought in from outside correctional settings as opposed to features specific to the corrections environment (Huey 2008: 25). The model emphasizes that inmates bring with them violence-prone behaviour to the institutions through their histories, personal attributes, and links to criminal groups. The study that was conducted in Romanian correctional settings “Importation and deprivation correlates of misconduct among Romanian inmates” discovered that as proposed by the proponents of the importation model of corrections adaptation, inmates socio-demographic characteristics, such as in particular, their age, marital status, and parenthood, can be assumed to be reciprocally related to inmates’ conduct (Dâmboeanu and Nieuwbeerta 2016: 343).

3.6 Challenges exacerbating corrections violence in Lesotho

According to the final report of a government commission of inquiry lead by Judge Steward Colin White in 2003, Lesotho Correctional Service is confronted with numerous challenges such as overcrowding of correctional institutions, lack of physical and institutional infrastructure, antiquated and dilapidated state of the buildings of the majority of facilities, general lack of resources, idle, bored and unhappy inmates (White 2003b). In her study conducted at Juvenile Training Centre in Maseru, Mokoteli discovered that young offenders incarcerated therein are exposed to inter alia: violence and abuse, poor diet, lack of hygiene, inadequate access to medical care, education and training opportunities, and inability to maintain family ties (Mokoteli 2005: 5). Similar challenges facing corrections in Lesotho were established and recently documented by other human rights monitoring bodies such as the United States Department of State (United States Department of State, 2015:3; 2016:3; 2017:3; 2018:3 and 2019:3). This confirms the relevance of the 2003 Judge White Commission report and Mokoteli 2005 study.

The documents alluded to above highlighted some of the problems encountered by the correctional service in Lesotho. This does not dispute the assertion that there is inadequacy in scientific research regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings of Lesotho. Some of the problems which seem apparent include congestion of inmates in small cells, appalling conditions of corrections physical infrastructure, prevalence of gangsterism, poor hygiene and inadequate ablution facilities, Inadequate health care services and poor diet, torture, abuse, and other degrading treatment of inmates; and Lack of educational, training
and recreational facilities. The relevance of having a view on the problems and shortcomings in correctional settings in this study is that poor conditions persist to pose mainly structural violence on inmates and staff and further become the cause for direct violence therein.

3.7 Gangsterism in correctional settings

“A violent clash between two prison gangs at Maseru Central Correctional Institution left one man dead, in an incident that highlights the scourge of gangsterism in Lesotho’s prisons” (Liphotso 2017: online). This form of violence dovetails well with corrections culture and feeds from corrections culture of gangsterism and intimidations nourishing the malicious cycle of violence mirrored in the high levels of sexual violence and a systemically institutionalised hegemonic masculinity fostering the culture of violence in correctional settings.

According to O’Hagan and Hardwick (2017:4-5), there is a link between violence and drugs in correctional settings. The truth is then, drugs are contraband and primary dealers of contraband in correctional settings are members of corrections number gangs. These gangs are hierarchically structured with harsher inmates being at the helm of the structure and the weaker and softer at the bottom. They have pseudo-military rank levels, battalions, companies, units, and sections with specialized assignments for the success of gang operations. When interviewed on the 20 May 2018, Mr. Scout (Founder and Chairperson of Exit Foundation) stated that the purpose of corrections number gangs is to pursue some criminal activities therein and undermine corrections administration in all possible ways. These former inmates echoed the existence and rivalry of mainly two dominant gangs in correctional settings being number 28 gang and number 26 gang.

When interviewed on the 21 December 2018, Mr. Nkoja (reformed corrections gangster) stated that besides popular known number 28 and number 26 gangs, there are gang number 27; Royal Air Force 3 and Royal Air Force 4; Big 5 or “Bloubakkie”; Born to kill, and Girls Never Respect. Number 27 gang members are mediators of 26 gangs and 28 gangs. Royal Air Force 3 is known for humbleness and patience. They are also known to be non-violent but meticulous prison escape planners. Royal Air Force 4 are also known absconders. However, unlike Royal Air Force 3, they are known to be capable of aggressiveness when eying their escape route. They become violent against corrections staff or any opponents or obstacle coming their way when breaking for escape.

Mr. Nkoja further claimed that some members of staff and inmates have joined these number gangs for protection that the corrections system or nobody is culpable to offer except gangsters. Members of the number 28 gang are known to have avowed and declared their allegiance to blood, thus, violence is their order of the day. They are keen to spilling blood by
stabbing their targets who are largely senior members of enemy gangs and peace officers such as corrections staff and police. The number 28 gang members tattoo marks include weapons, tombstones, a coffin box, or blood droplets. The number of 26 gang members are known for allegiance to money. They can do anything to obtain money. They specialize in smuggling and trafficking money and valuables at all costs. Their tattoo marks include among others, an American dollar sign, a coin, banknote, bank front elevation, or money bag. Both gangs possess mostly sharp objects while in the facility as their weaponry for protection and attacks during corrections riots.

On the one hand, in South Africa, The Inspecting Judge of the Judicial Inspectorate for Correctional Services reported that during the 2017 / 2018 financial year, there are reported inmates’ deaths that resulted from inmate-on-inmate violence that was much linked to gangsterism. Inmates were reported to have been locked into inter-gang rivalry fights whereby some inmates were stabbed while others were assaulted to death which was extreme violence and brutality among corrections number gang rivals (Tshabalala 2018:53). The Inspecting Judge, in this case, is corroborating with the views of Thobane (2014:97) in her study whereby she established that South African correctional settings are overwhelmed by rife number gangs’ culture and violent sub-culture produced by grangerization of inmates and staff.

The modus vivendi in Lesotho and South Africa set similar modus operandi in and out of correctional institutions. This state of affairs is consequent to Lesotho and South Africa anthropogeographic relations, dictated by socio-economic, religious, cultural, and physical geographic situations, characterized by inter-marriages, interlinked economy, and societal traditions. Thus, this leaves me with no other argument other than, what affects South Africa spills over into Lesotho vice versa. This was echoed by former Prime Minister of Lesotho Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle who stated that when South Africa coughs, Lesotho catches the virus, and when Lesotho gets injured, South Africa feels the pain. Given by former Principal Chief of Mtsieng, Chief Masupha Seeiso (2017, pers. comm. August 11).

On a similar rhythm, my encounter with corrections taught me that there are many Basotho of Lesotho who is incarcerated in South Africa who happens to be recidivists and has entered corrections in Lesotho and South Africa more often and is habitual offenders and perpetual gangsters. This emphasises the reality of gang-related violence happening in correctional settings in Lesotho as is the case in South Africa.

3.8 Intersecting corrections masculinities and violence

According to Muntingh (2009:15), although it is not the only factor responsible, gangsterism is identified as a leading causal factor of the deadliest violence in correctional settings in South
Africa. According to Graaff (2017:187) in his study "Masculinities and gender-based violence in South Africa: a study of a masculinities-focused intervention programme", Graaff further suggested that violence in its nature and magnitude is a male-dominated sphere of life. He formed his argument on his desk study that suggested that the vast majority of violence seem to be perpetrated by men under the influence of varying masculinities. According to Sello (2017) reporting for Lesotho Times Newspaper of the 16th September 2017, famo gang rivals in Lesotho have proved to be leading violent elements in Lesotho demonstrated by deadly clashes among the gangsters. I have decided to refer to the behaviours of men influenced by famo music gangs, largely known for their violence as 'famo / koriana' gang masculinity.

Connell (2000:224) postulated that "masculinities are the forms in which various dynamics of violence take shape". This dictates that it is a must that probably most if not all the strategies for peacebuilding must comprise a strategy to transform masculinities. It is therefore essential to consider transforming masculinities in correctional settings in endeavours to curb violence therein and beyond. Connell asserts that issues of masculinity seem to be another emerging paradigm in peace work suggesting inter-alia; challenging hegemony of masculinities which emphasize violence, confrontation and domination and substituting them with patterns of masculinity which are more accommodating and open to negotiations, cooperation, respect of human dignity and equality of all gender. Connell further noted that "The relationship of masculinity and violence is more complex than appears the first sight, so there is not just one pattern of change required." This project thus aims to suggest strategies suitable for transforming masculinities in correctional institutions thereby reducing violence therein.

Due to the nature of this form of masculinity, one would argue that it is hegemonic since it is based on dominance, though Connell (2000:3) insisted that hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily mean total dominance as other forms of masculinities exist alongside the hegemonic masculinity. It is also manifesting in groups, Thus it becomes collective masculinity since it is practiced collectively in gangs as asserted by (Connell 2000:4). The repercussions of music rivalry are fights among inmates who are elements of such gangs causing homicides or serious psychological and bodily harm. This spill over into compromising order and stability of correctional settings causing a serious setback for corrections administration.

The other significant data to consider seemingly intersecting masculinity and violence in correctional settings is that disclosed by Institute for Crime and Justice Policy Research. This indicates that 90% of the global prison population are male. For Lesotho, the corrections male population was by close of 2018 approximately 96.4% which has been the trend over years to date (World Prison Brief n.d). Evidence was given by the Former Commissioner of LCS, Mrs. Makhalemele. (2016, pers. Comm. 11 March) as alluded to in chapter one, page 3, indicates
that corrections violence is perpetrated by masculinities therein. Makalemele indicated that approximately 46% of the corrections population are sexual offenders classified as violent crimes. The pieces of information are indicative of male involvement in criminality in Lesotho. Thus, an indicator of how masculinity and violence are intertwined phenomena in social spaces, particularly correctional settings. This leaves me with no other option other than concluding that there is an evident link between masculinities and violence in and out of correctional settings in Lesotho.

3.9 The notion of peace

Johan Galtung considered the notion of peace as harmonious relations between two or more parties (Galtung Institute: online). According to Herath (2016:104), peace can be seen as “a state of mutual harmony between people or groups, especially in personal relations”. “It is a freedom of the mind from annoyance, distraction, anxiety, an obsession, an absence of aggression, violence, or hostility. In doing peace research, Johan Galtung’s work yielded two types of peace the negative peace and positive peace. He referred to negative peace as the absence of violence (Galtung 1969;168) which involves keeping the parties to violence inactive, apart, and in uninterested positionality. Positive peace on the one hand is taken to be the presence of manifest and latent harmony, characterised by positive conflict and accord, understanding of one another, and willing positionality to live peaceably (Galtung Institute: online; Kappler 2017:1).

In his monograph, ‘Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction, Ho-Won Jeon opined that peace could mean various issues to various people given their viewpoints at a given point in time. While some people may consider peace as a “lack of conflict” others sees it as synchronicity or temporal relations of varying cultures characterised by improved human communication, mutual understanding of others, and “ability to tolerate one another” (Jeong 2017:29).

3.10 Peacebuilding

According to Schilling (2012:29), peacebuilding is defined as series of interventions by various state and non-state actors aimed to address the core cause of violence through dialogue, negotiation, and mediation rather than force, the ultimate goal of peacebuilding is to create an environment conducive for human existence. Hence, an undertaking to create nonviolent correctional settings, thus building an environment fit for staff and inmate’s habitation. Peacebuilding is an umbrella term used to describe sequential processes engaged to embrace peaceable settings to create nonviolent settings, which is happening at all levels of society. According to Kappler (2017:3), this process embraces wider processual tasks having a bearing on internal and external issues affecting the society. It delves much on deeply rooted
issues such as “underlying societal structures, including political systems, the economic organisations as well as legal matters”.

In the case of Lesotho, this could be in a nuclear to extended family, a clan or tribe, community organization, local ward or parliamentary constituency, district, or national level. This can also be in social institutions such as family, religion or church, education or school, politics or government, economics, business, or workplace. Thus, the term can be used also to describe initiatives partaken to create nonviolent correctional institutions as workplace settings. Accordingly, for Datzberger (2017:330) peacebuilding is defined as an undertaking processual task embracing a wide array of institutional and socio-economic transformations, from the local level to the national level. Peacebuilding aims to safeguard social justice, equitable and equal opportunities, and human security. It is thus, an undertaking aimed to protect and uphold human rights principles and respect of human dignity.

Nadine and Schirch further opined that peacebuilding is done through participatory processes involving dialogue, principled negotiations, mediation, and collective problem-solving initiatives (Nadine and Schirch 2018:10). On a similar note, Bramsen and Poder (2018:11) citing some writers, sees peacebuilding as a “process aimed at transforming hate, anger, and disillusion towards a more productive emotional state such as love, trust, hope, and forgiveness”. It is a considerable process aimed to “turn the tide” meaning to change the situation or reversing the situation. The idiom transfers the ebb and flow of the ocean’s tides to human affairs as life is considered to be full of “ups and downs” which is a sequence of some good and bad experiences which are supposedly confusing, infuriating, and heartbreaking. Thus, turning the tide in conflict and the violent situation is about “reversing the trend of events”. This study, therefore, aims to transform masculinities, curb violence, and create nonviolent settings.

To ‘turn the tide’, Lesotho ratified the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners – The Nelson Mandela Rules. The provisions ruled out violence against inmates by anybody in any manner whatsoever. The protocol resonates with the saying “inmates are in prisons as punishment, and not for punishment”. To wit: by its resolution 2015/20, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations General Assembly adopted the following resolution:

“All prisoners shall be treated with the respect due to their inherent dignity and value as human beings. No prisoner shall be subjected to, and all prisoners shall be protected from, torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, for which no circumstances whatsoever may be invoked as a justification. The safety and security of prisoners, staff, service providers and visitors shall be ensured at all times” (United Nations 2015:8).
Peacebuilding refers to activities that go beyond crisis intervention or just conflict management, such as long-term development that focuses on developing social, governmental, and non-governmental (including religious) mechanisms that favour nonviolent and constructive means of resolving differences. It involves a full range of approaches, processes, and stages needed for transformation toward more manageable, peaceful relationships and governance structures.

3.11 Conclusions

In sum, this chapter dealt with conflict, violence, and peacebuilding as the fundamental concepts in peace studies. It looked into conflict as the situation whereby goals and interests are incompatible with two or more parties. The simpler model of describing conflict was identified as the ABC triangle representing the various attitudes, behaviour, and contradictions causing disharmony or commotion, thereby resulting in a conflict. The review also looked into the notion of violence and its forms as direct violence, which is interpersonal, structural violence, which is embedded into structures of social institutions, and cultural violence which flags the cultural aspects of a particular community and sort of legitimizes all other forms of violence. It concludes that violence is a result of unresolved conflict. However, the review unpacked that conflict is part and parcel of human existence which may not be avoided, but if a conflict is properly handled, violence could be avoided.

The review went further into studying violence as it affects correctional settings and its causes therein such as deprivations and denial of certain goods and services both inmates and members of staff would like to access, or issues brought into correctional settings from the outside social settings. Gangsterism was eyed as a distinguished cause of violence in correctional settings. The review also studied the connection between masculinity and violence therein. The notions of peace and peacebuilding were also reviewed. Peace was described as the absence of violence or harmonious relationships and peacebuilding was the methodological process of bringing about peace between the conflicting parties. The following chapter will elaborate on the correctional system in Lesotho, picking on its formation, context, evolution, and functions. This could help in conceptualising the need for nonviolence therein.
CHAPTER FOUR:
CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM IN LESOTHO

4.0 Introducing correctional system in Lesotho

This part of the review focuses on the correctional system in Lesotho commencing from the pre-colonial era to date. As the focus has been on masculinities and violence in correctional settings focusing on MCCI. The review was coined around how the evolution of the correctional system could have influenced masculinities and violence therein. Correctional settings are places where the state has set up prisons, penitentiaries, and correctional institutions to house offenders or children found in conflict with the law, this was explained by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Programme Officer, Ms. Motsomi - Moshoeshoehoe (2017, pers. comm. 15 November).

In this study, correctional settings include in addition to regular inmate’s lockup facility, the entire space where inmates are incarcerated for incapacitation and rehabilitation services for the protection of society. This also includes all surroundings and environments where social amenities for inmates are provided such as sporting and recreational facilities, education and training facilities, religious and health services. Given the nature of correctional institutions, MCCI also include staff housing and social amenities thereto. This review also focuses on corrections as an integral part of the criminal justice system in Lesotho, its historical and philosophical foundations.

4.1 Corrections and the criminal justice system

A system is a combination of interdependent but interrelated elements comprising a unified whole. It is a set of parts, things, or ideas that are organized or orderly grouped (Hossain 2016:5) to interact regularly and work together towards attainment of a set goal following an established procedure or method (Johnson et al 2014:11). According to Hossain (2016:5), a system is “a set of detailed methods, procedures, and routines created to carry out a specific activity or solve a problem”. Systems can also exhibit to some extent, some general restrictions, boundaries, and subsystems. These subsystems perform specific functions within the system and exhibit their patterns of interaction with the system’s elements (Wils et al. 2006:12).

According to Schmalleger et al. (2014:5) “Criminal Justice System is the aggregate of all operating and administrative or technical support agencies that perform criminal justice
functions. The basic divisions of the operational aspects of criminal justice are law enforcement, courts, and corrections". The system of justice is acknowledged to be wide-ranging, thus entailing sub-systems, thus, agencies or organs and procedures which are perceived to be working together in harmony to achieve justice as a perceived product and a significant ingredient of peace and prosperity.

The criminal justice system is thus, described as a framework put up for effective and efficient administration and delivery of justice to the citizenry. It is the collection of the entire functional, managerial, and supporting agencies mandated to carry out criminal justice tasks including corrections (Jones and Bartlett Learning n.d.: 28). It is evident in this regard that the criminal justice system is a combination of systems and sub-systems dealing with criminal justice matters such as law enforcement, public prosecution, judiciary, and corrections as the final stage of the criminal justice process (Nigerian Prison Service 2011: 6) whose aim is to investigate alleged criminal acts, apprehend suspects and offenders, administer justice, punish and rehabilitate offenders. "The loosely connected bureaucratic structures of police, courts, and prisons are commonly referred to as the criminal justice system" (Sung 2006: 331).

Correctional Service is that component of the broader criminal justice system of the state. It comes to the fore immediately after the custodial sentence is imposed (Schmalleger et al. 2014: 15). It is thus an integral part of the criminal justice system mandated to incarcerate untried criminal suspect awaiting decisions of the competent courts of law and convicted criminal offenders who are supposed to; payback to society in the form of imprisonment, be deterred from criminal activities, be rehabilitated while held incapacitated, and reintegrated back into their societies as productive, law-abiding and socially acceptable members of their respective communities.

According to the Nigerian Prison Service (2011: 8), correctional service can be considered as a sub-subsystem of the corrections subsystem of the criminal justice system. It can be institutional or non-institutional "community based" corrections. Upon passing the verdict by court of law, an offender is handed to corrections, either for fine payment, community service, probation orders, corporal punishment, imprisonment, or execution. Corrections are thus considered as the "community's official reactions to the convicted offender, whether adult or juvenile" (Nigerian Prison Service 2011:8). Imprisonment is thus regarded as the final stage of the criminal justice process (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006:1) hence corrections as a subsystem of the criminal justice system is pompously the last component in the continuum of criminal justice activities as articulated by (Jones and Bartlett Learning n.d.: 29-30) meaning corrections are located at the end of criminal justice system.
The process of criminal justice normally ends in correctional service agencies for the execution of sentences meted out as a relative subsystem. The ending may be in a form of caution, reprimand, fine payment, community service order, probation order, or in a worst-case scenario, imprisonment. However, correctional authorities do not have a significant influence over decisions taken by other criminal justice organs and allied agencies involved in the process before imprisonment (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006: 41). Thus, Lesotho Correctional Service is positioned at the end of Lesotho’s criminal justice continuum charged with the responsibility to provide safe, secure, and humane custody of inmates with the ultimate goal of rehabilitation and social reintegration of offenders to maintain a peaceful and stable society (Kingdom of Lesotho 2013: 17).

The core functions of the correctional service are to change behaviour and prevent future criminality. The reason for harsh, strict, and disciplined correctional environments is general and specific deterrence. That is, to scare potential offenders away from offending and help offenders not to indulge in criminality and other antisocial behaviours (Lutze and Murphy 1999: 713-714). It is therefore paramount to observe that corrections as a sub-system of the criminal justice system, should be able to harmoniously work together and interactively with other sub-systems for the accomplishment of a common purpose. Criminal justice activities can thus be viewed as a processual task, that is to say, they are an orderly set of actions engaged in by each component of the system at a particular point in time throughout the process.

All deviant acts or criminal cases assuming a conventional system of justice are first reported to law enforcement agencies such as the police who will register the case and embark on investigations, thereby consequently apprehend an alleged offender. If there is sufficient evidence, the case is put through to the public prosecution service. Public prosecution would then present the matter in court and lead prosecution. Consequently, Judicial Officer will impartially listen to and consider both the prosecution and defence and finally decide either to remand the criminal suspect into custody or release him or her on bail conditions pending due trial. If the court decides to remand the suspect into custody, he or she will ultimately be sent to a correctional institution as a remand inmate awaiting trial. At the close of the case, the suspect may be acquitted or convicted and sent to a correctional institution to serve the sentence imposed by the court (Nigerian Prison Service 2011: 7).

The preceding discussions indicate that corrections are a sub-system of correctional services which is the subsystem of the criminal justice system. Correctional services are therefore considered as a collection of agencies that perform those functions that carry out the sentencing orders of criminal courts such as probation unit and corrections whereas the criminal justice system is the entire network of agencies through which an accused offender
passes until he or she is acquitted or convicted. This system conventionally encompasses law enforcement, adjudication by courts of law, and corrections. Below are criminal justice agencies in Lesotho.

4.2 Correctional system

The idea of human incarceration, deployment of jailers, and probably violence against offenders dates back to ancient times when people were only put in prison for punishment and incapacitation, this evidence is given by Retired Deputy Commissioner of Correctional Service, Adv. Masole (2017, pers. comm. 21 September). The examples put forth by Masole included that of Joseph in the Bible, who was arrested in ancient times and put into Egyptian prison for an alleged sexual offence (Holman Christian Standard Bible 2009: 27). This story is recorded in the first book of the Old Testament, Genesis, which is credited to Moses.

The Book of Genesis is in all probabilities, allegedly written during the 6th and 5th century B.C., meaning before the life of Christ (Gnuse 2010: 34). On the one hand, the other book, The Holy Quran also pointed out the case of imprisonment of Joseph in Ancient Egypt (Mir 2013: 174). According to The Book of Acts 12 verse 5, "Peter was also kept in prison..." (Holman Christian Standard Bible 2009: 713). Peter and John were arrested and put into prison for their involvement in Christian ministry (Book of Acts of Apostles 4:3) in a similar manner, Silas and Paul were arrested, assaulted, and put into the inner prison as stated in Book of Acts of Apostles (16:23 - 24) that reads: "... they had inflicted many blows upon them and threw them into the prison" (Book of Acts of Apostles 16:23 - 24). This is an indication that corrections violence is historically embedded in the system and has become a corrections culture.

According to beginning with the control of King Edward I in England, approximately between 1239 and 1307 A.D., imprisonment was the common form of punishment at the disposal of criminal justice. When interviewed on 23 August 2019, Masole (Retired Deputy Commissioner and Chairperson of Pardons Committee) stated that today in Lesotho and many parts of the world, safe, secure, and professionally competent correctional services are prerequisites for a viable criminal justice system. Hence, there are main requirements that must be met if the correctional system is to be stable being safety and security, and rehabilitation and reintegration.

Safety and security refer to the obligation of the correctional service to prevent inmates from escaping; control deals with the obligation of the service to prevent inmates from being disruptive; and justice refers to the obligation of the correctional service to treat inmates with humanity and fairness while preparing them for their return to the community (Day et al. 2015: 14). Rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders should form part of the requirements for the
correctional system. This refers to a holistically arranged programme, processes, and procedures that are followed to ensure that inmate’s behavioural change is instigated, Thus they become law-abiding, productive, and socially acceptable members of society.

The current correctional service in Lesotho was established as part of the corrections subsystem, thus an integral part of the criminal justice system. This unique subsystem emerged, developed, and evolved over three distinctive periods in the history of Lesotho and Basotho society, thus pre-colonial era, the colonial era, and the post-colonial era. The subsequent part of the review aims at unravelling and elaborating synoptically on this history regarding correctional service, which is the area of focus for this study.

4.3 The context of corrections in Lesotho

Lesotho is a small landlocked, sovereign Kingdom situated in Southern Africa. It is predominantly rural, mountainous, and wholly surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. The country is approximately 30,350 square kilometres, it is administratively divided into ten districts governed by District Administrators with each of the nine (9) having a correctional institution. Mafeteng also has an Open Correctional Institution. There is one municipality, Maseru city governed by the Mayor of Maseru (Setol 2012: 5) where the three main correctional institutions are located; Maseru Central Correctional Institution, Female Correctional Institution, and Juvenile Training Centre.

According to the 2016 National Population and Housing Census preliminary report, the total population of Lesotho is 2,008,801 with approximately 1,600 persons held in institutions (Mokhele 2017:4). Corrections statistics indicate that out of 2361 persons were held in correctional institutions at the close of the 2016 / 2017 fiscal year only 3.3 % were females. This is indicative that corrections are male-dominated places, consequently conquered by multiple masculinities. The inhabitants of the Kingdom are predominantly Basotho known to be peaceful and law-abiding people whose life is guided by the “ubuntu” philosophy “motho ke motho ka batho” blatantly meaning a person survives with and through other persons in cordial, warm, and healthy relationships.

4.4 The evolution of the correctional system in Lesotho

The notion of imprisonment as a way of punishment amongst the Basotho is comparatively new. The arrival of Christian missionaries in 1833, followed by the advent of colonialism in 1868 brought about remarkable changes in the way Basotho used to run their spiritual, economic, and political affairs. The new developments gave way for the introduction of the British criminal justice system that embraced imprisonment as one form of punishment (Theal and Thabane 2002:96; Qhubu 2005:4).
4.4.1 Pre-colonial correctional system

Basotholand surfaced as a distinct political administration under the supremacy of Great Chief Moshoshoe I of the Bakoena clan in approximately 1822. The chiefdom was joined by other tribal groups amid “lifaqane” wars which saw some tribes destroyed by violence; extreme hunger and cannibalism. Basotho with their customs and traditions did not experience much of the scores of acts of criminality and juvenile delinquency. However, if one was found to have offended or acted against social norms, the offender would be dealt with at the community level by the chief or headman with the assistance of village men or chief’s council (Qhubu 2005:2; Phamotse 2007: 14).

There is no reliably documented information available on facilities that were used to hold offenders during ancient times amongst the Basotho (Nwankwo 2010: 258). The justice system that was then in place involved equally the perpetrator of the offence, the offended party, and the community as affected parties (Qhubu 2005:2). All the parties would sit to resolve the matter in a manner that all got satisfied. The ultimate goal was to restore the damage caused by the offence (Phamotse 2007: 14). This form of justice was described by Justice, Makara with African ethos, as thus defined as:

“A communally founded and driven system of justice where the offender, the victim, and the community holistically search for the cause of the offence and for a justifiable practical way in which the victim could be compensated for the physical and the spiritual damage inflicted upon him or her by the offence” (Makara (2004: 207).

The ultimate primary goal of restorative justice is to lay a foundation for the restoration of normal relations between the offender and the victim and the harmonious re-integration of the offender into the community. “This traditional form of justice has been commended for fostering restorative justice enshrined in the African Ubuntu philosophy unlike retributive justice” founded on colonialists’ capitalist ideologies (Nsaidzedze 2019:44) such as human incarceration. The main sanctions under this system comprised compensations, reconciliation, restoration, community service, apology, or banishment in very serious cases (Nyane 2019:4).

This form of justice afforded all concerned parties a chance to participate freely and securely. This justice system has been at the heart of Basotho’s practices of justice for many years before British interference. Similarly, the Batswana who share with Basotho most of the traditions were using traditional rulers to mediate, arbitrate, manage, and resolve conflicts in the ‘Khotla” justice system. The chiefs were instrumental in enhancing social cohesion, peacebuilding in the community (Nsaidzedze 2019:44).

We are taught that Chief Moshoeshoe I opted for this form of justice during the times of cannibals and Lifaqane wars. This is evidenced by the sentences he meted on the cannibals
who killed and ate his grandfather, who was considered as prisoners of war. As evidence of Moshoeshoe's liking of peace, rehabilitation of offenders, and restorative justice, in his monograph "O se re ho moroa 'moroa tooe! ' African jurisprudence exhumed", Mahao acceded that Great Chief Moshoeshoe disagreed with his "lekhotla" council to impose capital punishment on cannibals who devoured his grand-father Chief Peete, instead he pardoned them and insisted on their rehabilitation (Mahao 2010: 331). Moshoeshoe moreover offered grain and cattle to the cannibals who confessed guilt, he made peace with them and further performed traditional burial rituals on them as he proclaimed that they are his grandfather's grave (Qhubu 2005: 2).

Like earlier mentioned, the Basotho justice system mostly went unrecorded, consequently unpublished; however, there is some literature on how Basotho justice was shaped such as Moshoeshoe's sayings like "It is better to thrash the corn than to shape the spear", a proverb that emerged after Moshoeshoe's passing away. In his words, Moshoeshoe said, "khotso ke khaitsei eaka" loosely translated as "peace is my sister", which indicates how he considered peace as a delicate phenomenon that needed care and nurturing. Moshoeshoe's mentor, Chief Mohlomi, instilled in him the philosophy of justice and peace perhaps his teaching that "the law knows no one socio-economic status". He also encouraged the custom of greeting one another with an open, raised hand as the exclamation of "khotso" peace. Other teachings of Moshoeshoe were democratic leadership claimed through popular saying "morena, ke morena ka sechaba" translated as "a chief is a chief by and for the people he leads"(Du Preez 2012: 9).

Basotholand records compiled by George McCall Theal presenting an interview with Chief George Tlali Moshoeshoe in 1872, the son of Great Chief Moshoeshoe, who happened to be the first Mosotho Sub-inspector of Basotholand Police Service, indicates that most of Basotho laws and customs were not written except the laws regarding; witchcraft, sale of brandy, drinking of traditional beer, circumcision, and theft which were allegedly put together by Great Chief Moshoeshoe in 1855 with the help of Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (P.E.M.S.) Missionary, Thomas Arbousset was inscribing while the Chief Moshoeshoe dictated. These laws were lost during Free State wars which saw most of the valuables of Chief Moshoeshoe torched. When asked about the indigenous justice procedures and sanctions followed by Basotho in cases of theft, assaults, rape, and murder, George Moshoeshoe explained that perpetrators were mainly punished by fines in the form of animals, depending on the status of the victim (Theal and Thabane 2002: 228-229), however, in cases of murder the perpetrators were compelled to compensate the family of the deceased with at least ten cows (Theal and Thabane 2002: 228-229). This practice was rooted in Basotho customs with adages such as "ntoa ke ea malula 'moho" meaning “conflict affects neighbours” and "pharela ha e eo
banneng” meaning “there can never an unresolved issue if engaged in true dialogue in good spirit”. These are Sesotho adages that instilled democracy, justice, and peace among the Basotho.

4.4.2 Corrections during the Colonial era
The British resolved to accept and annexed Basotholand as British Protectorate following the request of Chief Moshoeshoe I on the 12th of March 1868 (Pitso 1997a: 319; Lenka 2010: 8); Workman 2013:15; Morolong 2015:51). Consequently, the British criminal justice system was introduced into the Basotholand and consequently saw the establishment of autonomous prison service in 1946 following a breakaway from police authority (Lenka 2010:25). The British formalised and technicalised the administration of justice thus preferred incarceration as a tool for correcting behaviour deviation. This arrangement removed some aspects of the traditional system of justice which were then considered primitive and uncultured such as banishment.

George Theal in his collection of Basotholand records 1871-1872 indicates that the notion of human incarceration as part and parcel of colonization package saw the light among the Basotho in 1871 as an intervention intended to ensure compliance of Basotho to orders and instructions of the colonial. This opinion is formed owing to the letter written by Commissioner Chas Griffith dated 16th August 1871 addressed to the then British High Commissioner based at Cape of Good Hope outlining the request rose during the magistrates meeting in the Basotholand. In the letter, the Magistrates tabulated their demands and passed them on for consideration by the British government stated Thus to support the authority of the Magistrates and carry out their orders and instructions, and also to guard and escort prisoners, the following was requested for each seat of Magistracy: procurement and deployment of one chief constable and four constables; construction of a “lock-up” facility, supply of six pairs of handcuffs and six cat-o’-nine-tails (Theal and Thabane 2002: 96).

The lock-up mechanism as articulated in the letter alluded to in the preceding paragraph was put up in each Magistrate territory as an apparatus to incapacitate, punish, abuse, and silence the British rivals and foes. They were a necessary and functional aspect of police work and the magistrate courts in providing detention facilities for those who were considered to be law-breakers and criminals. There were Chief Constables and their assistants at every magistrate court throughout the protectorate; their function as servants of the courts was to look after detainees before and after conviction. The constables who manned the lock-ups sometimes acted as interpreters in the courts during the proceedings. The primary purpose of prisons was to force people to conform to the colonial laws and administration. Thus, the presence of constables mainly was to feed prisoners and prevent them from escaping.
The next level of activities of prison service was to execute those offenders sentenced to death as put by Eldredge "Bereng and the coconspirator named Gabasheane Masopha, fourth in line to the paramountcy, were hanged after being convicted of medicine murder" (Eldredge 2007: 39). This was despite claims that the case was framed to enable the British to get rid of vocal local chiefs behind the pretense of justice. This is how many enlightened Basotho who were seeking justice for Basotho in the hands of the British perished, Principal Chief Mathealira Seeiso (2017, pers. comm. 28 July). Chief Bereng Seeiso and Chief Gabasheane Masupha were hanged in prison. Many of those who were executed were victims of aspersions and badmouthed of ritual murder by instigations of ruthless Chieftainess 'Mants'ebho Seeiso who was a Regent for Prince Bereng Seeiso and wanted to deny him the throne as King Moshoeshoe II, however Prince Bereng Seeiso eventually ascended to the throne, Chief Masupha Seeiso (2017, pers. comm. 03 May).

The responsibility to manage offenders was in the hands of the police until 1946 when the department of prisons was formed (Lenka 2010: 25). The Basotholand Prison proclamation No. 30 of 1957 established Basotholand Prison Service (BPS) that established nine prisons in the then nine administrative districts, Maseru Central Prison, now MCCI inclusive (Basotholand 1957:1).

4.4.3 Post-colonial correctional system

Upon the attainment of her independence on the 04th of October 1966, Lesotho became the Sovereign Kingdom, consequently, Basotholand Prison Service continued existence as Lesotho Prison Service (LPS). The evolution came along with corrections methods and techniques held over from the British administration, argued by Retired Deputy Director of Prisons Mr. Notsi (2018, pers. comm. 5 January). The citizens through parliament (National Assembly and Senate) embarked on customisation of legal and policy frameworks that saw the enactment of new laws and amendments to the British proclamations. These developments brought about new criminal laws, improved methods, and techniques in policing flagged by newly added specialized units in the system, improved forms of punishment of offenders, improved human rights-based approaches, and penal reforms.

The Constitution of Lesotho of 1993 section 149 provided for the continuance of the correctional system (Kingdom of Lesotho 1993: 86) while section 24 had classified Lesotho Prison Service as a disciplined force regulated by disciplinary law hence my contention that Lesotho Correctional Service still bears a holdover of a militant style of administration and remain classical. This raises concerns that masculinities in correctional settings in Lesotho mainly bear features of militarised gender order. According to recommendations by some international and regional agencies such as; South African Development Community (SADC)
Corrections Sub-committee, African Correctional Services Association, and International Corrections and Prisons Association (ICPA), the name of the organization was changed from Lesotho Prison Service to Lesotho Correctional Service by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution Act No. 8 of 2004 (Kingdom of Lesotho 2004).

Government Notice No. 26 of 2016 which was circulated by the Authority of Minister of Justice and Correctional Service attested that due to archaisms of Basotholand Prison Proclamation No. 30 of 1957, there was a dire need for the country to overhaul the latter and enactment of the new legislation (Kingdom of Lesotho 2016). This ministerial gesture unlocked a long fastened tied gate which leads to the enactment of Lesotho Correctional Service Act No.3 of 2016 which was enacted and came into effect on the 1st of July 2016 (Kingdom of Lesotho 2016: 649). According to the Act, Lesotho Correctional Service was continued in existence. The Act in essence repealed Basutoland Prison Proclamation No. 30 of 1957. The spirit of this piece of legislation was to articulate the rationale, purpose, and functions of correctional service in Lesotho. It provides a regulatory guide for Lesotho Correctional Service organizational structures, administrative procedures, and disciplinary practices.

Lesotho Correctional Service Act No. 3 of 2016 states that corrections shall provide just, safe and humane custody of inmates with the ultimate goal of helping offenders to return to their communities as law-abiding, productive, and socially acceptable citizens. The purpose is to ensure the protection of a society that is just, peaceful and safe by carrying out sentences imposed by courts; detaining all inmates in safe and secure custody whilst retaining their human dignity; promoting self-respect, social responsibility, and human development of offenders and ensuring reformation, rehabilitation and social reintegration of their release.

In doing this, corrections manage overt and covert security operations aimed to ensure the safety and security of inmates. These include; corrections intelligence and investigations operations, inmates guarding, and corrections health services while offender rehabilitation and reintegration services entail; psycho-social support services, anger management, moral instructions, HIV and AIDS training, inter-personal skills development, technical and vocational education programmes. Reintegration services include release upon time expiry and early release schemes such as sentence remissions, parole, and amnesty. The object of this Act is to ‘contribute to the protection and prosperity of the society by providing safe, secure, and humane treatment of offenders following universally agreed and accepted human rights standards, by actively assisting them in their rehabilitation, reformation and social reintegration into the society as law-abiding citizens” (Kingdom of Lesotho 2016:2).

It remains however my personal view as researcher and author of this research project document that, it is not proper to generalize correctional institution inmates as offenders as it
is coined by some scholars, viewed by some criminal justice practitioners. This appears intolerant and prejudicial to those who have been incarcerated on suspicion that they have offended and awaiting decisions of competent courts of law. In my view, inmates remain to be a better term since it is not everybody incarcerated in correctional institutions who have offended. It is therefore my opinion for this project that some of the inmates in corrections custody are criminal suspects, hence classified as awaiting trials, remanded for murder, ordinary remanded, detainees. Criminal convicts or offenders are but one class of corrections inmates. The term offender is used in this project only for those who have been found guilty and convicted for a criminal offence by competent courts for law and “inmates” will be used when referring to all or any person incarcerated therein. The above object of the Act seems to take for granted that all correctional institution inmates are offenders whereas some inmates are mere suspects.

4.5 The basis for the correctional system

This section of the review is aimed at putting into pedagogic limelight; the cause for the correctional system, its purpose and goals, the ethos and guiding principles of correctional work. There are major interrelated philosophies plunged into the correctional system namely: incapacitation, retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and restorative justice (Sample 2019(Parish 2012: 1). However, while some criminal justice system goals are practical and influential, targeting the prevention of crime and juvenile delinquency, others are symbolic and focus on punishment compatible with the gravity and severance of an offence committed.

Graves (2015: 491) opined that crime prevention aims have encompassed general and specific deterrence, incapacitation of offenders, public safety, and offender rehabilitation. Lesotho Correctional Service is thus:

"... an integral part of the Criminal Justice System, shall contribute to the protection of the society by providing reasonable, safe, secure, orderly, humane custody and control of inmates following universally accepted human rights standards, shall actively assist offenders to reform and return to their communities as law-abiding, productive and socially acceptable members of the society" (Kingdom of Lesotho 2016:2).

It is as a result, within the service delivery of the above mentioned all-inclusive initiative of public safety and security whereby the mandate of Lesotho Correctional Service as an entity of correctional system is distinguished as to partake in the maintenance of a just, peaceful, and safe society by carrying out orders of competent courts of law by; providing safe and humane custody of inmates, providing rehabilitation and social reintegration services for offenders (Lesotho Correctional Service n.d.: 2) and executing capital punishments on condemned offenders when need arise. It is noteworthy to indicate that unlike in other
countries, correctional service in Lesotho only focuses on incarcerated suspects. It could be the convicted, remanded and those awaiting trial, and convicted offenders send to serve their sentences and be exposed to rehabilitation services or be executed in case of those sentenced to death.

The fundamental purpose of the correctional system in Lesotho and across the globe is categorised as incapacitation, rehabilitation, retribution, restoration, and deterrence. Incapacitation in this study embodies incarceration of offenders and criminal suspects as a precaution to disable them from the further committal of offences, thus victimizing the society (Binder and Ntterman 2017:7; Thomas 2019:930). Rehabilitation denotes the process of provision of treatment aimed to change the behaviour of an offender, in this case, an offending or deviant behaviour into socially acceptable type of life. This could be through teaching and learning the hard and soft skills such as interpersonal relations (Ngozwana 2017:220). Retribution in corrections involves some form of payback to the offended party. It is imposing a penalty compatible with the damage caused by the crime committed. It is aiming at repairing the harm committed. On the one hand, the restorative form of justice targets mending either physical, economic, social, and emotional damage caused by criminal behaviour (Hermann 2017:72). It is meant to heal those who suffered any loss. Deterrence’s idea of corrections entails instilling fear in either society or individual to either behave in an anti-social manner or committing an actual crime (Tomlinson 2016:33).

4.6 Conclusions

In sum, this chapter discussed corrections in Lesotho and more so as part and parcel of the criminal justice system. It looked into the history of corrections in Lesotho and how corrections evolved from the pre-colonial era, through to the colonial era and post-colonial period. Furthermore, it discussed theories of punishment as the basis for the correctional system being: incapacitation, rehabilitation, retribution, restorative and deterrent forms of justice.
CHAPTER FIVE:

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

5.0 Introduction

A theory is a systematic explanation for the observation that relates to a particular aspect of life. It is a systematic set of interrelated statements that intends to explain some aspect of social life whereas paradigms are general frameworks or viewpoints, they are points from which to view the world and or providing ways of looking at life issues. Thus a theory is a body of knowledge, a set of ideas and principles put together by academicians resulting from scientific studies, peer-reviewed, and approved by a panel of experts (Babbie 1995: 47-49). The basic assumptions advanced by a theory in research work becomes magnifying lenses under which the project will be eyed and the foundation on which research processual tasks will be framed (Phohlo 2012: 11).

This chapter, therefore, seeks to draw attention to the relevant theoretical framework guiding this participatory action research project. The review revolves around broader theories as "lenses or peepholes" through which this study will be eyed and thus, considered as project cage frames or rather corner-stones beneath. The project endeavours to work on presumably socially constructed facets of mankind; therefore, I found it prudent to predispose the undertaking to social constructionism, conflict transformation, masculinity theory and andragogy. It will traverse guided through by the said theories.

5.1 Social constructionism

When interviewed on the 21 December 2017, Mahao (Assistant Commissioner of Correctional Service) asserted that social constructionism is the theory that seeks to explore human interaction and formation of social realities, which may not necessarily be substantially in existence but learned from the society and believed to be true throughout generations. This contention becomes relevant when studying the notion of corrections masculinities as it has been mentioned in the preceding chapter that masculinity is the product of social interaction other than natural phenomena like sex which is male and female. It is what people believed and hold on to be true about being a male person. This theory is more often linked with socialisation which is the process of learning as one interacts with his or her environment which Donald Clemmer coined in (1940) in his paper "The prison community" as prisonization thus socialisation in correctional settings (Wheeler 1961: 697).
Social constructionism stems from the belief that human behaviour is an outcome of social and interpersonal influences. It is the theory of knowledge in sociology and communication that views reality as socially constructed (Galbin 2014: 82; 2015:48). For this study, masculinity is the product of the socialisation of male persons, their history and interpretations, and interpretations of their experiences contrary to the belief that masculinity is the dictate of human sex (Phohlo 2012:11). Social constructionism theory is a cross-disciplinary viewpoint useful in various occupational fields and approved in varied fields of knowledge such as psychology and sociology. It stemmed to address the notion of the social construction of reality with its origins in sociology. Thus tone down individualism (Andrew 2012:28). The foundation for social constructionism as a paradigm in the social sciences arena was laid by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their seminal work of 1966 “The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge” who engaged in addressing the nature of social reality (Brickell 2006: 1; Geldenhuys 2015: 4).

In essence, the social constructionism proposition is that how people comprehend, appreciate, and perceive the world is embedded is produced and represented through language, either in a spoken or nonverbal cue depending on a given culture and time (Burr and Dick 2017: 25). According to Galbin (2015:48) “social constructionism or the social construction of reality is a theory of knowledge of sociology and communication that examines the development jointly constructed understanding of the world”. His strong contention is, therefore, most of human life questions such as gender paradigms or patterns such as masculinities came into existence consequent from social interaction. Furthermore, Galbin puts it clear that “social constructionism regards individuals as integral with cultural, political, and historical evolution in specific times and places and so reorganizes psychological processes cross-culturally in social and temporal contexts”.

Accordingly, Burr and Dick also in their monograph opined that social constructionism teaches and upholds that human beliefs, perceptions, and community practices are socially constructed and not naturally constructed (Burr and Dick 2017:25). This theory goes along with a debate that masculinities are not static, that is they are dynamic and are defined by specific societies in line with their socio-cultural, economic, political, and historical situations. Giblin's argument is herewith augmented by Taylor (2018:218) who believed that social constructionism is essentially entrenched in the confidence, trust, and belief that most of the knowledge is socially constructed. This is similar to Esa Diaz-Leon's view that human sexual orientation is largely a socio-cultural product other than a biological property (Diaz-Leon 2013:78).
This notion cropped from sociological opinions raised by Burger and Luckmann who argued that human beings together create and sustain all social phenomena through social practice. They asserted that the world can be socially constructed by social practices and acknowledged the three fundamental processes responsible for the social construction of reality as; externalisation, objectivation, and internalisation. Externalisation refers to the situation whereby people create ideas and pass them to others by word of mouth or writing. An example of this can be those stereotypes that are deeply seated in our minds and are being passed on to the next generation short of a thorough examination.

The idea or object gets nurtured and developed into being factual existence or truthful. The upcoming generation also internalise the idea and becomes the way they understand the world. Burr also noted that the emergence of social constructionism in psychology can be tracked from Gergen (1973) in an essay "social psychology as history" where Gergen argued that all knowledge is culturally and historically specific, consequently, all must transcend individuality, that must “think out of the box” and engage political, social and economic realities to better understand the evolution of the current psychology and social life (Burr 1995:7).

DeLamater and Hyde (1998:13) assertions are that the term social constructionism has a broad currency in the social sciences. It is loosely defined to refer to any social influence on individual experience, however, it is more appropriately used to refer to "a specific theoretical paradigm with the fundamental assumption that reality is socially constructed" (Burger and Luckmann 1966:1). According to Burr (2003:2-3), social constructionism theory insists that: we should take a critical stance towards our taken for granted ways of understanding the world and ourselves; knowledge is historically and culturally specific; knowledge is sustained and continued by social processes, and that language is a pre-condition for thoughts. Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge embracing basic suppositions as; reality, knowledge, and learning. It is considered in this project as the basis to appreciate masculinities and violence as social constructs in correctional settings. It is the peephole through which this study will be eying masculinities and violence in correctional settings as notable variables.

When interviewed on 27 December 2017, Mahao (Assistant Commissioner of Lesotho Correctional Service) asserted that reality can be explained as “an eminence belonging to phenomena that are recognized as having a being independent of our wish”. It is an existence of a thing outside the mind or existence or fact whose existence is affirmed or denied, withstanding that denying reality does not always or necessarily negate its existence.

Knowledge can be defined on the one hand as, the existence of a thing in human cognition, which is immaterial or meta-physical possession of the forms of things. The third assumption embraced by social constructionism is learning, which is the process of acquisition of
knowledge, attitudes, and skills, thereby relatively changing one’s behaviour and aspirations towards life issues such as masculinity. It will be sufficient, for this research project to define ‘reality’ as a quality relating to phenomena that we recognize as having a being independent of our own choice, that is we cannot wish them anyhow. Knowledge is defined as the certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess specific characteristics (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 13).

Social constructionism enables us to make sense of human psychology as an assemblage of social relations and engage in discourse helping us to reflect on the discipline as part of the powerful psy-complex in modern culture which helps contain and regulate prejudice (Parker 1998:1). According to Hosking and McNamee (2006 cited in Geldenhuys 2015:4), social constructionism can be defined as the way people fit into a place focusing on rational practice and the social realities these practices generate, preserve and transform. Stemming on the belief that personality is a product of the socialisation process, consequently a social construct, it is, therefore, imperative to define socialisation as “the process of social interaction in which the individual acquires those characteristic ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are essential for effective participation within the society” as defined by Hobbs and Blank (1978:464).

Social constructionism focuses on investigating social influences on communal and individual life (Owen 1995:1; Galbin 2014: 82) anchored on the assumption that: meaning and understanding are products of social interaction and are central features of human activities thus behaviour is entrenched in socio-cultural processes specific to happenings, times and places (Lock and Strong 2010:7). Social constructionism is entrenched on the assumptions that: we should be critical about the taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and ourselves; the ways we understand ourselves and the environment are historically and culturally specific and that knowledge is sustained by social processes (Gergen 1985: 266-269; Burr 1995: 2-3).

Social constructionism is predominantly concerned with exposing the processes by which people come to describe or otherwise account for the world in which they live. The world in which they live in this case includes the people themselves (Gergen 1985:226). These presumptions understandably dovetail with qualitative methods in research work studying social constructs such as masculinities and violence. Accordingly, Barker (2012:9) content that social constructionism assumes that all knowledge is socially constructed therefore, it views people’s values and beliefs as being socially constructed. Barker (2012:27) linked social constructionism with feminism. She argues that Gergen and Davis in 1997 had emphasised
the fact that the construction of discourse is shaped up by the modes in which people exchange their perceptions and descriptions of reality which is language.

5.2 Conflict transformation

Conflict transformation theory complements social constructionism in this study is an endeavour to understand conflict, its manifestations, and facets. The relevance of studying conflict in this research is the assertion that “it is the lifeblood of the human race” regardless of its density, the conflict shall remain in existence. Conflict transformation is cognisant that conflict is intrinsic to humankind (Roberts and White 2004: 1) and can be applied at all levels of conflict being; extra-personal, interpersonal, and intra-personal (Galtung 2000: 3). This contention will guide this project appreciating that violence develops from conflicting situations. Conflict transformation is seen as the process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, and discourse (Miall 2004:4). It was coined as a “comprehensive term for measures and processes that aim to transform conflict systems with a high degree of violence. Conflict transformation thus aims to change both the structural causes of conflicts and the attitudes and behavior of the conflict actors (Wils et al. 2006: 90).

Conflict transformation draws from the premise that conflict is inherent to life and can be transformed (Roberts and White 2004: 1). Though seemingly entangled with human life experiences, this study seeks to acknowledge the reality of the presence of conflict in any social setting and presumably, causing violence in correctional settings and undertake to transform masculinities, ultimately building a peaceful environment therein. Transformative masculinities seek to challenge men to reconsider their attitudes towards masculinity and about manhood in entirety (Chitando and Njoroge 2013b: 7), in this case, men in correctional settings, whereas andragogy emphasises adult learning for behavioural change (Boone 1985: 14; Walklin 1990: 198 -200; Huang 2002: 29).

According to Musoke (2011:11) conflict is described as “the situation where two or more individuals or groups are in conscious opposition to each other in terms of their goals”. It can be defined as disagreements between the two parties, either individuals or groups (Lyamouri-Bajja et. al 2012:272). It is the condition of dissonance between incompatible or adversative individuals, interests, or ideas. It is a clash of thoughts. It is an unavoidable phenomenon in human existence; however, it may be an opportunity for change since it compels one to face up with the negative unpleasant situation.

Conflict is the lifeblood of individuals, informal and formal organizations. It is also considered as inherent to any working environment such as in correctional settings where there are many opportunities for conflict to occur. In corrections, conflict may arise amongst inmates
themselves, amongst corrections staff, between inmates and staff, and between staff and corrections visitors and inmate’s families thus conflict can be anticipated throughout the continuum of one’s life span, that is, it is part and parcel of human existence.

There are mainly two distinct forms of conflict namely; interpersonal and intrapersonal conflict. Interpersonal conflict exists between individuals or groups. It may arise between family members, friends, students, workmates, supervisor and supervisee, teacher, and learner (Musoke 2011:11). This form of conflict becomes evident in correctional settings as inmates, individually or gangs usually clash violently over opinions, resources, or contraband and when correctional officers engage in physical and/or verbal blows with corrections management representing an employer “government” over conditions of service and unsatisfactory remuneration package. The additional apparent manifestation of conflict in correctional settings arises between inmates and staff over physical and structural conditions of correctional settings resultant in inmates assaulting staff and in the worst-case scenario spilling over into human rights abuses entailing; inmates physical and emotional torture.

Intrapersonal conflict or an inner form of conflict occurs within an individual. This could be resultant of frustration that an individual feel within themselves over their goals, targets, plans, or accomplishments or as a result of competing values and questions of conscience Lyamouri-Bajja 2012:273). This form of conflict takes place within oneself, that is, it is more of unobservable mental processes, which is a cognitive course other than observable behavioural course. However, intrapersonal conflict among inmates and staff usually explodes and results in negative behavioural demeanours, suicidal tendencies, and escapes from correctional institutions as a response to burnout. By nature, people are afraid of conflicting situations, many people attempt to avoid the conflict or go on to it head-on with aggression if avoidance fails thus the development of conflict into violence.

Galtung in his analogy of conflict established the ABC triangle as another paradigm in an endeavour to describe the conflict. This is a widely known and classical paradigm that delineates the definition of conflict into three most essential elements; “A” for attitudes, “B” for behaviour, and “C” for contradiction (Galtung 1996). Galtung sees conflict as an outcome of mental attitudes of role players or stakeholders in a conflicting situation, this implies that the feelings, thoughts, or mind-set of stakeholders are pivotal to conflict causal as they determine the way one interprets and respond to a situation. Behaviour is the way one conducts him or herself when confronted with a situation. This says the behaviour of the single-player may be a causal factor of a conflict. Lastly, Galtung sees contradiction as another pivotal factor to any conflicting situation and he sees it as the actual and real causal point of the conflict.
A contradiction is a form of disagreement and divergence which is the disparity amid conflicting facts, assertions, or viewpoints. Conflict may not be solved or better transformed to become constructive instead of destructive unless all the three components are effectively dealt with at the same time. This dictates that, when engaged in an undertaking that aspires to transform conflict of any scale, whether at micro-level or macro-level, we should first and foremost attempt to analyse the presenting conflict with all involved parties engaged, this is a participatory approach whereby all parties have equal opportunity to make their submissions. This will be of assistance to conflict transformation facilitator who toils to identify the root cause of the conflict and probably disintegrate the root cause into smallest chunks for manageability; to spell out the type and/or level of conflict at hand; to describe and appreciate the attitudes of parties involved and seek to lessen conflicting dispositions (Gallo 2012:5).

Similarly, Rosenstiel (1980 cited in Glasl 2004:2) viewed the conflict as a social phenomenon, in that way, he viewed it in broad terms thus interpersonal or social conflict. In that gesture, he observed that conflict subsist if incompatible behavioural predispositions are observed between the conflicting parties. Like Galtung’s ABC paradigm, Rosenstiel advanced that attitudes, behavioural tendencies, and personal or organizational dispositions remain at the heart of conflict definition or rather conflict itself. Conflict is understood to be an interaction between at least two actors (Rychard & Mason, 2005).

According to Hoffmann (2011:5) research unraveled that in Californian correctional facilities; conflict is caused by mainly power, prestige, and wealth. Hoffmann concludes that conflict in corrections emanates from the struggle over control of contraband and distribution of scarce but legally and socially acceptable resources and belongings among the inmates in the correctional institutions; system inability to curb in-flow of narcotics and contraband, as well as prostitution, seem to aggravate opportunities for conflict and leave fertile ground for violence among corrections inmate’s factions and staff.

Conflict transformation is, therefore, considered as a course of action or series of interrelated steps through which conflicts are transformed into peaceful outcomes. It is the process that engages with its relationships, interests, discourses, and the very constitution of society supporting the continuation of the conflict. The term is more often used to refer to change a conflict in a form of de-escalation or reconciliation between conflicting individuals or groups (Miall 2004:4 and Lyamouri-Bajja et. al 2012:272). It is the theory pivoting on relationships, forgiveness, justice, and reconciliation. It is mindful of the fact that conflict is inherent to humankind (Roberts and White 2004: 1), it can be applied at all levels of conflict being; extra-personal, interpersonal, and intra-personal (Galtung 2000: 3). The issue of forgiveness in this argument is augmented by Pope Benedict XVI in his statement captured on the Catholic News
Agency website that reads "If peace is the fruit of justice, it is even more so of forgiveness, which truly seals the reconciliation between those who are divided and allows them to walk together".

According to Fraser and Ghettas (2013:6) conflict transformation is concerned with the way societies to deal with moving them from violent to non-violent means. Its goal is to build just and sustainable societies that resolve differences non-violently. To achieve this, the process must endeavour to address the direct and structural causes of conflict. It assumes that conflict is an inevitable aspect of social change at the same time it assumes that the way with conflict needs not to be violent; however violent conflict emerges because involved parties do not have agreed ways and means of resolving their conflict non-violently.

5.3 Masculinity theory and its principles

Masculinity theory is a framework that seeks to explain behavioural traits and men’s behavioural conduct. Masculinists delves into and study the nature and magnitude of masculinity. Principles are basic philosophies or viewpoints on a given matter that seem to be generally accepted as factual and that can be used as a basis for reasoning or conduct (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1993:906). As such, principles of masculinities aim to deepen the comprehension of scholars and further set common ground from which one can reason out. The principles of masculinities as championed by Raewyn Connell were coined from major findings in men and masculinities research hub as alluded to earlier. They have been coined as: i) multiplicity of masculinities; ii) hierarchical nature of masculinities; iii) collective masculinities, iv) active construction of masculinities; v) internal complexities of masculinities, and vi) the dynamism of masculinities (Connell 2000:3-5). These principles form the framework on which this study is viewing the notion of masculinity as journey through this study. Thus, my arguments by and large are anchored on them.

These conclusions to date remain universally appreciated in the academic world and therefore I will abide and concur with Connell on these significant conclusions that remain guiding principles of the theory of masculinities. Connell further asserted that it is important for scholars and practitioners to heed that that multiple masculinities may emerge from a single socio-cultural setting such as township, peer group, and workplace. In this study, this could be in a correctional setting, either within the inmate's gang, among the inmates' general population, or amongst corrections staff (Connell 2001:16). Accordingly, Modie-Moroka (2016:288) concur with Connell on the assertion that masculinities occupy several levels and positions such as; the orthodox and contemporary, the dominant and subordinate, complicit, marginalized, redemptive and symbolic masculinities, all of which interact with race, class, age, religious affiliation, and geographic location.
5.3.1 Multiplicity of masculinities

According to Breines, Connell, and Eide (2000:24) “different cultures, and different periods of history, construct gender differently. In multicultural societies, there are likely to be multiple definitions of masculinity. Equally important, more than one kind of masculinity can be found within a given culture, even within a single institution such as a school, workplace or corrections”. The term masculinities suggest that there are numerous forms of masculinity. Thus multiple forms of masculinity may arise in any given social setting (Mfecane 2016:7). There are diverse socially constructed views of how to be a man or boy (Connell 2016:303).

The multiplicity of masculinities is also echoed by Hall (2013:36) and Morrell (1998:607) who assert that there is no single masculinity. Thus various masculinities are in existence. Raewyn Connell in an interview with Nascimento also asserted that in her twenty years of experience in gender work, she discovered the diversity and multiplicity of masculinities (Nascimento 2017:3972). Likewise, Burchardt (2017:4) echoed Connell’s theory whose assertion is that there are multiple masculinities arranged hierarchically according to positions of domination and subordination. Connell further asserted that it is important for scholars and practitioners to heed that multiple masculinities may emerge from a single cultural setting such as neighbourhood, peer group, and workplace. In this study, this could be in a correctional setting; within the inmate’s gang, among the inmate general population, and amongst corrections staff (Connell 2000:16).

5.3.2 Hegemony and hierarchical nature of masculinities

In her book ‘Plural masculinities: The remaking of the self in private life’ Sofia Aboim purports that fundamental to the theory of masculinity is hegemony and hierarchical order of masculinities (Aboim 2016:2). According to Breines, Connell, and Eide (2000:24), each group of masculinities transpires and exist in certain definite relations with the other and concomitantly with some form of a hierarchy which is largely framed in four broad categories comprised of hegemonic masculinities, complicit masculinities, marginalized masculinities, and subordinate masculinities. The notion of hegemonic masculinity as propounded by R.W. Connell in her book, “Masculinities” which was first published in 1995 and second edition in 2005, refers to the dominant form of masculinity that is expected by society and considered a superior form of masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity is generally a domineering form of masculinity that is said to be pivotal in the system of gender order. It ensures its stance and posture in gender order by way of subordinating other forms of masculinities to create its position on a hierarchical order of masculinities. The qualities of hegemonic masculinity include among others heterosexuality, physical strength, toughness, aggression, and the ability to suppress emotions but emotionally

Masculinities can be arranged in the hierarchical order of power and authority influenced by socio-economic, traditional, and religious status. As there are various forms of masculinity in any given single culture or society, there will also be dominating forms of masculinity domineering not only over women and girls but also over men who do not conform to the dominant notions of masculinity referred to in this project as transformative masculinities. In the same manner, these dominant forms of masculinities seem to be controlling the lives of both men and women. This calls for recognition of the fact that there are various forms of masculinities discovered in various social settings and that, those masculinities are hierarchically arranged (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005b:846).

According to Modie-Moroka (2016:288), Connell in 1995 asserted that masculinities occupy several levels and positions such as; the orthodox and contemporary, the dominant and subordinate, complicit, marginalized, redemptive and symbolic masculinities, all of which interact with race, class, age, religious affiliation, and geographic location. It is from this premise that masculinities as a concept are considered not static but rather dynamic phenomena thereby changing from time to time, place to place, and situation to situation. The emphasis is put on the fact that one type of masculinity or multiple masculinities can manifest in a single given cultural situation such as a correctional institution or any workplace, furthermore, one should take heed that one male person can front or display more than one form of masculinity consecutively or concurrently given the circumstances or complexities of the situation one is faced with.

Connell's work exposed the issue of hierarchical stature of masculinities guided by given cultural settings that are emphasizing the notion of "hegemony" that flags male supremacy, power, authority, and control of self, others, and things. Accordingly, there are those masculinities that are more respected than others and those that are disrespected given socio-cultural requirements of the particular set up and thus the form of masculinity that is culturally dominant in a given setting is referred to as "hegemonic masculinity". This signifies the position of cultural authority and leadership such as 'morena', area chief, 'ramotse', village headman, 'mampolli' senior herd boy and 'mosuoe' an instructor or teacher at the circumcision or traditional initiation school (Connell 2000:17).

This principle suggests that masculinities in any given society are classified according to the criteria into which they are put into sequential levels or layers suggesting superiority and inferiority. Thus the multiple masculinities in a given setting are arranged hierarchically given their social standing in a given social setting such as the dominant and subordinate
masculinities, as implied, there are superior and inferior masculinities (Connell 2016:303). Masculinities occupy different levels or positions such as; the orthodox and contemporary, the dominant and subordinate, complicit, marginalized, redemptive and symbolic masculinities, all of which interact with race, class, age, religious affiliation, and geographic location.

Connell discovered four main families of masculinities hierarchically positioned as; hegemonic, complicit, marginalized, and subordinate masculinities (Groes-Green 2012:94; Thunstedt 2016:5). Research, in this case, has revealed that in any given socio-cultural setting there are common forms of masculinity embracing some dominant elements holding on to domineering status which Connell referred to as hegemonic masculinity. Nevertheless, it is not all men who can entirely live up to the standards of hegemonic masculinity even though they are steadily enjoying the advantageous elements brought by patriarchy as one major manifestation of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2005b: 22; Thunstedt 2016: 5). The subsequent paragraphs seek to explain hierarchical order, thus, hegemonic masculinities, complicit masculinities, marginalized masculinities, and subordinate masculinities.

5.3.2 Hegemonic masculinity
The notion of hegemonic masculinity was earlier presented in the 1980s but coined, expounded advocated for by Raewyn Connell in her book “Masculinities” in 2005 (Connell 2005b: xviii). In this book, Connell toiled to explain the gender order intersecting sex, masculinities, femininities, patriarchy, power, and authority. This perception has highly influenced and immensely dominated contemporary social research endeavours on men and gender geared towards emancipation men and women from the heavy laden caused by the burden of sex roles. Connell asserts that before the promulgation of the notion of hegemonic masculinity, issues of men and gender were dominated by theories of sex roles and patriarchy which of course has never been healthy for men and women alike. Connell claimed that theories of patriarchy were largely informed by the theory of hegemony as coined by Antonio Gramsci (Burchardt 2017: 4).

In one of her seminal works titled “Gender and power: society, person and sexual politics” Raewyn Connell propounded the concept of hegemonic masculinity as that dominant or central form of masculinity precisely configured and constructed concerning marginalised and subordinated masculinity, femininities, women and girls (Connell 1987:186). Though hegemonic masculinity is branded with dominance, it is worth taking note that hegemonic masculinity does not impose dominance but the society has accepted male dominance as a norm (Jewkes et al. 2015:4).

The common feature of hegemonic masculinity is that it is heterosexual, as thus closely linked to marriage as a social institution, whereas subordinated masculinity is linked up with
homosexuality to a larger extent, with femininity (Jewkes et al. 2015:186) thus complicit with same-sex marriages and sodomy in correctional settings. According to Modie-Moroka (2016:288) in 1995, Connell further noted that hegemonic masculinity is a pattern of gender practice based on a social agreement that validates patriarchy and ensures the dominance of men and the subordination of women and subordinate forms of masculinity. Patriarchy is primarily a social system that solemnise gender inequalities characterised by positioning men over women and portraying women as objects of sex (Schwartz 2018:7).

Hegemony is defined as a social dominance attained through an interaction of social forces. It is not considered hegemony if it is achieved through physical power and coercion. It is recognised as authentic and solid when embedded in social amenities, cultural and religious doctrines, and practices influencing legal and policy frameworks. It is created and maintained in a diverse power sphere such as politics and economics and spread out for popular acceptance as an ideology which in turn is socially accepted (Xifra and Heath 2015: 18-19).

The term hegemony was coined in 1884 by Karl Marx and put to shape in 1971 by Antonio Gramsci in his popular work ‘prison notebooks’ the writings he compiled while incarcerated. As put by Connell, deriving from Gramsci’s analysis of social class relation refers to the dynamic forces by which a group of people claims and endures a leading position in the social set-up. Thus at any given moment, one form of masculinity rather than others is culturally dignified, whereas other masculinities are culturally side-lined and considered inferior (Connell 2005b:77). In its origin Greek, hegemony is ‘hegemonia’ meaning the domineering and oppressive position of one element in the system over others (Yalmaz 2010: 194). For Connell in the early years, hegemony is "a social superiority achieved in a play of social forces that goes further than violent supremacy into the organization of private life and cultural processes" (Connell 1987:184).

Hegemony can be concisely defined as dominance, leadership, or headship by the bourgeoisie. It can be deduced to mean the supremacy of the upper social class on social stratification, therefore political leaders, religious leaders, corporate leaders, traditional leaders, and opinion leaders such as teachers and community health workers in the case of Lesotho rural areas. In this study, hegemons could be corrections managers and administrators, corrections officers (on inmates), leaders of corrections gangs, enlightened and rich inmates. Given the preceding impression, hegemony does not rely on physical force or threats but is embedded into social structures, legal and policy frameworks promoting men’s dominance over females, and those supporting elite groups and privileged men such as traditional chiefs, armed forces chiefs and cooperate leaders to domineer over other disadvantaged groups of men.
Hegemony on the one hand signifies stewardship and custodianship (Reich and Lebow 2017:28) dominance, leadership, rules and canons, power and authority (Sunnercrantz 2017:46). Accordingly, (Mehta 2016: 33) opined that the idea of hegemony implies that there are invisible power and other forms of inequalities engineering social consent using political and ideological leadership, thereby setting the agenda (Reich and Lebow 2017:19) and imposing structural form of violence.

According to Menga (2016:7), unlike Reich and Lebow, the notion of hegemony is traced from the works of Italian Philosopher, Vincenzo Gioberti in 1851 who defined hegemony as “that sort of supremacy, pre-eminence, superiority not in the strictest sense but morally effective and efficient”. According to Benya (2016: 79) Demetrakis Demetriou distinguished between the two inseparable categories of hegemony as external and internal hegemony. Demetriou asserted that “external hegemony” marks men’s dominance over women as an established normal practice, whereas “internal hegemony” denotes social dominance of one group of men over other men. Internal hegemony becomes more relevant in this study for the reason that corrections community I am focusing on is male dominated.

Hegemonic masculinity is thus defined as the “configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted response to the trouble with the legitimacy of patriarchy, also ensuring or taken to guarantee the dominant position of men and domination of women and other subordinated masculinities” (Connell 2005b:77). This is augmented by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005a:832) who are also cited by Lorimer et al. (2018:28) whose argument is that hegemonic masculinity is that form of masculinity dominating femininity and non-hegemonic masculinities. It is culturally dignified and glorified among males and females in Lesotho.

Given the preceding impression, hegemony does not only count on direct violence in a form of physical force or threats but also is entrenched into institutional cultures, structural policies, and legal frameworks that promote men’s dominance over women and girls. An example of this can be the law of inheritance in Lesotho that prohibits females from inheriting chieftainship. Connell further asserted that hegemonic masculinities are constructed alongside female sexed persons, femininities and subordinated in sodomy as in a way “female” partner. In many cases, these womanized men submit to dominion in search of protection from bullies who exercise their power and aggression in a correctional institution. Generally, womanized men or she-gays “female gays” exhibit homosexual tendencies and have a passionate and romantic feeling for men. These men portray more of their femininity propensities and are normally referred to as emasculated, effeminate men who usually have womanly interests, appearance, and qualities.
According to Naimasiah (2010:3), hegemonic masculinity is the brand of masculinity that enjoys privileges of the domineering status of male persons, whether domineering over women and girls or dominated and subjugated men and boys of weaker senses such as “Bana” or “wifies”. The “bana” and “wifies” as often used by inmates to describe those men who engage in ‘corrections same-sex marriages’ either by coercion or with consent. They are imitating female partners while engaging in sex in corrections. Furthermore, they play wives by performing culturally feminine chores such washing and ironing for his “lefamo” or “indoda”, so-called the husband who in turn provide some tobacco, food, physical security, good blankets and clothing, and other necessities like toiletries to his “wifie”. These are kind of tolerated terms and practices as they seem to be condoned by corrections culture.

In her writings (Connell 2000) posited that it is problematic and tricky to come up with a conclusive definition of hegemonic masculinity as it swings and changes from one culture to the other culture attaching a myriad of desired forms of masculinity. This point was echoed by Judge (2018:8), given a specific culture, hegemonic masculinity is to some extent characterized and recognizable by exaggerated mental strength, emotional intelligence and capability to bounce back from atrocities, physical strength including being athletic and sexual abilities. While explaining hegemonic masculinity, it is essential to recognize the fact that it is anchored on the linkage between cultural ideals and epitomes of masculinity and the institutional supremacy that upholds or claims power and authority contributing to masculine hierarchy. The examples in Lesotho are the traditional circumcision and initiation and customary marriages which are overseeing the patriarchal system.

Raewyn Connell as quoted by Schwartz (2018:7), who opined that hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the formation of gender order symbolizing contemporary account to the legitimization of patriarchal system warranting domineering of men and subordination of women. In Lesotho for example, patriarchy is evident among Chieftainship and Royalties whereby the first-born male child is socialized from birth to become head of the nucleus and extended family, of the clan and the entire society. He is being prepared to ascend the throne when the father passes on. According to Oakley (2018:5), hegemonic masculinity elucidates societal norms and expectations on how male persons should conduct themselves. It is a socio-cultural product constructed and reconstructed through socialization. This is entrenched by some form of rewards such as man’s dominance drawn from patriarchy.

For Connell, hegemonic masculinity is the standardized form of masculinity realized by a limited number of outstanding privileged men (Connell 2005:843). These are men positioned at the apex of the hierarchy of the pyramid of masculinities such as academicians, Royalties, and ruling politicians in Lesotho. Their masculinities are honoured more than others as some
are defiled such as paupers who earns living by begging, peasant farmers, and homosexuals who are actively sidelined mainly in Lesotho. Some men such as sexual minorities and vulnerable groups like people living with disabilities and albinos are marginalized. These masculinities in correctional settings include, for example, men-having-sex-with-men, economically disadvantaged, expatriates, and non-gang members (Connell 2001:17). The entire scenario translates into a correctional setting from the wider society.

The other dimension which is contributing to the distribution of men across the masculinity hierarchy is that of politicising masculinity. In Lesotho, the idea of masculinity as a political identity is conspicuous and is dovetailing with violence as Basotho men are competing for scarce resources in a growing economy. This is relatively new in Lesotho however it has proved speedy growth in the past five decades of independence. Masculinities in Lesotho are also hierarchically arranged accordingly with the adherence to global technological, political, and social advancements that have dismantled some of the traditional and cultural practices. The quest to the climb-up hierarchy of masculinities in Lesotho is derived from factors such as economic power and social status.

A considerable amount of literature on men and masculinities indicates the hierarchy of masculinities, Thus structured hierarchically with dominating forms of masculinities placed above and subordinate forms positioned at the bottom (Connell 2001:17; White 2018). Even though the intention is not to debate religion, it was also found to be responsible for the social construction of masculinity and its hierarchical arrangement in South Africa (Burchardt 2017:2). Accordingly, Burchardt further asserts that masculinities, herein referred to as "male gender ideologies, practices, and performances, are placed along the continuum with two opposite ends as; dominant masculinities on the one end and transformed masculinities on the other end. Thus, traditional masculinities and transformative masculinities can be put on two ends of the continuum.

When doing an ethnographic content analysis of Polish parenting magazines, Thunstedt (2016: 7) discovered that conservative masculinity is fond of traditionalist principles regarding gender order which embraces the ideals such as men should not be weak and defenceless and that men must be characteristically different from women. In the same exercise, he recognises Anderson (2009), who propounded inclusive masculinities theory as another strand in studies of men that does not sharply contrast with the traditional ethos of masculinity. Anderson content that inclusive masculinity theory provides an allowance for men to rise above traditional forms of masculinity and making a room for transformative forms of masculinity. Anderson recognizes the dichotomy of Raewyn Connell's hegemonic

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masculinities and subordinate masculinities as conflicting features of masculinity, (Anderson 2009:23).

Traditionally, men who failed to acquire wealth as power for acquisition and sustenance of hegemonic masculinity status sought for such in alternative modes. They could have failed due to poverty, illiteracy, and lower social class status. They seek refuge and turn on to other forms such as those based on bodily power (physical domination). Some men prove their masculinities and battle for the position by presenting sexual prowess, thereby pleasing women or violence against women and other subordinated forms of masculinities which seem to be the cause for criminality, anti-social behaviour, and juvenile delinquency in Lesotho (Groes-Green 2009:290).

5.3.4 Complicit masculinities
The idea of complicit masculinity suggests the form of masculinity that could not possess all the attributes of hegemonic masculinity and submit to be allied to or in support of hegemonic forms of masculinity as thus benefit from acts of hegemony and dividends of such like patriarchy (Connell 2005:79). According to Connell, the majority of men could not achieve hegemonic masculinity due to the difficulty to attain all that it costs. According to Judge (2018:12), complicit masculinity is, as the name suggests, complicit in its support of hegemonic masculinity. It is crucial to note that complicit masculinity does not consider domineering over women, femininities, and subordinate masculinities as being unacceptable because they benefit immensely. Thus, complicit forms of masculinities and hegemonic masculinities are complicit in patriarchal acts of oppression, intimidation, and subjugations.

5.3.5 Marginalized masculinities
The idea of marginalized masculinities underscored that these are forms of masculinity that are incapable of being compliant to the ethos of hegemonic masculinity. Unlike complicit masculinities, marginalized masculinities are not even able to enjoy the dividends or benefits unveiled by hegemonic masculinity. Nevertheless, marginalized men still subscribe to the hegemonic masculinity philosophy of supremacy and dominance. They also uphold hegemonic practices such as violence (Connell 2005:80). The example, in this case could be of albinos and dwarfish people who are usually aggressive and antagonistic as they experience marginalization.

5.3.6 Subordinate masculinities
Subordinate masculinities underscore that a person lacks several makings of hegemonic masculinity and further exhibit qualities oppositional to those of hegemonic masculinity, as thus they exhibit homosexual tendencies and femininities characterized by; not being heterosexual and being excessively or exaggeratedly emotional like crying and physical
weakness. Some men in this category are homosexuals, that is unmanly and gay men who are normally subordinated to straight men by a wide range of physical performances (Connell 2005:78)

In sum, masculinities in any social setting, are hierarchically positioned from the apex position as hegemonic masculinities, complicit masculinities, marginalized masculinities, and subordinate masculinities. Hegemonic masculinities are placed at the pinnacle of the hierarchy as mainly the dominant form of masculinities in any given society. Complicit masculinities are sort of allies of hegemonic masculinities since they are silent or dormant about the oppressive nature of hegemonic masculinities. As thus they still enjoy the benefits of being hegemonic. Marginalized masculinities are those forms of masculinities that do not possess the attributes of hegemonic masculinities and do not submit to the dictates of hegemonic masculinity. They do not even like or appreciate the benefits of hegemonic masculinities. Lastly, or at the bottom of the pyramid are subordinate masculinities who lack most of the qualities of hegemonic masculinities and further appear to be oppositional to hegemonic masculinities.

5.4 Andragogy: an adult learning theory

Most of the inmates in Lesotho are males who come from mainly rural communities mostly stricken by; extreme poverty and hunger, severe ignorance, and illiteracy. The emerging data from research work in the field of adult education mainly revolves around learner and learning facilitator, learning environment and materials, curriculum, methods and techniques in the process of learning, unlearning, and relearning (Klein 2008: 80). Adult education, therefore, was described by Darkenwald and Merriam as a course of action through which people who are defined as adults, embark on an organized, continuous learning activity in endeavour to effect change in knowledge, attitudes, skills, aspirations, and capabilities (Boone (1985:14).

According to Skinner (1984 cited in De Houwer et al 2013: 633), learning can be defined as relative changes in the behavior of an organism that is consequential of regularities in the environment of that organism whereas, Lachman (1997 cited in De Houwer et al 2013:631) acknowledges that learning in most literature is referred to as a change in behaviour that is due to experience, meaning learning is an effect of experience on behaviour. Bugelski views learning as the process of the formation of relatively permanent neural circuits through the simultaneous activity of the elements of the circuits to be; such activity is of the nature of change in cell structures through growth in such a manner as to facilitate the arousal of the entire circuit when a component element is aroused or activated (Bugelski 1956:120). It is therefore my submission as I embark on this project that its finality should be a relative change in behaviour regarding masculinities and violence of both corrections inmates and staff.
Unlearning is letting go of deeply held assumptions about something (Klein 2008:80). According to Hislop et al (2014:541) unlearning is generally defined as the conscious or unconscious process of disposing of or letting go the knowledge, ideas, or behaviours, while Grisold et al (2017:4614) acknowledged the complexities in defining unlearning, however, they defined it as the deliberate eradication of outdated and archaic knowledge to avoid obsolescence. Subsequently relearning is defined as the process of creating new understandings and actions around the same concepts (Klein 2008:80).

The relevance of andragogy as an adult learning theory in this project is that it holds relevant methods and techniques of helping grown-up persons held and working in correctional settings to let go of old believes and assumptions about living and let living in correctional institutions. In this project, learning shall be considered as the acquisition of knowledge and skills thus changing attitudes, aspirations, and behaviour. According to Wolff et al (2007:597), the task of offender rehabilitation in correctional settings is almost unworkable and impossible to achieve when inmates are confined in environments where violence is persistent hence endeavours to eradicate violence in correctional institutions in Lesotho. Adult education, therefore, is a tool that I will use to help the corrections community to unlearn stereotypes about masculinity and learn new ways of embracing nonviolent practices. The researcher’s thirty years of experience in correctional work proved beyond a reasonable doubt that adult learning is an almost unchallenged phenomenon that can be instrumental in changing the situation for the better. This participatory action research project aims to create a model or apparatus that can be used to uproot violence in correctional settings using adult learning avenues.

Andragogy is an adult learning theory that was propounded by Malcolm Knowles in the mid-1960s. He defined andragogy as the art and science of helping adults learn, in contrast to pedagogy which is the art and science of teaching children (Knowles 1980:43). According to Bass (2012:387) to effectively embark on research work eyeing andragogy as an adult learning agenda, one must first distinguish adult education as being significantly different from primary, elementary, or secondary education. It emphasises adult learning for behavioural change. Guided by its principles, it remains my contention that transforming masculinities is intertwined with learning. Adult learning thus regards the acquisition of new skills and knowledge as vital in transforming undesired masculinities in corrections (Huang 2002: 29; Bass 2012: 387).

An adult is a mature person, therefore adult education is an educational practice intended for mature persons. This remains relevant in this project as corrections inmates are predominantly adults in nature. According to Sonderstrom and Bjork (2015:1), the primary goal of instruction should be to facilitate learning, thereby creating a relatively permanent behaviour change. This
project aims to help create nonviolent correctional settings focusing at MCCI. The intervention is a training workshop where adult learning and teaching take place to bring about perception change regarding masculinities and violence.
CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to shed light on the nature of this study, the research methodology, research design, methods, and processes followed in doing this study. Thus this chapter intends to give an account of processes which this research traversed from inception, planning, methods, intervention, and evaluation which were designed and implemented to realize the research aim and objectives as mentioned under 1.5.

6.1 The nature of this study

This study was conceived as Action Research (AR) as a popular form of qualitative research. According to Ferrance (2000:7), AR is the brainchild of a German American social psychologist Kurt Lewin who coined it as an intervention to combat the biases, injustices, and discrimination against religious and ethnic minorities which were then prevalent and considered as violence against minority groups. Thus AR is any research practice undertaken by those involved in that practice, with the primary goal of encouraging continued reflection and making improvements. It is an inquiry designed and conducted by a member or members of an organization to improve the quality of such an organization. According to Rigsby (2019: online), AR can be conducted by an individual member of an organization or by a group of individuals normally referred to as a research team. The team approach in doing AR is called collaborative inquiry, which is thus, Participatory Action Research (PAR).

In his own words, Lewin (1946:35) wrote “PAR is a type of AR, a comparative research on the conditions of social action, and research leading to social action, a research process that produces nothing, but books will not suffice”. Kurt Lewin felt that it would not be sufficient, either in quality or quantity if doing research would not trigger any meaningful social action that would bring about social transformation. Research as thus has to prompt an action that would bring about an evident change regarding the felt needs of the researched for the betterment of their wellbeing. Thus doing this AR in correctional settings was able to ignite the development of a meaningful intervention package for transforming masculinities and curbing violence therein. Perhaps, it would suffice to indicate that in doing AR, investigation or exploration was meant to technically and systematically reflect on the problem to be dealt with whereas action was meant to mitigate the problem thereby lessening the burden of its repercussions.

PAR is an offspring of AR which was coined by William Whyte in 1994 as a method of organizational exploration and recalibration, thus fine-tuning or making some fine adjustments of organizational structure (Glassman et al. 2013:282). This study of course dealt with
changing corrections organizational and operational structures by basically transforming the mind-sets that begets corrections sub-cultures such as violence and torture seemingly anchoring life in correctional settings. As an action, this study indeed had to interfere and deal with corrections power dynamics by challenging how the corrections community understand and appreciate their relationships.

This study, therefore, delved into staff-staff relationships, staff-inmate's relationships, and inmates-inmate's relationships in an endeavour to transform conflicts, curb violence, and ameliorate the psycho-social environment therein. According to Glassman and Erdem (2014:207), PAR was also coined as a means for emancipation from the psycho-social, and material shackles of the rudiments of colonialism. During the desktop study, human incarceration was fingered as one of the rudiments of colonialism. Thus the intervention latently delved into corrections as an imperialist system with the intent to emancipate the corrections community from the bondage of ignorance and shackles of harmful masculinities causing violence in correctional settings.

This PAR was therefore undertaken to explore the notions of masculinities and violence in correctional settings. The ultimate goal was to customize and use adult education methods and techniques to create nonviolent correctional settings in Lesotho. The approach I have used in doing this study is deductive. That is, I began with the general issues and thereafter cascaded into specific issues or the particular. In doing so, this study explored the notion of masculinities from the general overview which I considered in this study as the universal outlook of the theory of masculinities. The purpose was to better comprehend the ideas of masculinity and that of masculinities as portrayed by the human male species. This study, therefore, explored the notion of masculinities commencing with the general understanding of masculinities; cascading down to the local perspectives of the notion, termed in this study as Sesotho masculinities; ending with the nature and patterns of masculinities in correctional settings, which is specific or particular and perhaps they would be the core of the exploration.

The nature, manifestations, and magnitude of violence in correctional settings were also explored with participants. Eventually, an appropriate intervention was identified and deployed to transform masculinities and curb violence in correctional settings. The eventual aim of PAR is to empower and enable the oppressed and marginalised people to partake in the process aimed to better social change. Therefore, this study aims to transform masculinities and create nonviolent correctional settings in Lesotho.
6.2 Research methodology

There are various definitions of the notion of research, as multiple scholars are researching in numerous fields of study such as men and masculinities. For example, according to research is defined as "a procedure by which we attempt to find systematically, and with the support of the demonstratable fact, the answer to a question or the resolution of a problem". Similarly, other scholar's view is that research can be defined as a systematic inquiry whereby problems and needs of the organization, community, or society are unraveled and sustainable interventions are obtained and put in place (Ralise 1997: 7).

We, therefore, engage in research to avoid making biased conclusions and decisions based on our impressions, feelings, and opinions. We also research to eliminate human errors as much as possible when making judgments. We do research when seeking to objectively understand the situation on the ground and improve the quality of life. In this study, for example, we engaged in knowledge generation regarding the nature, patterns, and implications of corrections masculinity vis-à-vis violence. The intention was to enhance our 'that is a researcher and researched', understanding of the situation around us. In this study, the environment under the microscope is a correctional setting. The study carefully studied and described issues adversely affecting the corrections community daily to find probably the lasting solution to such problems.

A research methodology is thus defined as the general strategy outlining how research is to be carried out from inception to finish. It spells out all the processual tasks, methods, and techniques engaged in doing the study. Methods could be data collection apparatus such as desktop study, focus group discussions, and one-on-one in-depth interview as is in this study. Techniques could include sampling, data processing, and presentation (Bulmer 2017: 5; Cuervo-Cazurra et al. 2017: 234). Research methodology could be considered as an orderly set of interrelated actions from problem identification to problem-solving which could be engaged by, for example, adult educators, health practitioners, entrepreneurs, and criminal justice in an endeavour to improve the quality of life. The eventuality of research methodology in this study is to construct and activate a knowledge-driven intervention in corrections violent conflict transformation (Velthuizen 2011:118).

Accordingly, research methodology is can be defined as the strategy or plan of action that shapes our choice and use of methods and links them to the desired outcomes. Thus, research methodology is considered as the systematic way of gathering, processing, and presenting data on a given specific subject. It is in precise terms defined as the procedure followed in doing research. In doing this study, we intended to deal with masculinities and violence as specific problems in correctional settings. Thus, we engage in an undertaking in a
systematic manner whereby we also substantiated some of the solutions to the problems which have been discovered by others in prior studies.

Drawing from the paradigms of social constructionism, conflict transformation, masculinity and andragogy, this Action Research deployed mainly three qualitative methods being desktop analysis, focus group discussions, and one-on-one in-depth interviews with participatory process partakers (Baum, MacDougall and Smith 2006: 854). For Kindon, Pain, and Kesby (2007:16) the utmost familiar and mutually agreed methods deployed in doing Action Research comprise; dialogue, storytelling, and collective action. Thus, in doing this study, the researcher engaged in desktop analysis, focus group discussions, and in-depth interviews and thereafter engaged in collective action.

6.3 Research design

Prior planning is imperative in doing any form of research work to avoid a product of sub-standard nature. Research design is a systematic approach and established plan of actions which must be observed during the project duration. That is, the researcher or research team must design research work before the commencement of any activity in a bid to avoid digressions and any form of variation that deviates from the standards or norms of research work. This is to assist the process to be confined within the set scope of research work. In doing qualitative research, the design is considered as a set of procedures or a strategy for data collection, analysis, interpretation, and presentation in a bid to answer research questions through participants’ opinions and interpretations (Clark and Creswell 2015: 286).

Research design is thus defined as a "set of quantitative, qualitative, or combined procedures for collecting, analyzing, and reporting data in a research study" (Clark and Creswell 2015: 490). In doing this research, I relied on qualitative research design to appreciate the significance of the theory of masculinity vis-à-vis the notion of violence in correctional settings along with knowledge, attitudes, and perceptual experiences of the corrections community about masculinity and violence.

Participatory research systematically involves the active participation of the researched into the process of studying the problem and collectively investigating possible sustainable interventions. Whereas, action research aims to promote the notion of praxis, which means a critical reflection on a problem, self-evaluation, and collective action in solving the problem (Ralise 1997: 31). Participatory research as said above is about praxis, which is the process of reflection – action-reflection - action. It is a form of action research in which the researcher and research team operate as full collaborators with members of an organization in studying and transforming such an organization. It is an organizational learning process whereby
research work emphasises participation learning and organizational transformation (Greenwood et al, 1993:177).

Action research as an applied form of research is conducted with the intent to immediately use or for immediate application. It develops from the researcher as he or she locates the problem, find various approaches to the solution, and apply appropriate intervention measure. The elements of action research are popular participation of those being researched during the research process; incorporation of ordinary and popular knowledge; empowerment oriented, conscientization and awareness-raising and popular action of the participants on the problem (Neuman 2000: 25).

This action research was explanatory since it focused on explaining the portrayal of men, manhood, and masculinities. The explanatory approach was aimed at eliciting information that would determine the factual knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of corrections inmates and staff regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings. The task in the case was to explore the nature of masculinities and violence therein. The other task was to look into the causes and implications of masculinities and linkage to violence. The process involved the creation of conducive spaces for members of the corrections community to exchange their experiences in a secure place. This was important for participants who were to introspect on their attitudes and behaviours concerning masculinities and violence at their workplace.

Paulo Freire's work on human emancipation dates back to 1970 in his monograph "pedagogy of the oppressed", however, his critical awareness theory remains useful to date. According to Jarvis (2005: 485), the emphasis of critical awareness theory is to emancipate oppressed people by freeing them from the bondage of ignorance that creates either social or individual dysfunction. The dysfunction I am confronting with this study therefore is, violence in correctional settings.

Participatory action research (PAR) can be defined as a form of research whereby researchers work with and through communities and/or organizations under the microscope in studying and transforming them. It focuses on stakeholder's participation and action while doing research (Coughlan and Coghlan 2002: 222). According to Jarvis (2005: 485), PAR is the democratic approach to research whereby "... researcher becomes part of the process under investigation, solving their problems and creating their knowledge".

PAR is qualitative, thus, it is focusing on eliciting information about feelings, experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of a person or persons in a natural setting (Creswell 2003: 18). Qualitative research according to scholars such as Gillis and Jackson (2002 cited in MacDonald 2012:34) "engages methods and techniques comprising; observations,
documenting, analysing, and interpreting characteristics, patterns, attributes and meanings of the human phenomenon under study”.

PAR is perceived as a subcategory of AR whereby data is systematically collected, analysed, and presented to bring about a change of status quo by generating practical knowledge and acting on the condition (MacDonald 2012: 35). According to Jarvis (2005: 8), AR is collaborative and the actual process of action is the core of the research project followed by an evaluation of the impact of the intervention on the social process. This study digs into those undesirable conditions and seeks to transform the situation by getting significant groups actively involved in the process; breaking through apathy; and developing a critical awareness of the causes of the problem (Hope and Timmel 1984:6).

Given the preceding articulation, it remains unchallenged that, PAR is predominantly qualitative. In doing this study, I built on the triangulation approach, thus triangulation of data sources and instruments (Hopper and Hoque 2006: 476-482). I conducted a desk study to acquire information regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings which was mainly obtained from journals, newspapers, and institutional reports. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted to elicit information regarding their perceptions and behaviours of inmates and staff regarding masculinity and violence in correctional settings.

6.4 Research process

This study involved a problem-solving kind of approach. My role in this study was to facilitate the creation of a conducive environment whereby participants’ knowledge at the level of “doxa” meaning “common beliefs and popular opinions” was superseded by reality or true knowledge, which is knowledge at the level of “logos” meaning the logic behind an argument (Freire 1993:81). This route was informed by the fact that from the literature and pre-intervention exploration, masculinity seems to be a social construct, that is, its definition is grounded on common beliefs and popular opinions in a particular society. The intervention was aiming to create logic behind the popular belief.

In the beginning, I conducted a literature review, a desk-study which involved content analysis from various reports and studies from the regional and international context following research questions. Two sessions of focus group discussions were held, one with inmates and the other with members of staff also in-line with research questions. Finally, one-on-one in-depth interviews were held with participants to gather the required data to achieve the first and second objectives.

This study is anchored on the “praxis” model, an action that is informed by and linked to people’s values as propounded by Paulo Freire (Freire 1993: 87). It involved the problem-
solving kind of an approach that traversed through foundational stages of PAR, thus; pre-intervention stage, intervention stage, and post-intervention stage.

6.4.1 Pre-intervention stage

i. I had a face-to-face meeting with the Commissioner of Correctional Service and senior management of corrections to provide information on the intention to conduct this study and the processes that this study will follow.

ii. A written request for permission to conduct this study from the gatekeeper was prepared and forwarded and the gatekeeper’s permission was awarded (see appendices).

iii. Desktop review and analysis which involved identification and review of print and electronic materials relevant to the topic. This formed chapters two and three of this study.

iv. Identification, recruitment, selection, and briefing of research participants comprised thirty members, fifteen inmates, and fifteen members of staff from Maseru Central Correctional Institution.

v. Eliciting cooperation of gatekeeper’s hierarchical structures, from mainly Office of the Commissioner of Corrections and Management of MCCI.

vi. Designing of research instruments which are in-depth interview and focus group discussion guidelines and translation of the tools into Sesotho.

vii. Qualitative data collection through focus group discussions and one-on-one in-depth interviews.

viii. Qualitative data analysis guided by research thematic issues emanating from research aim and objectives and resonated into research questions.

ix. Presentation of exploration results as in chapter five, to the research participants for data validation, process owning, and action planning.

6.4.2 Intervention stage

The intervention stage entailed designing a hybrid form of the workshop featuring Transformative Masculinity Training (TMT) and Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) Taster as an intervention apparatus. The features of the intervention include the preamble which entailed sharing of the results of the exploration session held with inmates and staff. The exploration established that there are various forms of masculinities manifesting at Maseru Central Correctional Institution. These include a wide assortment of masculinities counting the undesired forms and the desired forms. The undesired forms of masculinities were found to be largely harmful, that is, they are toxic and destructive to corrections community upkeep, administration, and operations. Various forms of violence largely anchoring on undesired forms of masculinities were established. This undertaking was proposed as a thoughtful intervention strategy to transform harmful masculinities and curb violence in correctional settings.
6.4.3 The design of the intervention

Aim and objectives of the intervention

This intervention aimed to transform undesired masculinities using adult education methods and techniques to curb violence in correctional settings. At the end of this intervention, participants will be expected to be able to:

a) Define the notion of masculinity/masculinities;
b) Demarcate between the desired and undesired masculinities;
c) Identify and describe masculinities in correctional settings;
d) Understand the notion of transformative masculinities;
e) Identify and explain the implications of corrections masculinities;
f) Define violence and identify its forms in correctional settings;
g) State and discuss Alternatives to Violence Project building blocks;
h) State and discuss the principles of transforming power;
i) Embrace and endorse transformative masculinities;
j) Embrace and endorse Alternatives to Violence Project.

Pre-test

Prior to implementation of the intervention, participants' knowledge, attitudes and perceptions rapid test was done to determine the level of content and methods to use for intervention.

The content of the workshop

The content covered in this intervention entails the following:

a) The notions of masculinity and masculinities
   i. Definitions of masculinity and masculinities;
   ii. Principles of masculinity theory;
   iii. Construction of Sesotho masculinities;
   iv. Corrections masculinities;
   v. Factors affecting corrections masculinities;
   vi. Hierarchy of masculinities; and
   vii. Transformative masculinities.

b) The notions of conflict and violence
   i. Definition of conflict
   ii. ABC triangle of conflict;
   iii. Definition of violence;
iv. Types of violence (physical, sexual, emotional);
v. Forms of violence (direct, structural, cultural);
vi. Manifestation of corrections violence;
vii. Factors responsible for corrections violence; and
viii. Definitions of peace and nonviolence.
c) Johan Galtung’s concept of peacebuilding
d) John Paul Lederach’s concept of conflict transformation
e) Alternative to Violence Project (AVP)
i. Introduction to AVP;
ii. History and philosophy of AVP;
iii. Pillars of AVP; and
iv. Transforming Power (AVP Mandala).

Workshop methods and techniques

The methods and techniques used to deliver the content were participatory. They were selected bearing in mind that participants had a vast reservoir of experience in the field of work; were ready to learn and change, and used the new knowledge and skills. They were group discussion method, story-telling, question and answer method, and role-plays.

Post-test

At the end of the workshop, participants were requested to take a post-test to assess whether participants were able to learn and whether the content was well grasped during the process. This was not anyway meant to test participants but to test the intervention in toto. In doing the post-test, the following questions were posed:

i. Describe the nature of masculinity and masculinities in corrections.
ii. Explain the hierarchical order of masculinities in correctional settings.
iii. Explain the consequences of masculinities in correctional settings.
iv. Describe the nature and magnitude of violence in correctional settings.
v. What is the relationship between masculinities and violence in corrections?
vi. What is the philosophy of the Alternatives to Violence Project?
vii. Identify the four basic pillars of the Alternatives to Violence Project.
viii. Identify the four basic principles of the Alternatives to Violence Project.
6.4.4 Post-intervention stage

Post-intervention stage involved:

i. Participatory evaluation of the intervention reflecting on the content, relevance, and process was conducted immediately after the training workshop. This mainly focused on whether there has been improvement or not; and contributing factors for successes or failures were identified. Finally, recommendations were made for future engagements (Coughlan and Coghlan 2002: 232; Watters, Comeau and Restall 2010: 12-17). The intervention evaluation tool used in this study is annexed.

ii. Group discussions were held with participants to validate the final report.

iii. Write-up of the workshop report and its evaluation results (this is the next chapter of this research document).

6.5 Data sources, data collection, and analysis

The sampling technique used in this study was purposive in nature. Purposive sampling is best used when a researcher selects a sample based on the breadth and depth of their exposure to the research. This is because their exposure has enlarged and amplified their knowledge, skills and experience on the subject of research. This is done based on the researcher’s expertise that is judgmentally guiding the selection of the methods and techniques as well as research population, sample size and sample selection process (Babbie 1995:225 and Neuman 2000:198). In doing this study, the positionality of the researcher was opportune and adequate to guide the selection of respondents who were picked based on their experience in the field.

Both inmates and staff were the research population, however, for representation purposes, only inmates anticipated to possess required experience and staff with required knowledge and skills were selected. The inmates were selected based on the time already served and their gang or sub-cultural group’s affiliation, coupled with their responsibilities such as house prefect or class monitor. The informants from staff were selected from the pool of those with similar information based on their duty area, managerial level, function and length of service. This was time saving and resource efficient. Furthermore, it produced healthy, vibrant and professional debates with rich eye-opening information during focus groups.

There were in total, three hundred and twenty-eight (328) members of staff at Maseru Central Correctional Institution. Fifty-three (53) officials are females, making it only 16 % of the entire staff population. At the close of May 2019, the inmate’s population was seven hundred and twenty-two (722), of which only one (1) was a female. These figures imply that the Maseru Central Correctional Institution is a male-dominated setting.

The initial plan was to interview 20 (20) members of staff and fifteen (15) inmates for exploratory fieldwork which was feasible. The exploration utilized both one-on-one in-depth
interviews and focus group discussions. However, At the close of fieldwork, only sixteen (16) officials and nine (9) inmates participated. Members of staff who were drawn purposively across the ranks, considerate of their job specialization and responsibilities agreed to participate in this study, however, only (16) sixteen members showed up for in-depth interviews while three (3) could no longer participate due to reasons they could not disclose to the researcher or the rest of participants. However, the sixteen (16) interviewees were a reasonably inclusive sample given their experience accumulated over several years in service, functions, and level of responsibilities, areas of specialization in correctional work, and of course enlightenment status.

Though fifteen (15) inmates agreed to participate in the study, only nine (9) showed up for interviews. Due to the repetitiveness of information which proved data saturation during the interviews with inmates, I only held in-depth interviews with five (5) inmates. I explained to four (4) remaining the reason for cutting them out and requested them to participate in the focus group discussion which they were comfortable with, making the number of inmates who participated in this study nine (9). The inmates were made up of three (3) leaders from two rival gangs (Group 26 and Group 28) in the institution, one (1) did not disclose, three (3) residential block prefects while the two (2) were work party captains.

Two focus group discussions were held, one with twelve (12) staff members and the other with nine (9) inmates followed subsequently with a total of sixteen (16) one-on-one in-depth interviews with staff and nine (9) with inmates held at Maseru Central Correctional Institution’s premises. This was because inmates could not be allowed to be outside the security establishment. More so, it was convenient and conducive to conduct interviews with staff in their comfort zones. The tables below indicate the profiles of staff members and inmates who participated in the focus group discussion and interviews:

### Table 3: Participants’ profiles (staff members)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANT</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>YEAR OF ENGAGEMENT</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff # 1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Senior Superintendent</td>
<td>Bachelor of Public Administration and Political Science (PAPS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff # 2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Diploma in Management Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff # 3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Senior Rehabilitation Officer</td>
<td>Bachelors’ Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff # 4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Bachelor of Public Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff # 5</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Chief Officer</td>
<td>Cambridge Oversees School Certificate (High School)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff # 6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Chief Officer</td>
<td>Diploma in General Nursing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff # 7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Correctional Officer</td>
<td>Diploma in Business Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAFF#8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Principal Rehabilitation Officer</td>
<td>Bachelor of Social Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAFF#9</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Sergeant (Sgt)</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAFF#10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Senior Rehabilitation Officer</td>
<td>Bachelor of Social Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAFF#11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Sergeant (Sgt)</td>
<td>Junior Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAFF#12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Correctional Officer</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Participants' profiles (Inmates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANT</th>
<th>OFFENCE</th>
<th>YEAR OF SENTENCE</th>
<th>SENTENCE</th>
<th>STATU S</th>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#1</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>Prefect</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#2</td>
<td>Murder and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>38 years</td>
<td>Prefect</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#3</td>
<td>Murder and series of housebreakings with intent to steal and theft.</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>54 years</td>
<td>Group 28 Leader</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#4</td>
<td>Sexual offence</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>Cannot disclose</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#5</td>
<td>Robbery and murder</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>50 years</td>
<td>Group 28 Cadre</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#6</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>27 years</td>
<td>House prefect</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#7</td>
<td>Sexual offence</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>House prefect</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#8</td>
<td>Penal code</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>House prefect</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate#9</td>
<td>Robbery and murder</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>Group 26 Leader</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.6 General issues and challenges of this study

Although the exploration part of the study was completed, there have been issues and concerns I detected and noted as limitations during the process of the study. I have classified
the challenges as: cross issues, core issues, and minor issues. The classification was determined by the perceived weight or impact of each of the methodological and procedural challenges which I encountered in the whole process.

6.6.1 Researcher’s positioning

Generally, the positionality of the researcher in doing this study process has been a challenge and could raise issues concerning ethics in doing this study. Needless to mention again that, I am a senior officer of corrections, I am a Mosotho man, born and bred in Lesotho during the hostile period and environment of political upheavals characterized by rampant violence in all its forms. I was socialized like any other Mosotho boy in a relatively enlightened family environment. My parents were politically victimized, and my father was exiled leaving me and my siblings with my mother who did not have a means for income. She was both a mother and father figure. I was hard hit by extreme poverty and hunger in my toddlerhood throughout my primary schooling.

At age of twelve, my father returned home and joined the clergy as minister of religion. I was then sent to Thabeng High School, the first mission school which was factually a male-dominated school where I spend approximately five years in a boy’s boarding school. Unlike other Basotho boys, who were herding during school holidays, I was exposed to all family chores, some of which are culturally classified as feminine chores such as fetching water and firewood, washing, cooking, doing the dishes, and cleaning the house.

Forced by poverty and driven by a dire shortage of basic human needs such as food and clothing and lack of funds for school fees, I joined a private security company at age of sixteen and worked as a night watchman and a dog handler where I experienced very harsh climatic and work-related conditions. At seventeen years, I joined prison service as a guard. I rose through the ranks to date until today when I am a high ranking official. During my early years of development, at a very tender age, I was made to understand that I am an abled man “ke monna kaofela”. During my very early teenagerhood, I had to fend for the family, I could walk for long distances, sometimes ‘day and night’ delivering family messages, sometimes journey on horseback exposed to extremely harsh conditions.

At the age of eighteen, I was coached to marry by my father and grandmother who were then sickly and bedridden. My father claimed “ke batla o be monna ea feletseng, ke batla ho reha mosali oa hau le litloholo, ba be le mabitso a nepahetseng pele ke shoa”, he wanted me to be a complete man, have a properly named wife and children before he died. I submitted and married at age nineteen and had my first-born son at twenty years six months. Largely, I embrace the ethos of Sesotho masculinity some of which I learned the hard way and I virtually possess corrections masculinity as a member of the corrections community. All these
justifiably had created mammoth challenges on the researcher while journeying through the project, and of course, had to be processed and acknowledged.

6.6.2 Cross limitations of this study

The cross challenges were those I considered as frustrating and in my opinion as a researcher were presumably un-called-for. That is, to me they were unnecessary and unwarranted to rise-up. The first was difficult to access participating staff and inmates due to the dilly-dallied flow of information regarding this study within Maseru Central Correctional Institution management and staff that caused postponements and needless delays when doing exploration. Unnecessary demands by inmates for sharing information caused delays. For example, some inmates disclosed in confidence that, some members of staff informed them that they should be paid for participating, if not they should withdraw because that will be exploitation. I am of the feeling that this was a planned move by some of the officers to frustrate the process for self-centered motives. This is a personal assumption yet to be scientifically tested and proved beyond a reasonable margin of doubt if a precise conclusion is to be made on this researcher’s supposition. This was mitigated by a continued explanation of the process and perseverance on the part of the researcher guided by the “trust the process” philosophy. However, the set timelines and anticipated budget were significantly affected.

The main challenges of this study arose from corrections administrative and organizational cultural issues which I considered as genuine core limitations of this study. The foremost challenge as earlier outlined was that Lesotho Correctional Service as a totalitarian organization is strictly hierarchical and classical. Thus, as a senior officer in the command hierarchy, it cost me substantial time and required maximum emotional and mental effort to establish required and obligatory professional rapport with inmates and staff who participated in this study as learner and researcher.

At times this scenario was upsettingly burdening and called for extra-ordinary patience. It was a sharp learning curve on the part of the researcher. This was attributed to suspicious participants had with the undertaking which led to some participants declaring that they partook with reservations due to anxiety and uncertainty due to fear of reprisal. This has been of course a huge challenge and setback of the process since the researcher had to demonstrate maximum patience while focused and determinedly and constantly explaining the process and its objectives. Some participants aired their views as follows “sir, ... it is not possible that whatever we are going to share with you will remain useful only for this research, we are afraid of being victimized hereafter...”. “...unless you are not an emotional being, if you are, we are not safe” an officer alleged. Guided by ethics of participatory action research some
of these participants were peacefully allowed to recuse themselves from the process. Thus, drop-outs were assured of peaceable attitudes and protection thereafter.

The other challenge which I found to be in concert with the preceding issue was that corrections inmates are held in most cases unwillingly, are reasonably considered a vulnerable community prone to direct and indirect manipulation. This state of affairs attracts a massive number of scholars such as student researchers, like in my case. It also draws the interest of experts, local and international agencies interested in diverse fields such as criminal justice and human rights monitoring and protection interventions as well as just research for academic purposes. Most participants were open and confrontational on this issue. They expressed their unhappiness, uncertainties, and vulnerability as individuals and groups. This was communicated to me by all participants and those who withdrew voluntarily from participating due to their discomfort about the study.

One of the inmates' focus group participants voiced that "...we are tired of researchers, after all, we do not gain anything ... they benefit from us, but we get nothing in return ... not even slightest improvement of conditions we live in". Senior Rehabilitation Officer also during the session requested to digress, "...many people, particularly students take advantage of the vulnerability of inmates... this is not fair on the part of offenders". One officer also echoed similar sentiments "...we have learned that some agencies research corrections for their resource mobilization purposes ... this is not in good faith". Participants were allowed to air their views and share their innermost feelings while I persistently and determinedly insisted that the process is for participatory discovery learning and action on our felt problems as would be exposed.

Corrections inmate's culture has been one of the major challenges. It is in the corrections gangs’ culture that no inmate shall talk to peace-officer in good faith as the saying. "...never talk to an officer unless you mean to tell a lie". This culture hindered inmates' participation and significantly stalled the process. Some inmates requested to be paid for information and dictated the cost, terms, and conditions which many went against not only the principles of participatory action research but also my ethics as an individual and also as an officer of Lesotho Correctional Service. One of the inmates who claimed to be a member of 28 gangs disclosed that "... inmates who sincerely partake in studies conducted by corrections officials, risk being subjects of discrimination and abuse by inmates and staff". Similar sentiments were shared by three inmates during interviews. This information was an eye-opener and I was, in this regard, compelled to treat the information from inmates with caution.

The other challenge is that Lesotho Correctional Service is a state security arm and essential service providing agency holding high-security risks crime suspects and offenders. As such,
regardless of my employment status, I was subjected to intensive vetting and intelligence background check to clear management doubts and concerns. This did not only put me under the microscope but caused delays in the implementation schedule as it was done every time, I requested access to inmates. Moreover, it caused and inflicted excessive pressure on me due to disarranged timelines. I had to de-role as corrections official and had to emphasize to management, staff, and inmates that this study had nothing to do with investigations of workplace and that the findings will not in any way at any moment be used against the institution or them as individuals.

6.6.3 Minor challenges of the study
Classified as minor challenges were lack of time as there were pressing adulthood responsibilities such as work, community, and family responsibilities. Inadequate financial support was also and continues to be a problem as I headed for action. The other challenge as acknowledged by Armstrong (2010:3) is that there are dire inadequacies of enabling environment for research work in correctional facilities. I have witnessed this as I ventured into this research. There is practically little office space, not only inadequate for staff on duty but also for visitors such as researchers.

6.7 Ethical aspects
Based on 1.15.3, the researcher was always keen to uphold ethical standards in doing this research. Participants were informed of their right to decide on whether to participate or not. At every moment of encounter with the participant, he was asked to reiterate his willingness to participate without any coercion. Those who wished to withdraw at any stage were allowed to do so. Assurance of safety and security and freedom from intimidation was given to those who decided to withdraw. Corrections officials were strongly requested to ensure the protection of either inmate or staff who wished to withdraw from the process. Some inmates disclosed that they were informed that there are some material rewards and privileges like early release if one participates in this study. Those were told the truth of the matter and allowed to withdraw.

Informed consent emphasizes the importance of accurately informing the subject of research about the nature and intricacies of the research project, including any implications of his or her participation (Babbie 1995:454). Before each of the sessions was held, participants were each asked to consent verbally and was checked against his consent form. A consenting statement was read in Sesotho to each participant before the interview or participation in the focus group discussion. This was done to ensure compliance with the principle of voluntary informed consent. One pivotal reason for repeatedly reminding participants of the continued consent was to create a platform for continued voluntary participation.
6.8 Summary

This chapter discussed research methodology which entails all the methods, techniques, and the processes traversed in doing this study from its inception to finality. This study was qualitative in nature and has utilized Action Research methods and techniques. The chapter explained Action Research as an approach that was propounded by Kurt Lewin in an endeavour to eliminate biases and injustices against the minority groups based on religiosity and ethnicity.

The chapter explained that the practice of Action Research is anchored on “praxis” practices. Praxis’s seminal guru, Paulo Freire, explained it as a circular process of “reflection, action, reflection and action” and so forth. Thus, this research project involved reflecting on the problem at hand, which is in this study, was identified as masculinities and violence in correctional settings. The finality of this project has been engaging with participants to embark on intervention that was aimed to bring about changes in the desired direction, which is social transformation, using the intervention, which in this study is a workshop. The intervention was designed in concert with research subjects who were active participants throughout the process.

The chapter explained that theories of social constructionism, conflict transformation, masculinity and masculinities, and andragogy formed the frames that guided the process. This research project delved into inmates and staff knowledge and attitudes, awareness and pragmatic response to masculinities and violence in correctional settings. The methods used at this stage of the study were initially desk-top analysis that involved perusal and review of print and electronic literature. The review of literature was augmented by in-depth one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions with inmates and corrections staff.

The chapter explained stages of Action Research as pre-intervention, intervention and post-intervention stages. These stages were traversed successfully participants who were inmates and staff. Participants were judgmentally selected using purposive sampling. The choice was based on participant’s experiences, duty area and function on the part of staff, and for inmates we looked at the time already spent in facility and the responsibility or duty such as gang leader, class monitor or cell, house or block prefect.

A hybrid workshop was developed as an intervention targeting transformation of contaminated, unhealthy and toxic masculinities thereby mitigating violence in correctional settings. The workshop also borrowed from adult education principles, methods and techniques in dealing with the subjects of research who are adults by nature and definition. It was regarded as “hybrid” because it used content and methodologies borrowed from two
“Evidence Based Interventions” being “Transformative Masculinities Training” and “Alternatives to Violence Project”. After the intervention workshop was held, it was evaluated and validated using participatory approaches.

The chapter also incorporates the challenges encountered when conducting this study which were classified as cross or serious, core or vital, and minor issues. The classification was determined by the perceived weight or impact of each of the methodological and procedural challenges which researcher encountered through the process. Researcher further delved into his positionality while doing this study as a man, and senior member of corrections staff. This could have some reflections on the study which were guarded by code of ethics.

This chapter further discussed setbacks experienced during the study period such as decline of some participants and the delays largely caused by bureaucracies. The setbacks entailed disenabling organizational culture and norms, lack of resources and general conditions of physical and institutional infrastructure. The chapter further present the aim and objectives of the intervention, the content, and methods and techniques used in executing the intervention. It also outlines the post intervention test which was conducted to test whether the intervention had an impact or not. The next chapter present qualitative data resulting from exploration with staff and inmates.
CHAPTER SEVEN:

EXPLORATION WITH STAFF AND INMATES

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents data tuned for exploration of the notions of masculinity and violence was done after completion of the data collection process which was done through focus group discussions and one-on-one in-depth interviews. This exploration was conducted to determine the prevailing situation regarding the nature and implications of corrections masculinities and violence. It was also dedicated to the identification and designing of an intervention. This was done at the pre-intervention stage of this participatory action research as the precursor necessary for an anticipated intervention.

This was done by reviewing and sorting the transcripts jotted during the interviews and focus groups following thematic areas. The data was sorted, aided by labeling and categorization of data following the themes. The main themes of this study were corrections masculinities and corrections violence while the sub-themes emerged as; the meaning and patterns of masculinities in correctional settings and the meaning and patterns of violence in correctional settings and subsequently, the suggested intervention strategy. Thus, this analysis is presented in three core thematic areas being; masculinities, violence, and the proposed intervention.

7.1 Research findings

Table 3 and Table 4 in the preceding chapter are indicative of participants’ demographic data as revealed by participants themselves. Table 3 contains members of staff while table 4 is the inmates respectively. All participants duly agreed to partake in this study and voluntarily signed the due consent forms. The following open-ended questions formed the basis of both focus group discussions and one-on-one in-depth interviews:

Question 1. What is the nature and patterns of masculinity in correctional settings?
Question 2. What are the causes and implications of masculinities in correctional settings?
Question 3. What is the nature and magnitude of violence in correctional institutions in Lesotho?
Question 4. What is the relationship between masculinity and violence in correctional settings?
Question 5. What can be done to transform masculinities and reduce violence in corrections?
7.1.1 The nature and patterns of corrections masculinities.

Exploration of the nature and patterns of masculinity in correctional settings was done in focus groups and one-on-one in-depth interviews with staff and inmates. This followed the posing of research question one of this study which is **what is the nature and patterns of masculinity in correctional settings?** It is imperative to take heed that due to varying economic, religious, social, academic backgrounds of participants, there were some apparent convergences and divergences in the manner in which participants conceptualized corrections masculinity. For example, some participants considered masculinity as a synonym of "sex" some with "gender" whilst some consider it to be a "manhood" or "no-nonsense man". Participants were at this stage requested to express their general understandings of the notion of masculinity.

The data collected brought into the fore several interpretations of what is supposed to be masculinity. The multiplicity of responses was already anticipated due to the varying backgrounds of participants such as; educational background, socio-economic situations, psycho-sexual and psycho-social development, and religious backgrounds. For example, members of staff levels of education indicate their level of enlightenment. This conclusion is made considering that, only three members of staff who participated in this study did not see it through to the post-secondary or tertiary level of education. While with inmates, none of those who participated went past primary education.

In both focus groups and individual in-depth interviews, the first question was put in the form of an ice-breaker to relax the strictly formal and tense mood at the beginning of the session. The question was "what is your understanding of the notions of sex, gender, and masculinity?". I decided to pose this question not only for ice-breaking but responding to the mood of participants who felt it necessary to tackle issues of gender and sex. I also decided to commence with this question owing to the noticeable intersectionality of the notion of masculinity with those of sex and gender.

What emerged evidently from the responses arising from the data collected during focus group discussions and one-on-one in-depth interviews was the confusion brought by the general usage of the concepts of sex, gender, and masculinity as synonyms among the Basotho. This could be attributable to cultural and dialectical challenges. The daily spoken Sesotho language is found generally thin regarding the concepts related to sexuality because "it is a taboo to talk about sex and sexuality even among the married couples". Generally, Basotho expresses issues of sex and sexuality using mainly "lipapiso" metaphors and "lepata" or "mapata" euphemisms, rewording or understatements when discussing issues of reproductive health, reproductive organs, sex and sexuality even when referring to animals and plants reproduction.
7.1.2 The concept of sex amongst the Basotho

The question 'what is sex?' was discussed largely in the Staff Focus Group Discussion (SFGD). Arising from the data regarding the notion of sex was the fact that it is taboo to talk about sex since Basotho were taught to respect it as it is for adults only. The word sex can be both a verb and a noun. As verb sex is an act, it is sexual intercourse or carnal knowledge. The emphasis put in the focus group discussions was that the word sex can be both a verb and a noun. As verb sex is an action, it is sexual intercourse or carnal knowledge of a woman by a man. The emphasis made in the focus group discussions was that:

Basotho children are socialized to shun talking about sex because it is not for children "ke ntho tsa batho ba baholo", sex is meant for adults only (SFGD).

Sex 'ke ntho tse mpe' it is bad things; it is an immoral and wicked thing. Children were socialized in such a way that they would shun engaging in penetrative sex and were made to consider it as a bad or immoral thing to do to scare them from indulging in pre-marital and premature sex to avoid complications of child pregnancies, more so because their bodies, particularly females are not physically ready and also, they are psychologically not fit for sex and childbearing (SFGD).

One would not talk about sex particularly in the hearing of adults or growups and more so in the hearing of the in-laws. It is taboo to loosely mention anything related to sex due to the purity and sacredness culturally attached to it (SFGD).

"Thobalano ke mphohali ea Molimo ho balekane, re lokela ho e hlonepha kahohle-hole" penetrative sex is the greatest gift of God to married couples, it has to be respected in all ways (SFGD).

Sex is an act of sexual penetration between a man and a woman. It is an act of inserting a man’s penis in the woman’s vagina and delightfully acting till the end of the action being to release of the sperms and satisfaction of the woman (SFGD).

It is both physically and emotionally demanding from spouses entering into action (SFGD).

I hope you understand that this is between a man and a woman, not a man and a man, a woman and a woman, not between children or a man and animal (SFGD).

Sex is holy, it is a God-given gift for married adults, therefore children were made to respect it. It is pleasurable and most enjoyable when done at the right time, with the right person, at the right place, in the right manner (SFGD).

Sex is a generic noun denoting a physical state of being a male or a female (SFGD). In Sesotho and other similar cultures, sex is the mutual attraction between a husband and wife, including the act of sexual intercourse which is reworded "e le ho hlonepha" as a way of respect and to avert children from
indulging in early life sexual relations, it is put casually as sleeping together; sharing the bed, or sharing the blankets (SFGD).

On the concept of sex, the conclusion reached in the focus group discussions is that sex is an innate organic state one is born with. For example, a man is an adult male person and a boy is a young male person whose main reproductive organs are a penis and testicles, whereas a female would have a vagina and uterus. Also concluded was that sex can also be considered as ‘having sex’ or an act of sexual intercourse. Finally, it was discovered that it is culturally taboo to openly talk about sex, as a result, Basotho are not comfortable discussing issues of sex and sexuality. “Litaba tsa thobalano ha li buuoe feela, ke tsa batho ba baholo feela, ha li buuoe le bana kapa maqai le mathisa”, particularly in the presence of children and uncircumcised men and uninitiated women.

7.1.3 The concept of gender amongst the Basotho

On the question of ‘what is gender?’, some participants in the focus groups and interviewees were secluded and holed up in the dispute that gender is a foreign concept that does not have a home for debate among the Basotho. They argued that the notion of gender is borrowed from the global north and west. Consequently, they defined gender as a synonym of sex. However, from some participating members of staff, it was found that gender is:

About the sexual identity of a person, sexual orientation or positioning dictated mainly by the culture and traditions of the society (SFGD).

Revealed that the word gender is used to describe the characteristics, roles, responsibilities of men and women, boys and girls, which are socially constructed (SFGD).

Related to how we are perceived and expected to think and act as men and women, boys and girls, it is not tangled or fastened (though related) to the physiological being of an individual but to how society and culture are organized and developed hence it is said that gender perceptions change overtime (SFGD).

Though discussions were emotionally heated on the issue of “litabane”, gays and lesbians, it was concluded that experience in correctional settings teaches that there are genderless people in Lesotho. We have some amongst corrections staff and inmates. Some are conspicuously observable while some are not visible.

Some inmates were detected on admission because they had visible two genitals, while some personally disclosed that they are gays (Corrections officer divulged).

From the literature, it is confirmed that there are androgynous people, who are considered as genderless or asexual such as lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgendered, and intersexual (LGBTI) amongst the Basotho. Both focus groups and interviews confirmed the existence of “litabane” gays in the general society and correctional settings. The example is that of the
presence of Matrix Support Group Association of Lesotho, A support group that advocates for
the protection of rights and welfare of LGBTIs in Lesotho. To be precise, unlike sex, gender is
a product of socialization, as thus it is a social construct (Carter 2014b: 243) as per the
assertion that a man is not born but made. Thus, it becomes relevant in this study to deploy
the theory of social constructionism to guide and frame the minds while doing this study.

7.1.4 The notion of masculinity in Lesotho.
Immediately following the synoptic glimpse of the concepts of sex and gender was the
question of “what then is masculinity?”. It emerged from the interviews and focus group
sessions that masculinity is not a new concept among the Basotho. In Sesotho, masculinity is
considered as “senna”, that is behaving like a man or being manly. It appeared from the data
that contemporarily, Sesotho’s notion of masculinity has become a ‘slippery’ “ke thellanyane
ea taba kapa ea thella” or ‘dicey’ concept. It is slippery in the sense that it is amoebic ‘amoeba
like’ in nature and also is like a chameleon “ke sebopeho se feto-fetohang le maemo le ho
khena le linako” said staff participant. An amoeba is a one-cell organism that can fit all shapes
whereas chameleon is a small reptile of a lizard family that can change skin colour to fit the
situation or camouflage in case of imminent danger. Thus, Sesotho masculinity can be
described as dynamic and progressive as revealed by (Connell 2001: 19). Though Connell
viewed masculinity largely from the global north, this is found to be dovetailing well with
Sesotho’s explanation of the concept.

While unpacked the notion of Sesotho masculinity, it also emerged important to extrapolate
on some common Sesotho words related to masculinity. This was to widen and deepen the
examination of Sesotho’s masculinity. Some of the Sesotho words identified and explained by
participants were:

Table 5: Sesotho words associated with masculinity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sesotho word</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lesea moshanyana</td>
<td>A baby boy, an infant, or a toddler</td>
<td>A newly born boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moshanyana</td>
<td>A boy</td>
<td>A young male below teenagerhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohlankanyana</td>
<td>An adolescent boy</td>
<td>A male youth at teenagerhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohlankana</td>
<td>Unmarried male adult</td>
<td>An initiated and circumcised but unmarried adult male.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monna</td>
<td>A man or husband</td>
<td>An initiated and circumcised married adult male.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntate</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>A responsible male head of the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonna</td>
<td>Manhood or maleness</td>
<td>The state of being a man or male genitalia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senna</td>
<td>Masculinity, Mannish or manly</td>
<td>Similar to, imitative of or indicative of a man.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A man “Monna” in Sesotho, is an initiated and circumcised, married adult male. The concept “monna” is also used in Sesotho as a commendation to appreciate, single-out, and praise any person who exhibits mannish qualities such as entrepreneurial achievements, providing for the family, good in sports, and protecting others from dangers. Examples here could be in the case of a successful businesswoman, Basotho would say “mostly enoa ke monna kaofela” meaning ‘this woman is mannish or is like a man’. What came out clearly and vibrantly from the two focus groups and all interviews with inmates and staff alike, was that masculinity is about being “monna” a real and proper man, suitable to be called father “ntate” or the honorable one “mohlomphehi”. It has to do with manhood and manliness, as thus the opposite of a man “Monna” is a woman “mostly” {SFGD and OFGD}.

Protecting and providing for a family is culturally a man’s responsibility, but during the second world war “World War II”, while my grandfather was enlisted and served with the British forces, my grandmother was left as a household head. She was doing heavy farming chores to feed the family and to ensure the proper schooling of her children. This was echoed by mourners during her funeral who mostly referred to her as “monna kaofela” meaning an all-rounded man because “o ne a etsa ka senna”, she was doing things in a manly fashion. Accordingly, Atanga et al. (2013: 65) asserted that a noun “monna” in Setswana, which is very similar to Sesotho in terms of language and culture “…does not only refer to an adult male person but a host of connotative meanings and figurations such as a good leader, disciplinarian or achiever. An example is that of Serena Williams in The United States of America who is global figure in lawn tennis {SFGD and OFGD}.

“Senna” means masculinity, which is a masculine gender attribute, it is an adverbial connotation of being manly. It is a content word that denotes manly actions and conduct {SFGD}. According to Khotso (2017: 11), masculinity is linked to some form of qualities, behaviours, or personalities of which a male person is anticipated to portray as to be painstakingly considered as perfect. Those abilities include inter alia; being able to protect and provide for the family; domineering over femininities and weaker masculinities; leadership and decision making; rational, objective, and task-oriented; physically strong, rough, tough, aggressive, violent and emotionless (van der Walt 2002: 3). In the Sesotho version of the Bible, 2 Samuel 10:12, 1 Chronicle’s 32:7, 1 Kings 2:2, 1 Corinthians 16: 13-14 and Joshua 1:6-9, it reads “...be strong and courageous”, when translated into Sesotho, it reads “...o iphe matla, o else ka senna, o se ts‘ohe ‘me o seke oa ts’aba”. This translation teaches that indeed, courage and strength in Sesotho are considered masculine gender attributes.

Towards defining Sesotho masculinity, there emerged a heated debate on the difference between “ntate” and “monna” meaning father and man. Though sounded to some participants
to be the same, the difference became clearer when taking the discussion to the next level of "ntate", "bo-ntate", "bonna" and "senna" meaning father, manhood or maleness and manly or masculinity. One of Sesotho adjectives qualifying "monna oa sebele" an ideal Mosotho man is "ntate" literally meaning father. In Sesotho the term "ntate" means more than just a father as a male parent. Culturally, every adult male person in the community is a "father". He has the communal responsibility of the father.

Therefore, "ntate" in this case, should not just be confined to being a "biological father" but to be a father "ho ba ntate" meaning fatherhood. "Ntate" is known for his tender loving and caring attitude, he is guiding, disciplining, providing, protecting, and approachable and peaceable man of celebrated demeanour. Thus, fatherhood encompasses father figure. Like in Sesotho, there is a step-father and contemporarily a foster-father of an adopted child (OFGD). These are in a way man who can be classified as transformed and fitting into transformative masculinities family.

This view, which was supported by the rest of the group participants should not sound to negate the fact that a father is a male adult person, hence a man and that, a man can choose to be a father. The preceding quote from the participant seems to largely define “positive fatherhood” therefore, in my view, and of course, because of several gender scholars and practitioners, there are fathers who proofed toxically. These are abusive, neglectful, and rude fathers. Other practical examples of toxic fathers are those convicted of incestuous offenses and wife’s battering. These characters are classified as toxic, as thus fit into those hegemonic forms of masculinities propounded by (Connell 2005b).

"Senna" is masculinity. Following Sesotho culture, masculinity is what a man is, what a man could be, what a man could do, and what a man is ought to do in Sesotho. Thus, Sesotho masculinity is characterized further by being "lelala-le-laotsoe" meaning the one who is ever-ready. Being "koaratla, sekoaratla, tsitsiripa, and koakoariri" all culminating to mean the rough and tough one; "Sethula-thulani, sekila, leapara-nkoe, letea-ts'oeene, mohlabani, 'mohale-oa-marumo" and "ke pholo-ea-letlaka ke kabeloa manong" all meaning an aggressive, forceful, tactful fighter and self-less warrior; "Petsoa-majoeng or petsoa-moholokohlong" are leaders or path-finders in a battlefield or in difficult times (Pitso 1997b: 194). The other emerging masculinity trends among the Basotho is that of "ho ba laere" meaning, being a violent instigator or warmonger. These are aggressive and brutal hitmen usually using underhand methods.

A handful of murder convicts at MCCl are "li-laere", that is they are violence instigators, cold blood killers, and manslaughters largely associated with accordion music "famo" music gangsterism (SFGD).
"Bonna" on the one hand means manhood (Khotso 2017: 10), which is the state of being a man. In the Sesotho language, "bonna" could also mean or refer to male genitalia. This was echoed by Phohlo (2011: 84) who asserted that "bonna" signifies the penis. On the whole, contemporary Sesotho masculinity is considered as multifaceted and multidimensional, includes:

The ability to be in control of oneself, other people, and situations confronted with at any given moment. This is reinforced by an adage, saying "ha o sa batle ho ts'araoa, its'oare, ha o sa batle ho laola, itaole, ha o batla ho hlonephuoa, ithonephe". He who does not want to be controlled must control himself. This contention is reinforced by Dube (2013:2) who noted that one scholar, Brian Wren underscored "a keyword for masculinity is control". This entails power and authority to direct himself and others, the power to determine his actions and leads others to act accordingly. Thus, an ideal Mosotho man is that who can take charge and be in control of his masculinities and femininities, of others, of events, and others around him.

The ability to command the respect of himself, "hoba le seriti a hlomphehe". "O lokela ho hlonepho batho ba bang" meaning he must be respected and that he must admire and respect others around him. The ability to protect oneself and his family, his homeland, and its natural resources, fellow citizenry and property as well as defending the honor of his family, his country, and fellow countrymen and women. Thus, Mosotho man "ke lets'oara thebe" meaning he must be able and ready to take arms and defend his land and property.

The ability to provide nuclear and extended family members with basic survival needs and other necessary material and psycho-social needs. This entails food, shelter, clothing, and sex, education, and health services. "Monna oa sebele, oa 'makhonthe, e seng 'm'e re ja eng" meaning, an ideal model of Mosotho man would not be asking for food from his wife but would bring food into the family, Thus, masculinity is linked to "being a provider".

The ability to reproduce and "o lokela ho itsoala" meaning he must be capable of father mainly "mojalefa" meaning an inheritor or heir, whom according to Sesotho culture must be a male. A man who produces mainly boys is considered virtuous according to the notion of Sesotho masculinity. This is mainly so since Basotho are primarily interested in the procreation of many male children who in turn shall procreate and enlarge the family empire. It also brings honor to the woman who gives birth to many boys, "ke mosali oa sebele" meaning she is an ideal woman. In case a woman does not give birth to a boy or boys, her husband would marry the second wife in an attempt to save his name from extinction and his property from being inherited by another man’s child.

The ability of warmongering and complicity to gangsterism branded with violence, brutality, cold blood killings is an emerging and fast-growing
masculinity among the Basotho in rural and urban areas and beyond borders (SFGD and OFGD).

7.1.5 Construction of Sesotho masculinity

Both inmates and staff focus groups, and one-on-one staff in-depth interviews which were conducted, were in concert that Sesotho masculinity is the product of Mosotho boy child socialization from very early stages of life. They were in consensus that the causes or origin of masculinities among the Basotho could include cultural practices during (1) the birth and naming of the boy child, and (2) upbringing and schooling of the boy child.

The birth and naming of the child in Sesotho culture

It emerged from the data that, according to Sesotho culture, the child is expected to be born from wedlock. A child born out of wedlock is customarily considered illegitimate as this is considered a curse upon the family of the girl who turns is taken be damaged “o senile”. Such a child may bear an indecent name such as “Mora-mang”, “Lihlahleng” or “Makhokolotso” meaning “whose son”, the “scrubland” or “garbage pit”. Such a naming system has an influence on the child who will be stigmatized for the rest of his or her life for the mistake or an offense he or she did not commit. The child grows saddened by the fact he or she does not have a legitimate origin. This child lives with pain that normally spills over in the form of violence.

According to Sesotho culture and traditions, after the initiation ceremony, “mohlankana” a male person at the young adulthood stage, who is ready for wedlock, would request his parents to arrange for his marriage. The process would involve the (1) an agreement of intimate relationships between “mohlankana” and “moroeotsana” a young adult female (2) an agreement of marriage arrangement by the parents from both parties, and (3) “bohali” money or property given by the bridegroom’s father to the family of the bride as a token of appreciation, and if feasible (4) dowry, which is some money or property brought by a woman to her husband at marriage. It is after this passage a male person is called a man and is allowed to know a woman, in this case, to have sex with his wife.

Upon the birth of the boy child, one of the prominent rituals indicating how Basotho construct masculinities is the manner of notifying the father of the birth of his son. Having confirmed the sex of the new-born, if found to be a male child “letsibolo la moshanyana”, meaning first born boy child, and having confirmed birth is confirmed, the father would be beaten up with a stick as a way of notifying him of the birth of boy child. This act, in essence, is an indication of the hardships, pains, and sufferings that a newly born boy child is faced with upon maturity. Participants agreed that when a boy is born, the entire family becomes happy because the patriarchal name of such family will not vanish instead will rise, however on the same note,
this comes with tears for the mother since male person according to Basotho "ke mohlabani" is a warrior who may die anytime. As men will be singing and women ululating with mixed feelings; pride and contentment diluted with sorrow and grief "ho hlahile ngoan’a moshemane, ngoan’e motona pholo-ea letlaka, mohale oa marumo kabeloa manong, kabeloa bo- mohakajane le tlake". Meaning a boy is born, a male who will pick up arms, fight and die at war and eventually feed the vultures and wild animals on his body.

The intention of beating the father is for him to be aware that a warrior is born. On the one hand, if a newborn is a girl, one will pour water on the father as an indication that “ho while sekha-metsi” the indication here is that the newborn will draw water and cook for the family (Pitikoe and Preece 2016:10; El Feki, Heilman and Barker 2017:98). This customary way of operation or social practice was found to be igniting and fuelling hostility in the newborn psyche, thus influencing and moulding violent masculinity. Participants accepted that a newly born child may not comprehend what is happening, but his parents’ feelings and the reigning mood could be transmitted to the child and start then unconsciously to build warrior masculinity. Furthermore, other children in the neighborhood could incidentally make sense out of the vibe and would certainly like to behave thus. In so far as participants were concerned, this practice paves way for the development of violence and aggression.

The naming of “letsibolo la moshanyana”, the firstborn boy child is the responsibility of the grandfather who considers various issues at hand before naming. “Letsibolo”, the first-born child, be it a boy or girl is named by both matrimonial and patriarchal grand-parents, as this would have first and middle indigenous names, while the rest of children could be named by the parents. According to Sesotho culture, the first-born boy-child belongs to his grand-father hence why he is named by him. This child is praised in Sesotho as “thaka-ntatae” meaning he belongs to the same peer group as his father.

The child is normally named concerning circumstances or wishes of the grand-father. For example, some boys are given names of dangerous wild animals like” Tau” a lion, others are given upsetting names like “Mora-mang” meaning whose son? The name outrightly questioning the legitimacy of the child. Whereas some are given names encouraging violence such as “Ntoa” meaning war. The firstborn son of the firstborn son is the heir to his grandfather. This culture is primarily responsible for nurturing patriarchy and thus encouraging a domineering form of masculinity among the Basotho.

It is important to note the gendered naming as another masculinity dimension that research has not delved into. However, it was mentioned that on their graduation, Basotho female initiates preferred to be called by known masculine titles and names such as “Malone Tau” meaning Uncle Tau. The living examples in recent Basotho history are that of the first woman
political leader in Lesotho, Ms. Limakatso Ntakatsane who founded and lead the Kopanang Basotho Party, and Chieftainess ‘Manapo Majara who lead the New Lesotho Freedom Party who were both female icons in Lesotho politics. Both icons loved to be called “ntate” meaning father. Chieftainess ‘Manapo Majara perpetually insisted on media and various social platforms that she is “Ntate” ‘Manapo.

It is also worthy to take note that senior corrections officers in Lesotho, like in the army still prefer to be called “sir”. This is evidenced by the former female commander of Female Prison, Maseru Central Prison, and Regional Commander of Northern Prisons, Retired Superintendent ‘Mamaria Motebang (2018, pers. comm. 05 November) whose assertion is noted in Chapter Two suggesting that corrections female officials and general staff have masculine tendencies which they have adopted during their corrections career. Mrs. Mamaria Motebang during her tenure preferred to be called Sir Motebang. To date, she is referred to as Retired Superintendent, Sir ‘Mamaria Motebang. In my view as a researcher, I find this practice very awkward. The aforementioned facts are considered by the researcher as an indication that Basotho is a patriarchal society and Basotho women seem to have a lion’s share role, meaning greater influence in the construction of Sesotho masculinity which is characterized by hegemony and stiff patriarchy.

**Upbringing and schooling of Mosotho boy child**

Participants were adamant that, according to Sesotho culture, the child belongs to the community and is the communal responsibility to nurture the child. If need be, the child has to be praised for good conduct by village men and similarly be reprimanded for wrongdoing by the community. If the child’s conduct attracts corporal punishment “a paqamiso a khothiso” the punishment is executed by any community elder because he belongs to the community that believes “hore thupa e otloloa e sale metsi” as the saying “to spare the rod, spoils the rod”.

The boy child is gradually and systematically exposed to a learning and teaching environment where he will acquire life skills such as collecting water and firewood for “khoaling” a place where young boys are kept together and looked after by elderly men, “khotla, le sakeng”, meaning a sacred place for initiates or chief’s courtyard and a place by the livestock pen as areas culturally demarcated for males only. He will also be gathering “ho batla metsuntsunyane” meaning searching for wild nuts, berries, and vegetables. He will be going out for hunting; live alone in the cattle post looking after various herds; taming calves, donkeys, and horses; milking, farming, and general animal care; slaughtering animals and making clothes, weapons, and household utensils and building a kraal and the house.
It emerged from the sessions that, in contemporary Sesotho culture, there are more boys than girls studying subjects considered as difficult and rough such as mechanical, electrical, and civil engineering and craft courses like motor mechanics, building, carpentry, and plumbing. Girls are mainly encouraged to enroll in less physically demanding subjects like teaching, nursing, bookkeeping, hospitality, and secretarial courses. This state of affairs further deepens hegemonic masculinity since from the look of things, boys are encouraged to enroll for better rewarding professions whereas girls are encouraged to do soft skills which are not as better paying as those done by boys. This is also found to be putting girls at inferior status upon their graduation thereby inculcating hegemony of men over women and other weaker masculinities.

7.1.6 Dimensions of the notion of Sesotho masculinity

There are multifarious ideas that emerged from participants flagging that the Sesotho notion of masculinity can be delineated and compartmentalized into several stalls. This part responds to the question of patterns of masculinity. However, for manageability, the notion was split into two broad categories being (1) physiological and (2) psycho-social dimensions. The data seem to also be augmenting or reinforcing 6.3.4 (2) above.

The physical dimension of Sesotho masculinity

Both focus groups and one-on-one interviews revealed that a well-groomed Mosotho man should be physically capable to stand physical hardships such as war and life-risking work. All participants were adamant that, though masculinity is not natural per se, in some way, however, anatomy and body posture has a large role in determining and portraying one’s masculinity (Kachel, Steffens and Niedlich 2016: 2).

From the data collected, it is indicated that characteristics of physical masculinity among the Basotho are being huge and tall; having broad shoulders; wide and muscular chest; flat and muscular stomach; huge and toned visibly muscular limbs; large larynx “Adam’s apple” and deep voice; bearded and hairy limbs and chest; and having hard and chapped hands indicating hard worker as in Sesotho “sehoa se bona ka matsoabali” meaning a farmer is noticed by chapped and rough hands and blisters. One other peculiarity of masculinity among corrections staff is that a man should have an upright posture and be always enthusiastic (SFGD). Like a soldier marching on parade, corrections officer must portray healthy and lively manhood, he should be upright, walk with head up, chest out and stomach in (One participant during SFGD).

Participants echoed that Basotho men often feel a need to increase the size of the penis and usually undergo medical male circumcision to improve the gorgeousness of their genitalia and enhance sexual feelings for their partners. Participants raised the fact that it is expressively vital for a Mosotho man’s sex life to remain undoubted. Successful sex life was reported by
participants as one other dimension of physical masculinity as sexual failure has a negative
denting effect on a man’s ego whose self-confidence is lowered in turn. As informally alleged
by Basotho women, “bottle ba monna bo tlasa lebanta” meaning man’s beauty is “below the
waist belt”. Mosotho man thus should have a healthy, vigorous, and well-framed body build
which is always ready for any physical activity such as; war, intensive manual work, long
walks, and sex (SFGD and OFGD).

As drawn from the literature, an ideal man should have a large penis and average-sized
scrotum as an indicator of sexual ability and strength (Eckman et. al 2007:18). “A man must
always be ready for sexual intercourse and be able to spend a substantial amount of time
satisfying his partner during the session of sexual intercourse, that is according to participants
robust sex” (Eckman et. al 2007:18).

One of the physical aspects of masculinity, as it emerged during sessions, is that honorable
masculinity as evidenced by one’s fertility. As a result, childlessness is understood as
manhood failure and a great disappointment of self and the family. The barrenness of a man
according to Burton (2014:49) is equated to femininity and thus disgraceful and uncalled for.
Participants suggested that a well-rounded man must be fertile and bear children; must have
a big and strong body, including penis; and must have required sexual stamina and general
endurance (SFGD).

In this regard, Welling et al. (2016:137) in the monograph “Exogenous testosterone increases
men’s perceptions of their physical dominance” support the contention that there is a form of
relationship between testosterone, that is a male sex hormone, and physical masculinity.
There is also an assertion drawn from qualitative data that emphasizes the relationship
between physical body strength, facial features, attractiveness, and perceived dominance and
masculinity (Windhager, Schaefer, and Fink 2016:831).

Participants advanced that attractiveness does not necessarily suggest that a man must be
handsome but must be attractive as the attractiveness of a man is defined by women of such
a society (SFGD). It is also noted that it is not only women who are attracted to good looking
men by also gay men or men-having-sex-with-men may be attracted similarly. Setswana
culture also does not tolerate a handsome man as Atanga (2013:64) quoted Setswana
proverbs articulating that “monna ha a betwwe, o kgomotswa feela” meaning a man is not
smoothly carved, he is roughly done. “Monna ke tshukulu” meaning a man is ugly and strong
like rhinoceros.

From the qualitative data, it also emerged that an ideal Mosotho man must be able to sustain
and tolerate physical pain (SFGD and OFGD). According to Mfecane (2016:11), severe
physical pain is deliberately inflicted on a man by way of circumcision operation creating a mark of manhood on the penis which becomes evidence of one’s ability to endure and sustain painful situations. Precious (2011: XVIII) shared similar sentiments that the ability to endure pain is inevitably a qualification for a boy to become a man. This is an essential path for a Mosotho boy to become well-rounded, stable, and be of acceptable masculinity with composure. Similarly, a Mosotho herd boy is traditionally exposed to dangerous situations characterized by wild animals preying on human flesh, and armed stock thieves. Also exposed to horrific and bad weather conditions characterized by horrendous rains, extreme cold with heavy snow, extreme heat, and starvation in the cattle post (SFGD and OFGD).

Participants also narrated that, at the veld or cattle post, an ordinary Mosotho herd boy is faced with "mampoli" this is a herd boy who with cautious intents bullies and coerces seemingly weaker or smaller herd boys cruelly to dangerous acts. " Mampoli" brutalizes other herd boys by subjecting them to "leboro" meaning a direct hard beating on the head with a stick, "ho kalla" which is Basotho stick fighting and "seqata-majoana" meaning stone fighting over grassland and drinking water for the herd of cattle or flock of sheep and goats. " Mampoli" a dominant herd boy also exposes "balisana" the dominated herd boys to very difficult puzzles such as fetching water with "ilenala" alike sieve grass made bowel, if they fail, they would be beaten and brutalized. Participants echoed that though these practices have been condemned by human rights activists, they were necessary to train young boys and prepare them for initiation into manhood or transition into well-rounded masculinity (SFGD and OFGD).

Body hygiene also emerged from participants as an issue of physical masculinity. This involves washing clothes and body as well as doing haircuts and clean-shaven face. This subject aroused heated debates in the focus group discussion as some participants were adamant that a man should not be clean like a woman, while others were vehemently in opposition. The arguments that emerged in the focus group discussions were such that herd boys should not wash their clothes and bathe so that dirt camouflages them from dangerous wild animals such as jackals and hyenas destroying the herd and usually armed stock thieves (OFGD).

The issue which was advanced by some participants concerning body hygiene is that, if one washes his body and clothes, his flock and guard dogs will be confused since they recognize him by his original and sharp smell from his armpit and feet sweat even in the dark. Meaning a man who smells soap scares away his herds and confuses his guard dogs. "Monna o lokela ho nkha poli" meaning a man should smell like his goats to get along well with his herds. "Khopane ke kobo ea molisana" meaning dirt piled on the skin is the herd boy’s blanket, if a herd boy washes and removes accumulated skin dirt he will feel cold at his detriment (OFGD).
Though there was significant disagreement on the issue of body hygiene in the focus groups, what emerged from my non-formal observation and personal experience as a leading participant in this research is that herd boys normally do not usually bathe or wash their clothes. Asking the inmates arrested from cattle posts on admission into the correctional institution, they had varying responses such as “lack of time to bathe” and “unavailability of soap” while others would say it is the rule of their traditional herbalist or witchdoctors that “when bathing, you will weaken the muti, traditional medicines for riches or you wash away charms for luck and fortunes” echoed some participants. Inmates in a focus group discussion divulged that on arrival at the correctional institution, the newly admitted inmates who have been bathing probably smell like a woman and attract the best of “morena oa mafamo” which is the most ferocious and renowned sodomizer (OFGD).

Qualitative data on the physical dimension of masculinity revealed that Sesotho masculinity is directly linked with one’s physiological built up and wellbeing, reproductive health, and body care and hygiene (SFGD and OFGD). As Burton puts it, masculinity is tangled with physical strength, dominance, and largely heterosexuality. Marked as important also has been “good body shape” (Khalaf et al. 2013:4), also body size and robustness as a reflection of physical masculinity (Burton 2014:49). It is, however, important to take heed that, the issue of unhygienic body care as an indication of masculinity was strongly disputed during the group discussion and it is left hanging. I could not get hold of either literature on this issue. I have two opposing ideas supported by experience as a Mosotho man. It is a culture that herd boys in the cattle post do not bathe nor wash their clothes and cooking utensils, it is also cultural that circumcision school candidates are known for their cleanliness. This issue may further be investigated for further extrication.

The psycho-social dimensions of Sesotho masculinity

This entails psychological and social aspects considered ideals of being a man. Psychological aspects are those cognitive dimensions, whereas social aspects are those communal dimensions defining an ideal Mosotho man. When unpacking these dimensions, staff participating in the process specified that psychological aspects of masculinity are those issues impacting on, or related to one’s psyche. This could entail the ability to make courageous decisions like volunteering to go to war for a good course like Basotho troops who joined the British army in the first and second world wars. The other one could be, intentionally committing violent crimes such as ritual murders; aggressiveness and fighting whether for a good course or not; self-confidence which is believing in self abilities, self-respect, emotional intelligence, cognitive stability, and mental readiness.
Qualitative data suggested that social aspects of Sesotho masculinity entail the ability to: take control of self and lead others; provide for the family and other dependents; work tirelessly to increase income and wellbeing, thus becoming economically successful; maintain a strong character, peace, stability, law, and order; decision-making ability; engaging in labor-intensive work, and have many wives or sexual partners {SFGD and OFGD}.

According to {OFGD} participants, “monna oa sebele ka Sesotho ke ea bolotseng, ea tsebang ho nka taolo le maemong a thata, ea khonang ho its’oara. Mohlala ke hore; monna haa lokela ho lla mahlong a batho, haholo sera, baena, bana le basali, monna haa lokele ho baleha ntoeng, monna haa lokele le ho omana ka bohlasoa kapa ho buela ruri hore a tie a hlomphhehe”. An emphasis here above is that an ideal Mosotho man is the one who is circumcised, who can take control of the situations even when circumstances do not permit, and who can control himself. A real man should be traditionally initiated and be heart hardened; should not just expose his emotions like crying, especially in the vicinity of the enemy, youngsters or juniors, and women. A man should not run away or escape conflict, he should not be a careless talker and avoid being talkative or verbose. This is essential for a man to retain authority and command respect in the family, workplace, and community. Some of the participants stated that “monna oa sebele o lokela ho ba le chelete, lehae, thepa joaloka liphoofolo, le basali ba sethepu kapa bonyatsi” {OFGD}. This means, an ideal Mosotho man must be economically successful, have a family house to shelter his family or families, have a large herd of cattle, and be polygamous or have extra-marital sexual partners.

Having heard from participants from both SFGD and OFGD, I am opined to assent with Burton’s assertion who opined that boys are socialized to strive towards emotionally stable temperament, lack of emotional display, authority, power and dominance, and the pride associated with proclaiming one’s sexual ability and fertility (Burton 2014:49). Sesotho masculinity is defined by body shape, parts, and physique, morals, and family authority. Also, to be recognized as a real man among the Basotho, one must display characteristics including inter alia; dedication and perseverance, responsibility and accountability, loyalty, honesty, hard work, self-respect, and respect for others. Some respondents stressed that men must be emotionally and physically strong; be critical, decisive and in control, power and authority; providing for the family, and if need be resort to violence and aggression (Pitikoe and Preece 2016:10; El Feki, Helman and Barker 2017:98).

7.2 The causes and implications of masculinities

Research question two of this study is **what are the causes and implications of masculinities in correctional settings?** Corrections masculinities in this study are considered as the set attributes, norms of behavior, or practices associated with male
corrections officials and incarcerated men, thus, male persons inhabiting correctional settings, either as inmates or staff. The causes of corrections masculinities in this study are the explanations or factors responsible for formations of masculine behavioral patterns. They are reasons for presenting certain masculine related behaviors in correctional settings. It appeared that workplace stress, alcohol and drug abuse, the degree of psychosocial hazards and risks, and the use of psychoactive substances are some of the causes or breeders of corrections masculinities.

To make sense of the notion of masculinities in correctional settings, it goes unquestionably that upfront, one must put across the explanation of two concerned concepts being masculinities and correctional settings. As earlier stated, masculinity is that which the society deems to be the perfect conduct of an ideal man, as thus masculinity is socio-culturally defined. Thus, masculinity is a social construct. Then the notion of masculinities as Gennrich alluded to in 2.8, denotes that no one pattern of masculinity is found everywhere because different cultures and periods construct gender differently. This means that there is more than one kind of masculinity in a given social setting, be it in the society, community, group, or within an individual himself or herself. Therefore, masculinities in correctional settings are those behavioural patterns considered as manly in the corrections community.

In the same manner, correctional settings in this study are used to refer to the contexts and locations reserved for correctional services. This consists of the dwellings put up for corrections inmates boarding space, corrections staff accommodation, and social amenities thereof (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018:2). Masculinities, in this case, are considered as those patterns of the male gender, thus, masculinities embrace behavioural patterns of manhood. I need to emphasize that correctional settings are demarcated spaces delineated for the incarceration of offenders and accommodation of corrections staff. As a result, corrections masculinities are those masculine behavioural patterns displayed by the corrections community, inmates, and staff alike.

Subsequent research questions and the core of this study were, what are the forms of masculinities in correctional settings? This exercise pressured that before proceeding into the deep-end of this question, participants had to first and foremost fit in the notion of corrections community. Then one could ask, why this research had to swing in this manner? It came up from both focus groups and interviews that it would not be trivial at this stage to look into what corrections community? I wish to align my arguments with Sloan (2016:44) assertions and draw from classical and seminal works of the “pioneers of prison studies” such as: “Leadership phenomena in a prison community” penned by Donald Clemmer (1938); “Prison Community” by Donald Clemmer (1940, 1958); and “The pains of imprisonment”

In one of his old but inspiring articles, Clemmer referred to the "corrections community" as a remarkably complex, complicated, multi-layered, and multifaceted phenomenon (Clemmer 1938:870). For Sykes, corrections are a self-contained social system, he spoke of the notion of "free community" inflicting the pains by punishing and depriving inmates of some human entitlements. By implication, if there is a "free community" there is a "confined community" which Sykes referred to as the "society of captives" (Sykes 1958:285). Though this has not mentioned staff, the preceding articulation leaves me adamant that it makes perfect sense to understand inmates and staff as inhabitants of correctional settings, as thus corrections community. Though the preceding literature appears academically archaic, I remain adamant that "corrections inmates and staff are undeniably a community", as in any other community, numerous masculinities traits are emerging therein.

The notion of corrections as a community influenced numerous studies across the globe. The conclusion made on this matter is that "inmates are a community; they come from the community and will eventually be reintegrated into the community" (Hayner and Ash 1940:577). This is to be leaving out an important part of the community being staff, when studying corrections masculinities, one has taken heed that masculinities manifesting within the corrections community are products of both inmates and staff. Both inmates' population and corrections staff undeniably form up the corrections community.

Now looking into what community is, the dictionary defines community as "a group of people living together in the same geographical area, sharing same amenities, similar culture, hardships, pleasurable or exciting experiences, and aspirations". Whereas according to Moolman (2015:6742) correctional settings are carceral spaces established on a shared and communal frame and are expressed through the body of corrections standard operating procedures, policies, and laws. Having interrogated both concepts, I felt the audacity influenced by my personal experience to consider that both inmates and staff are exposed to similar environmental conditions, therefore are both affected by the conditions in correctional settings, hence the corrections community. The degree of the influence is only differentiated by the fact that inmates stay in the facilities against their will whereas staff is under employment which they may terminate anytime as opposed to the inmates whose contract in correctional settings is dictated and they do not have an option.
7.3 Corrections staff reflections on masculinities and violence

These are reflections of staff on their journeys with corrections masculinities as noted during focus group discussions and one-on-one in-depth interviews. These are not in any way verbatim narrations but consolidated reflections as they emerged during both focus groups and one-on-one in-depth interview sessions. Staff commenced by exhibiting personal direct and indirect contact with corrections masculinities. In doing so, participants in the focus groups committed to self-introspection while they further divulged during interviews. The views of staff stationed at MCCI on corrections masculinities were as follows:

As male officers, we tend to consider our female counterparts as physically and mentally weak. Thus, we are inclined to perceive female officers as fragile, vulnerable to manipulation, and susceptible to injury. Consequently, we take it that they may not be capable to perform some correctional tasks demanding intellectual and physically tactical capabilities. Sometimes we overprotect our female counterparts to their detriment forgetting that they are our colleagues (SFGD).

We are in most cases, inconsiderate of the inherent human dignity of female officers, especially those who are junior in rank and the young by age. The majority of male officers, regardless of their rank or age, perceive female officers as objects of sex, ready to be sexually used. Thus, male officers, largely senior officers, turn to use their positions to intimidate or advance false promises upon the victims (SFGD).

Most of the time female officers are possessed of indeterminate anticipation of undefined misfortune due to their undue feeling of vulnerabilities, insecurities, and lack of self-confidence and assertiveness, as a result, they fall prey to some senior male officers who sexually abuse them (SFGD).

We frequently perpetrate and expose female officers to sexual and gender-based violence in the form of clumsy and degrading sexual advances and comments, at times having coerced sex that usually goes unreported (SFGD).

We do not respect female officials and counterparts as human beings and some as superiors in such a case, at times we feel like this is our “men” work and they do not deserve promotions and other forms of recognition (SFGD).

Some senior male officers sometimes physically assault junior officers. Some of them are unreasonably dominant, aggressive, violent, and arrogant in doing things. They are intimidating and tend to victimize junior officers and inmates. They are oppressive and cruel and brutal to subordinates and inmates (SFGD).

The majority of male officers, regardless of their ranking are abusing inmates verbally, emotionally, and physically (SFGD).

Corrections staff at MCCI more often inflict violence against inmates in various forms including main torture and physical abuse demonstrated by beatings, thus inflicting corporal punishment with repeated blows. Similarly, inmates are daily subjected to emotional abuse evidenced by verbal assaults (SFGD).
Some of the female officers have indecent relationships with senior officers and tend to be uncontrollable at work (SFGD).

Some of the corrections officers found across the ranks "ke manomoro", meaning they are members of corrections number gangs such as group 26 and group 28. They are also associating with “famo” accordion music rival gangs. These are normally the disobedient and unmanageable members. They use status as officers and their affiliation status into groups to dominate violently other officers and inmates who are not in their groups (SFGD).

Some of the officers are alcohol and drug addicts; irresponsible and negligent, disorderly and untidy as required by correctional service; morally loose and promiscuous. They are not providing their families with necessary care and protection, clothing, food, and school fees for their children (SFGD).

Some officers believe that being man enough has to do with being rough in relationships at work and the family although others are the direct opposite and present responsible kind of life (SFGD).

We have amongst staff, the ruthless, fearless, and courageous, nicknamed "ntja tse mpe" meaning the bad dogs (SFGD).

Some of the officers are successful strategists and have good leadership qualities, as thus they command respect (SFGD).

Some of the officers are well behaved and compliant with the rules and regulations, exceptionally obedient and respect their superiors, loyal and trustworthy, emotionally stable, and intelligent (SFGD).

We have amongst officers, the courageous, brave, and physically strong who are trusted when situations are hostile in the facility (SFGD).

Some officers have a superiority complex characterized by antagonism, arrogance, and being overly proud of themselves (SFGD).

Some officers are overtly and covertly gays who usually fall prey to inmates, these officers are normally submissive to their high ranked gay officers who coerce them into sexual relations, "we have some who were caught in sexual activity with inmates, they deserted job and got married in South Africa" (SFGD).

Many of the high ranked officers are extreme sex predators and prey upon junior officers’ wives and inmates’ spouses and children (SFGD).

Emerging from the process, male officers working at MCCi appear to be perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence. Officers do not only victimize female officers but also visitors, visiting relatives of inmates, and spouses of the junior officers. Senior officers are reported to be complicit in bullying junior officers. Officers who seem to be victims of either bullying or sexual and gender-based violence are mainly emotionally affected while the general work discipline is contaminated in silence.
Commenting on the issue of bullying and harassment at the workplace, all participating officers concurred that there is bullying at work in the form of intimidation, victimizations, sexual harassment, oppression, and general mistreatment. It is, however, significant to underscore that, on this issue, officers only opened up during one-on-one in-depth interviews. This must have been a safe place for them regarding this matter. During the focus group, many officers did not want to be blamed, however, it was easy to blame their seniors for bullying. Regarding junior officers who are said to be victimized, the responses to probing questions were that some of the officers are insubordinate, lazy, disobedient, and undisciplined. The majority of officers avoided commenting on it during focus group discussion, hence the worth of triangulation of methods in doing qualitative research. Concerning masculinities, the process unearthed two forms of masculinities. The domineering personalities and dominated or subjugated personalities.

Participants disclosed that some corrections officials possess dominant masculinities that are exhibited by among other things physical strength, body composition, and sexual violence against others. Some members of staff, particularly junior officers, females, and the “have-nots”, suffer domination in silence. Direct violence is largely perpetrated by domineering members of staff, frequently senior officers against juniors, and male officers against females in the form of workplace harassment. Staff-on-staff violence is predominantly perpetrated by male officials as an indication of dominant forms of masculinities (Helman and Ratele 2018:2).

7.4 Inmates’ reflections on masculinities and violence

Likewise, the following are reflections of inmates on corrections masculinities as noted during offender focus group discussions. These are not verbatim narrations but consolidated reflections as they emerged during a focus group discussion with inmates.

Table 6: Sesotho versions depicted during OFGD translated into English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SESOTHO VERSION</th>
<th>ENGLISH VERSION (NOT DIRECT TRANSLATION)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Re ke ke ra bua ka senna, litsing tsa thabololo tsa banna, moo banna ba nang le litakatsa tsa bonne, re sa bue ka thabolano ea batho ba batona. Re tia be re siile 'moko oa taba 'me re tia be re eso gale.</td>
<td>It is not possible to address issues of men and masculinities in male-dominated spaces like correctional settings excluding issues of sex and men having sex with other men. This is one of the leading determinants of corrections masculinities anywhere in the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senna le thabolano ke li-ea-thoteng. Bonna bo khema le bokhoni ba thabolano. Senna ke bokhoni le liketso tsa bonne.</td>
<td>Manhood and sex is a hand in glove syndrome. It is an indication of the ability to indulge in sex. Masculinity is a masculine ability and a behavioral pattern of a person considered as a man. Sexual activity is one of those behavioral patterns one may not separate from the masculine gender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senna se phethehileng se bonahala hantle ka bophetheleho le matla a bona thobalanong.</td>
<td>Masculinity is measured against sexual abilities including; strength, endurance, and fertility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mona re tingoa monyetla oa thobalano e phethehileng ea monna le mosali, hantle bona ba rona bo koetsoe, re faotsoe.</td>
<td>Here we have been deprived of heterosexual sexual relations. We are men no more, that is my manliness has been removed, as thus my sense of manhood is off, we are like castrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke laleheletsoe le boikutlo baka ba monna, bona baka bo khinehile, ke poho e pemehileng linaka, ha ke sa etsetsa mosali oaka le lelapa letho, ke shoele ke ntse ke tsamaea. Potsa ke hore na ke mang ea ntseng a phetha boikarabelo baka lapeng haka.</td>
<td>I lost out my masculinity, I am like a dehorned bull and emasculated, I am not doing anything for my wife and entire family, I am alive but dead, the question is who is performing my family responsibilities in my absence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chankana e qeta motho butle-butle e sa etse lerata, e bolaa ka hloohong, motho o shoa maikutlo habohloko. Bohloko ke hore bana ba fetoha likhutsana tsa bo-ntate ba phelang.</td>
<td>Incarceration is a slow, silent killer. It kills one psychologically affects one’s ego. The painful part of it is that our children are orphans of living fathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esale ke ts’oaroa, ke ithutile hore mosali oaka haasa nthonepha le ho nthata joaloka pele. Ha a tille ho mpona o mpusa feela ka tello eohlile.</td>
<td>Since my arrest, I have learned that gradually, the respect my wife used to afford me has faded, she used to love me, but now she speaks to me as she wants in a quite disrespectful manner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho ts’oaroa ke tlosoa sechabeng sa heso ho nts’entse maikutlo, ke lemetse ‘meleng, pelong le moeeng, bana baka, batsoaibaka le batho bao ke neng ke ba phelisa ba setse ba sotiehile ‘me taba ena ha e ntjese litheohelang.</td>
<td>Being detached from society has destroyed me emotionally, my children, parents, and dependents are suffering economically. I am suffering deeply.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho tloha ke fihile mona chankeneng, ke hlorisoa le ho jeloa litokelo tsaka joaloka mothe e motona, taba ena e ama boikutlo baka ba bona. Ho ka nahana ka bophelo bo hloekileng chankeneng ke boithetsos. Motho o be o qetoletse o ntse o ikhohta ka banna ba bang ho theola mocheso oa bona.</td>
<td>Since my admission into this facility, I have been subjected to abuses that dehumanized me as a male person, this has a bearing on my manhood. Contemplating about descent manhood in here is neither here nor there. At times I do have sex with another man to rescue ease the yearning for sex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basebetsi ha ba re mamele le ho re thusa ha re tlaela. Ho tlaela ke ho senya nako le ho ikutluisa bohloko ho feta ho sa hlokahale. Ho betere ke ho its’ireletsa le ho bona na motho o ts’opehoha joang mona ha ‘mantja-lia-loma. Ke ha merits’ana sooe mona re tsamairole leeto le thata.</td>
<td>Officers do not listen or act on our complaints. To report is just a waste of time and it aggravates emotional pain unnecessarily. The best thing is to make sure you protect yourself and seek means of minimizing the pain of incarceration. This is a cruel man’s place; it is like a deep valley of death. We are on a difficult journey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re hlorisoa le ka ho otlao letsatsi le letsatsi ke motho eo ke sa ts’aabeng, feela hobane e le mosebeletsi ‘na ke le lepantiti. ‘Na ke otlolo le ho roakoa, ka tingoa lijo, ka etsoa lintho tse ngata tse bohloko ‘meleng le moeeng. Ke koaletsoe sepeletae ke sa etsa letho hangata. Ke bone le bats’oaroa ba</td>
<td>We are violated and assaulted daily by officers whom I am not even afraid of, just because I am a bandit. I experienced several physical and emotional assaults; I was at times denied food and locked in an isolated room many times without a reason. I saw many inmates undergoing physical and emotional torture, some of them sustained permanent injuries, some life-threatening injuries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bang ba bangata ha ba hlorisoa, bang ba lemale hampe hoo ba ka 'nang ba shoa.</td>
<td>What hurts me most is that, I have not offended the law, I just had a conflict with a police officer who has a love affair with my wife, this is the ultimate killer and to me, I feel ripped off my masculinity violently.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boemo ba bophelo mona ekare ha re na tokelo ea ho phela hantle, ha ke itube le ka ho nahana ka litokelo, ke tseba hore ke mots'oaruoa, mona ha se haka, kapa lapeng 'me ntlo ea motho e mong ha ena boroko, ke shebile feela na ke tla tsoa neng bophelong bo tjena.</td>
<td>The situation in here is such that inmate's do not have human rights, the idea of human dignity for corrections inmates is farfetched, I do not even bother myself about human rights, what I know is that I am an inmate, and this is not home as the Sesotho saying &quot;ntlo ea motho e mong ha ena boroko&quot; meaning there is no good rest or sleep in someone's house. I am just eying on my day of release.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke lula le bashanyana ba banye re robala 'moho, re ithubo 'moho re bonana bofeela le bana, ha se ntho e lumelehieng emp mona ha se haka.</td>
<td>I stay in a room with young inmates who should not see my nakedness, but in here I cannot do as I want, this is not my house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke le-28, kea e rata 'me nka e shoela, basebetsi ba bang ba chankana le bona ba e kene ka bongata, baa e rata.</td>
<td>I am a member of group 28, I love it, I can die for it, some corrections officers are members in large numbers, and they like it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke le-26, kea e rata. Re batho ba thusanang haholo, kantle le kahare ho chankana</td>
<td>I am a member of group 26, I love it. We help each other inside correctional institutions and outside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-28 haa likhatatso, ha re loants'e bats'ourooa ba bang feela rea its'ireleetsa. Hantle basebetsi le bats'ourooa ba bang ba kena-kenana le rona e leng ntho eo re tla e sireleetsa. Ba bata walla tseba tseo e seng tsa bona. Ha ba kene 28 ba amoheleli re tla ba ruta molao.</td>
<td>Group 28 members do not just fight other inmates or staff, we protect ourselves. Some officials and inmates interfere with the affairs of Group 28 which is a no-go area for non-members. We shall protect ourselves and our privacy. If they want to know about 28, they have to join, they are welcome, we will teach them the rituals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.5 The causes of masculinities in correctional settings

Dictionary definition of a cause is said to be an event or series of events "providing generative force that is the origin of something" these are causal factors or "justification for something existing or happening". Then masculinities as earlier mentioned are the plural form of masculinity. These are characteristics of a male person as understood by individuals in a particular locale (Gennrich 2013:96). The definition of masculinity is situationally dependent taking into consideration cultural issues and historical epochs. Since it is largely defined by the society concerned, and not much of biological constructs are considered, it becomes
clearer as to where and how social constructionism fits into explaining masculinity and how it is a social construct.

Emerging from the data, coupled with the reviewed literature, corrections masculinities can safely be considered as masculine behavioural patterns displayed by corrections staff and inmates. Masculinity is a product of socialization, meaning it is the process of “adoption of behavioural patterns of the immediate culture” (Word web online dictionary). Since corrections are the community within the larger society, it is prudent to consider the causation of corrections masculinity in two levels or consider the obvious two social spaces, being pre-incarceration experiences and the prisonisation process. Similarly, with corrections officials, it is bare that their masculinities are instigated by life before engagement as officers of corrections and their experiences during corrections career.

In the endeavour to explain corrections masculinity, Donald Clemmer propounded the theory of prisonization in 1940. According to Clemmer, inmates’ masculinities are shaped up by prisonization processes (Lopez-Aguado 2016: 14). The theory seeks to describe the process by which corrections inmates adopt and champion corrections culture (Sinefu 2014:19; Bates 2018:12). The notion of prisonization was coined to guide the investigation of life in correctional settings. Accordingly, Gillespie (2003:17) suggested then, that prisonization denotes the corrections socialization process whereby inmates are being enculturated into corrections subculture.

The process of prisonization dictates that an inmate has to adopt certain values and principles, thus learning new life patterns, practices, norms, rules, and regulations therein (Woltz, n.d.:12; Papp, n.d:48) thereby assuming the ideals of living in a correctional institution (Sinefu, 2014:20). There are two popular schools of thought that seems to explain prisonization, thereby tying up into shape, the causes of corrections masculinities in correctional settings. These are; deprivation model and importation model.

In doing his study, the researcher was also cognizant of Clemmer’s common global factors of prisonization as the inmates’ acceptance of an inferior role in corrections; inmates learning to accept rules and regulations governing corrections; accepting the structures of the correctional institution; and being passive about one’s personal needs as they are automatically taken care of by institution (Brent and Orr 2016:70). These factors imply outrightly that inmates’ masculinities are inferior, Thus, they possess subordinate masculinities whereas by implication corrections officers to possess superior masculinities, that is, dominant masculinities.
However, this assertion hit the hard wall when officers during one-on-one interviews disclosed that some officers possess masculinities inferior to those of other inmates. This is evidenced by the reality that, given varying backgrounds, some inmates get to the facility with all that matters to be classified hegemonic while the truth is that some officer’s background and job position puts them low on the hierarchy of masculinities compared to some inmates. The examples are those inmates who held government leadership positions, the rich inmates, traditional leaders, religious leaders, and corrections number gangs’ leaders.

The Deprivation model of prisonization provides a theoretical framework that seeks to explain the impact of incarceration on inmate’s behaviour and conduct while held in custody. It is one of the most influential dimensions of prisonization theory in contemporary academic circles. Corrections culture seems to be nurturing inmates’ masculinity and general behaviour of staff. It emerged that as a “response or as an adaptation to the frustrations and deprivations imposed exerted by incarceration” inmates could embrace certain behavioural patterns, that is, masculinities (Drake, Darke, and Earle, 2015:4).

Arising from data, general conditions of MCCI were explained by inmates and staff as unsuitable for human habitation thus exacerbating emotional pain and suffering on both inmates and staff who were agreeable that:

“Working in corrections and life therein is horrendous and miserable due to perpetual emotional pain and suffering exacerbated by appalling conditions therein: Walls are cracked; floors are chapped; windows are broken; natural light is inadequate; ventilation is poor; ablution facilities are inadequate; food is not well balanced, poorly prepared and indecent, whereas for the staff there is lack of office space, poor and unbearable staff accommodation and the possibility of catching airborne illnesses such as multiple drug resistance tuberculosis (SFGD OFGD).

From the preceding assertion, it emerged that both inmates and staff are suffering from poor conditions of corrections. The accommodation facility for inmates is such that when it is hot, it becomes extremely hot and when it is cold it also becomes extremely cold. The facility is overcrowded rendering it difficult for inmates to sleep comfortably and decently, to eat and stay comfortable as there are obvious shortages of nutritious meals, inadequate sanitation facilities, lack of good quality mattresses, and blankets for sleeping, protective clothing for labouring, and common uniforms for inmates. There is also a sheer lack of health services, sporting, and recreational facilities, and education and training opportunities for inmates and staff. Staff uniforms are also worn out and are expected to do more with nothing. There are dire shortages of office furniture and equipment, office space, staff quarters, and a barrage of paraphernalia required to perform daily corrections tasks.
"These shortages encourage inmates to share bedding at night which promotes sodomy and sexual violence. Shortages of toiletries and uniforms aggravate illegal trading system where sex becomes the mode of payment and commodity for trading in correctional institutions (SFGD and OFGD)."

According to Fredriksson (2018:6) in his seminal works, Sykes acknowledged that incarceration has the effect of castration or emasculation an infantilization leaving an inmate civilly dead. Removal from their ordinary societies aggravates emotional pain and suffering resultant from the feeling of compromised masculinity owing to deprivation of autonomy and heterosexual relations. Fredriksson’s assertion augments inmates’ feeling that incarceration deprives them of independence and reduces inmates to the weak, helpless, and dependent status of less than a baby (Fredriksson 2018:13).

7.5.1 Deprivation model of prisonization

According to Dämboeanu and Nieuwbeerta (2016:334), human incarceration deprives inmates materially, socially, and psychologically. This is augmented by Shammas (2017:2) who opined that incarceration mainly deprives inmates of their liberty. The deprivation model suggests that situational factors are responsible for violence and aggression in correctional facilities. Thus, masculinities in correctional settings, are accordingly considered as tentacles of masculine conduct featuring violence in various forms therein. Shammas further acknowledged that in her paper “the pain of imprisonment”, Sykes (1958) discovered five major frustrations experienced by corrections inmates: deprivation of liberty; deprivation of goods and services; deprivation of heterosexual relationships; deprivation of autonomy; and the deprivation of security which are hereunder presented. When probed on the notion of deprivations, participants revealed as follows.

Deprivation of liberty

Human incarceration brings about certain restrictions on the rights of inmates such as freedoms and loss of family, as such inmates begin to explore means of becoming self-sufficient while incarcerated as a reaction to the pain:

"The daily routine in a correctional institution is such that inmates are locked up at 1500 hours and get unlocked at 0630 hours. They are always under guard and heavily escorted, not allowed to interact with anybody other than corrections official and fellow inmates" (SFGD).

"Being placed behind the strong doors and high walls, where one feels sometimes claustrophobic and nearing mentally suffocated in a place where one cannot walk or run for health as a way of preventing us from escaping is a cognitive killer" (Ajayi and Buhari)

"Being under guard like animals brew sense of animalism, we are held here more like animals, not human beings" (OFGD).
Inmates are deprived of freedom of movement as a way of incapacitating them to further commit offenses. Communities have forbidden them for their wrongdoings consequently they have to forfeit liberty as a civil right entrenched in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Lesotho and various global and regional treaties, conventions, and protocols. This accordingly, depreciates inmates and weakens their psyche, thereby downing them into helpless creatures, thus compromising their masculinity {SFGD}.

**Deprivation of goods and services**

"Inmates do not have access to goods and services of their choice such as food, toiletries, clothes, and bedding. They do not have a choice of either health, education, boarding and lodging, and general welfare services" {SFGD}.

"Even when there is lack of bedding facilities, we are not allowed to request or bring them from home, one would rather fall sick other than afforded opportunity to use for example medication from homes such as simple over the counter cough syrup or pain killer" {OFGD}.

"Inmates are deprived of an opportunity to possess some of the items that are easily available in ordinary society due to corrections security standard operating procedures" {OFGD}. This blockade seems to put pressure on inmates and cause them stress and frustration. Thus, intensifying the formation of hazardous ‘wild’ masculinities due to the deep-seated anger.

**Deprivation of heterosexual relationships**

"Corrections inmates in Lesotho are not allowed an opportunity to enjoy sexual relations with the opposite sex, there are no conjugal visitations to the facility" {SFGD}.

"Like any other animal, it is natural that as human beings we experience sexual arousal. It becomes stronger and pushy at times resulting in situational homosexual activities in the facility" {OFGD}.

Heterosexual incarcerated men are denied female companionship hence feeling of emasculation and reduced dignity and self-worth, consequently mounting tension on them. The situation more often leads to homosexual relationships in the facility whereby weaker and smaller inmates are coerced into force corrections marriages thereby compromising masculinities of those forced into feminine roles, while the big-bodied, strong, and violent inmates play masculine roles in corrections marriages and remain dominant over compromised masculinities.

**Deprivation of autonomy**

Inmates have also lost their independence and have been denied the power of choice. They are all the time under the control of corrections staff that daily control their movements and talks also increases stress levels leading to a sense of helplessness resulting in hostility and aggression.
“Inmates become angry because they are not allowed to make decisions about themselves, they eat, sleep, wake up, go to work as commanded by corrections staff. Inmates are not allowed to consult their private doctors or have confessions with priests. They may also not have private visits” (SFGD).

Deprivation of security

“We live under threats of physical, psychological, and sexual assaults and abuse by fellow inmates and staff whom our welfare is entrusted upon” (OFGD).

Inmates seem to be always under threats of violence of some sort thereby feel they are obliged to protect themselves from all forms of violence. Unfortunately, the feeling of insecurities among inmates grows every day. More often, corrections inmates are exposed to insecure situations due to troublesome and aggressive inmates causing an intense sense of physical insecurity and threats to life (SFGD).

The data has revealed that depriving one’s liberty by frustrating his freedom of movement; absence of privacy and compromised confidentiality; routine violence; homesickness; as well as idleness seems to exert much stress and tension on inmates (SFGD).

“There is barely inadequate meaningful activity for inmates at Maseru Central Correctional Institution and inmates are emotionally hurting owing to; monotonous corrections routine, idleness, and boredom” (SFGD).

This situation seems to vent out in a form of aggression and violence staged by inmates in correctional settings. The notion explains why corrections inmates get it tough to live in correctional institutions. In toto, the preceding also explain factors influencing; construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of masculinity in correctional settings. The deprivation model emphasized the fact that inmates are held captive and have been deprived of their freedom, security, possessions, heterosexual relations, and autonomy. As a result, they are experiencing emotional suffering spilling over into formations that encourage corrections subculture approving violent and dominant masculinities therein (Modvig 2014:22). The deprivation model focuses above all on correctional settings as creating cognitive pressure largely on inmates.

It was revealed from data that, due to the militaristic nature of correctional service, corrections staff like inmates are also deprived of basics like freedom of speech. Corrections staff are not allowed to publicly express their workplace predicaments. They may not share their work-related difficulties even with their spouses which causes them undue burnouts. They are also deprived in a way, of freedom of movement due to their endangering work assignments. One member of staff acknowledged that restrictions imposed on them have some national security connotations, however, he lamented that:
many of our colleagues have suffered depression from management practices depriving staff certain freedoms such as, as the slogan says, 'duty first and complain after'. Complaining after is in most cases a nonstarter because one would have already gone through the frustrating mayhem which could have been avoided (SFGD).

It emerged from the literature that, conditions of corrections in Africa and beyond have been pivotal and at the core of concerns of many criminal justice scholars and human rights activists. The intentions of many over a long period have been on how the conditions in correctional settings impact on the lives of inmates with less consideration on how corrections staff are affected in the circumstances. However, it emerged from data that conditions therein impact on both inmates and staff negatively either physically, culturally, economically, socially, and psychologically, even though the level of impact may not be the same. There is no doubt that unfavorable conditions in correctional settings have the potential to breed disorderly masculinities on the part of both inmates and staff.

7.5.2 Importation model of prisonisation

Contrary to the deprivation model is the importation model. Irwin and Cressey (1962 cited in Dâmboeanu and Nieuwbeerta 2016:334) argue that inmates' personalities brought from various homes better explain masculine behaviors of inmates while in incarceration. This means inmate's masculinity patterns displayed are imported from their various homes. The model emphasized prior experiences as responsible for the inmate's behavior and the causation of corrections masculinities (Modvig 2014:22). Concerning the importation model, like with the deprivation model, inmates are at the core of the model claiming that they are bringing into correctional facilities their experiences from their families and communities.

According to participants, “ngoana e mong le mong ke seipone sa lelapa la bo” literally translated as each child is the mirror of his or her family. That is, one's behavior is the reflection of his or her upbringing and socialization process, whether an inmate or staff. In this manner, according to participants, not only inmates are reflecting on their earlier experiences but also the staff. For example, at MCCI, inmates and staff are brought from all over the country, be it from rural, urban, or semi-urban communities (SFGD and OFGD).

It was revealed that some members of staff and inmates are drawn from traditional circumcision schools where they were culturally initiated into manhood, and perhaps they have learned that men are superior to women and uncircumcised men. These are men who have been cultured that they are supposed to book their social space through violent means. Some of the inmates and staff were brought up in rude environments such as amongst abusive parents, negligent parents, antagonizing siblings, and shebeeners. They have been exposed to hostile environments that instilled violence in their psyche from birth. It was further revealed
that, on the one hand, some members of staff and inmates are from converted communities that have denounced traditional circumcision schools and other cultural practices. They were schooled at multi-racial private schools, whilst some were schooled at disadvantaged mission schools and underprivileged rural government schools (SFGD).

In this study, it is noted that of the twelve members of staff who participated, nine of them went to university 'eight are first-degree graduates and one holds a diploma from the college, while three only went up to secondary school. They all come from different family set-ups, separate primary schools and secondary schools, they come from distinct communities where they were socialized in different ways. Each one of the member's corrections community brings into corrections life a large reservoir of experiences which in turn influences how they conduct themselves which is the essence of the importation model of prisonization and socialization into corrections culture.

Some of the inmates were homeless, they are double orphaned, dumped, and abandoned at birth, this implies they were socialized as 'street kids' meaning children born and bred in the street, they have not known any parental touch, whilst some are from deep rural cattle posts where 'survival is for the fittest' and violence is the order of each day (SFGD).

Many of the inmates from rural Lesotho were sent to cattle posts in their early teens, they have not known any parental guidance, and many suffered father wound (SFGD).

Some of the inmates do not know about either heterosexual or homosexual relationships other than “thope ea lihlaba” lady of the mountains, that is doing bestiality ‘having sex with animals’ (SFGD).

I joined gang 28 in Bloemfontein, I love it, I can die for it. It is beneficial to me and many inmates, this is why some corrections officers are members of 28-gang in large numbers (OFGD).

I am a member of gang 26, I like it wholeheartedly. We help each other inside correctional institutions and outside the facility. I joined it while I was incarcerated in Gauteng (OFGD).

I am a senior member of gang 28, I do recruitment and selection of gang 28 cadres, I teach them, and I am leading other members as in charge here at MCCI. It is my duty anywhere I go to promote gang 28. We do not just fight other inmates or staff as non-members think of us, we are not that petty, we simply protect ourselves and our territory. Some officials and some inmates have a tendency of interfering with the affairs of gang 28 which is a no-go area for non-gang members. We shall protect ourselves and our privacy till death. I can die for gang 28, if anybody wants to know about gang 28, they have to join, they are welcome, it is free, we will teach them the rituals (An inmate stated vehemently during OFGD).

Significantly, some inmates are recidivists, that is they are re-offenders or habitual offenders. Some happened to have served correctional terms in the neighboring South African correctional institutions where they were arrested for committing various offenses during their
stay in South Africa. It was revealed from the process that many of the inmates joined corrections number gangs while incarcerated in South Africa. For example, two inmates stated that they joined a 28-number gang in Bloemfontein, Mangaung prison while the 26-number gang member only mentioned that he served in Gauteng {OFGD}.

7.6 Implications of corrections masculinities

The findings of this study revealed that there are three significant forms of masculinities in correctional settings. They are found as domineering masculinities, dominated masculinities, and middling masculinities bringing along varying implications. Put on the continuum they are dominating far left, dominated far-right, and middling in the middle. Following R. W. Connell, the guru of hegemonic masculinity theory, the dominating corrections masculinities could be placed on the far left of the continuum or at the apex of the hierarchy of masculinities. Dominated masculinity could be placed on the far right of the continuum or at the bottom or base of the hierarchy. Whereas middling masculinities would be at the center of the continuum or zero points on the number line.

When analyzing Connell’s hierarchy of masculinities and the continuum of masculinities, hegemonic masculinities would cohabit with domineering masculinities, complicit masculinities could be placed on the left-hand side of the continuum, that is, left of zero on the number line towards hegemonic masculinity dynasty. Marginalized masculinities could be placed on the right-hand side of the continuum, that is, on the right-hand side of zero on the number line and subordinate masculinities would be placed in one room with dominated masculinities.

Since it is established from the literature that masculinities are not static, one would content that middling masculinities could be situationally influenced and would shuttle between complicit and marginalized masculinities. Complicit masculinities would be shuttling between hegemonic masculinities and middling masculinities “at zero points” of the continuum whereas marginalized would be shuttling between subordinate masculinities and middling masculinities “at zero points” of the continuum. Pictures 1 and 2 below are pictorial illustrations of the continuum and hierarchy of masculinities.
Implications are inferences involved when constructing a logical or common-sense decision based on related gestures, indicators, and, or circumstantial evidence, and prior conclusions. In that regard, corrections masculinities are in so far as participants were concerned, are by implication a basis or rather an umbrella of all forms of violence in correctional settings. This is based on an argument that corrections are male-dominated spaces. Thus, violence and aggression are dominating personality traits determining an ideal man among the Basotho. That is, by implication masculinity and violence are inseparable. The subsequent issues are the implications of corrections masculinities as captured during the investigations. (1) Corrections masculinities seems to condone violence in all its forms; (2) Corrections culture seem to cheer dominant forms of masculinity; (3) Corrections culture insist that another mans’ secret should be kept secretive; (4) Man shall not express his emotions; (5) Corrections masculinities uphold consensual sex, as well as sexual and gender-based violence; (6) Corrections masculinities, are a major cause of gangsterism and violence therein.
Corrections masculinities seems to condone violence in all its forms

The study revealed that corrections masculinities are largely a reflection of corrections staff and inmates' culture which is seemingly inclined to inspire and condone largely direct and non-direct interpersonal violence perpetrated by staff on subordinate staff and inmates; and violence amongst inmates where dominant inmates violate subordinates staff; and rarely violence whereby inmates are violating staff. It was found that staff and inmates are exposed to an environment that teaches violence through non-formal, informal, and accidental learning modes therein. Study participants were in consensus on the assertion that:

Violence has become means of survival for inmates in the institution if one happens to exhibit some form of inclinations to non-violence, he is taken to be womanish and is prone to abuse by other inmates in various forms {OFGD}.

Like "mampoli" at the cattle post, for a dominant inmate to successfully hold the fort as a bully, he has to discharge his bullying tendencies successfully through a perpetual show of force. He has to prove his supremacy by continuously intimidating the weaker inmates physically and verbally. He is also not expected to show his feelings in whatsoever manner. On the part of the staff, inmates stated that they have observed that superior officers are irrationally oppressing junior officers. Participating inmates and some officers stated that "some of the officers are irrationally hostile towards officers subordinate to them and are notoriously abusive and arrogant to inmates and other visitors of corrections such as relatives of inmates" {OFGD and SOGD}.

Inmates were in concert that:

"Some of the officers sexually harass inmates’ wives and children upon visitation to the institution, some even follow our wives to our places in the villages. Many of those who harass our wives are driven by the pathetic fallacy that since we are locked up, we are dull and uninformed of life outside the institution {OFGD}.

Some of the officers and inmates stated that:

"Some of the officers are gay and attract "mafamo" inmates who prey on other men for sex. More often than not, these gay officers are victimized by inmates {SFGD}.

It is sad and miserable to note that, as it happens with inmates, some officers are seemingly dishing out gay officers to seemingly well off and well-to-do inmates in exchange for some favors such as money and other material possessions like animals or pieces of land {SFGD}.

Some of the gay officers, actually get out of way and propose love to inmates. Many of them deserted jobs when they were discovered and caught. During the past three years, five officers were caught red-handed in a sexual act with inmates, all of them were playing the female role in a sexual concert {SFGD}.

Corrections culture seem to cheer and condone domineering forms of masculinity
Participants stated that in many incidences, corrections culture seems to cheer hegemonic masculinity. In this regard, inmates revealed that:

This is evidenced in many cases by officers and “libota” inmates’ house prefects or monitors attitude when reporting an occurrence of a violent act, sometime officers will just make fun of victims and make blaming statements {OFGD}.

I never noticed any seriousness on the part of officers when reporting an act of violence in the institution, I found it useless to report such matters to officers because it is like we are wasting time, nothing will be done. At times, a reporter becomes a victim of further abuse {An inmate confessed affectionately during OFGD}.

Some of the known abusers, especially sexual molesters in the institution are praised by some officers as “mafamo”, denoting intimidating sodomite, “ntja tse mpe” meaning the bad dogs who are merciless; and “liilaere” denoting violent conflict peddlers or warmongers in the institution {OFGD}.

**Corrections culture insist that another mans’ secret should be kept secretive**

According to inmates who participated in the focus group discussion, every man is incarcerated in his right and it is not welcomed that any inmates discuss affairs of another. To foster this culture, it was noted that: “Semokolo sa monna e mong ha se engoe pele” meaning no inmate shall snitch. Anything done by inmates should remain a secret between inmates or gang members no matter the circumstances. This is further made clear by the saying “ts’oeu ha li tsoane” meaning no one shall disclose inmates’ secrets. Also being secretive for inmates involves avoidance to seek help when sick which may likely be due to ideals of masculinity {OFGD}.

One official working closely with corrections health services as a trained nurse revealed that:

a handful of inmates hide their sicknesses because most of their ailments were caused by mischievous activities like severe beating or gang rape executed as a punishment given by gang leader for offenses laid by gang rules, Thus, they are bound to keep the secret, secretively lest they are going to be punished more {An officer during SFGD}.

**A man shall not express his emotions, especially crying out openly**

As stated earlier, a man should be built toughness by enduring physical and emotional pain avoiding crying as “monna ke fika le thata” meaning an idea man, in particular, an inmate is supposed to be hard like hard rock, also “monna ke nku ha a lle”, meaning, like a sheep, a man does not cry. In this manner, an inmate has enculturated into corrections masculinity so that he can be accepted and trusted by other inmates as he would be behaving manly. Corrections masculinities largely on the part of inmates dictates that a man should not in any way express his emotions. Many inmates suffer secretly till they get healed and in the worst-
case scenario, some die in silence, regardless of what pains him. If one reports emotional or physical pain, he is reported as weak and sell out.

Corrections masculinities uphold consensual sex and condone sexual violence

Corrections culture was reported by research participants as accommodating to various forms of sexual and gender-based violence. Like earlier mentioned, female officers in correctional institutions fall prey to male officers who perpetually abuse them emotionally and sexually. Likewise, weaker inmates fall prey to sexual abuse by domineering inmates.

"Sexual relations between junior officials and senior officers are by implication work-place harassment since many junior officers do not get involved in such with genuine consent but with hope to enjoy some unmerited favors from superiors and seniors (SFGD).

"Gangsterism also encourages a culture of rape amongst inmates. Corrections masculinity hierarchy put some inmates at the dominating position and some at the dominant position. Prisonization teaches inmates that their masculinity is attached to their ability to domineer over weaker masculinities who in many cases are coerced into corrections ‘marriages’ as wives. Those who vehemently resist sexual advances are subjected to gang rapes by dominating inmates (SFGD).

"Some of the inmates who engage in sex with other inmates are consenting to the act as ‘protection fee’ against violent gangsters. Some engage in transactional sex in exchange for toiletries and food. Some are raped while some engage in sexual activity with the mutual agreement of equal exchange of sex action, and no one is taken to be superior or inferior in this kind of relationship” (SFGD).

Corrections masculinities are seemingly a major cause of gangsterism and violence

Gangsterism is defined as the corrections sub-culture as belonging to an organized gang in a correctional institution and more importantly performing gang activities. It was established from data that there are several gangs in corrections, but the popular gangs are namely: gang 28, gang 27, gang 26, gang 25, big 5, or “ma-blou baki”. The dominating in numbers are gang 28 and gang 26. The gang 28 is said to be ferocious and notorious corrections, sexual abusers. They are known to be fond of brutality and ruthlessness; “ke linoa-mali” they are blood drinkers. They can be identified with tattoos like; a number 28, tombstone, bayonet, “okapi” or knife, a pistol, or any other lethal weapon.

Gang 26 is known to be fond of money. They are unscrupulous prostitutes “prison whores” who do all in their wisdom to make money and circumvent problems and violent conflict. Money in a correctional institution can be anything valuable such as tobacco and cigarettes, nice food, and toiletries. The gang 26 can be identified with tattoos like gang number 26, dollar sign, coin sign, banknote sign, bank house expression, and bank money bag. There is no clear indication of when gangsterism emerged within correctional institutions in Lesotho. However,
manifestations of the culture of gangs as is today have been in existence for the past three decades in Lesotho.

Emerging from data gathered from both inmates and staff through interviews and focus groups, these manifestations include among others: Gang-related violence resulting in stabbings; Grievous body harm and killings; Sexual violence and rape; Bullying and intimidations; Property grabbing; Forced favors; and Favoritism and nepotism.

For inmates, corrections masculinities have caused them physical and mental pressure. Inmates who do not subscribe to gangsterism “Mafora” or “Ma-France” meaning the French, as they are referred to, are subjected to severe intimidation and perpetual fear. They are often physically and emotionally ill-treated and exposed to danger as they are normally caught in gangs’ violent conflicts. Data also revealed that, if one does not subscribe to any gang, he is considered as “mosali” a woman, “ntomane” informer, as a result, he would be molested, and gang-raped to correct his womanish behaviour.

For corrections staff, it emerged that the conditions of corrections seemingly emanating from gangsterism, seem to have caused them physical and mental fatigue resulting in burnouts leading them to behave aggressively towards inmates and colleagues; absenteeism and regular lateness; desertion of duty; excessive use of alcohol and drugs; uncontrolled debts causing them depression; women and child abuse propensities; suicidal tendencies and general deterioration of physical and mental health.

Corrections management style has emerged as one other factor influencing corrections masculinities as it appeared that; correctional service as a disciplined organisation has a strictly defined vertical organizational structure with a clear line of command and reporting. This situation leaves no room for juniors to deliberate their concerns hence bottled-up with anger and emotional pain. Corrections are highly classical and hierarchical with strict rules and regulations. The intensity level of emotional pain, unnegotiated conduct, and discipline therein compel inmates and employees to suppress their masculinities and only uphold the commissioner’s command without failure.

The United Nations Handbook on corrections incident management has acknowledged that the country’s political and cultural climate dictates the way correctional service is managed. This is expressed in the national legal and policy frameworks such as standard operating procedures; code of conduct and correctional service orders (United Nations 2013:15). Since Lesotho Correctional Service is militant, it emerged that its administration and management culture is extremely authoritarian.
The atmosphere in corrections does not permit one to question the orders from the superiors and consider one who questions orders as undisciplined. This is emotionally not healthy for members of staff and causes a lot of pressure that may vent out inappropriately if not ventilated properly at the right time, at the right place. However, it was revealed that there is no room for such ventilation. Some members of staff felt that:

The situation herein is such that subordinate staff only listen to orders, act according to the orders, and report meticulously and timeously. For example, it is a common saying if superior officer orders one to jump, it is an order and one should not ask why to jump, but would rather ask how high should I jump sir {Staff}.

It emerged from data that situation therein is emotionally pressuring and causes stress that one may not contain by himself. Staff are compelled to express their masculinities elsewhere in a certain manner whereas inmates as captive audience may do anything therein to break the boredom and routine. Data revealed further that, in many cases, members of staff partake in undisciplined actions due to burnouts resulting from a high level of stress and depression caused by the nature of corrections work which is said to be masculine in its aspects. Some officers become ruthless even to their wives and children, to the juniors or subordinates, inmates, and also visiting stakeholders {SFGD}.

Some of the characteristics of corrections masculinities amongst staff as it emerged from staff one-on-one interviews are:

- Over-reliance on "muti" traditional medicines and intensive belief in witchcraft;
- Polarization, that is they become party politicized corrections officials;
- Engaging in concurrent multiple sex partners;
- Pecuniary embarrassment due to financial difficulties, poor and needy;
- Excessive use of alcohol and drug dependence;
- Work desertions and absenteeism;
- Perpetual deep-seated anger and aggression;
- Abusive in their families
- Brutality, ruthlessness, and harshness on inmates and colleagues;
- The rich and successful.

It is concluded that implications of corrections masculinities in this study are considered as the effects of and connotations that may and may not be explicitly stated but can be inferred. Data revealed that masculinities in correctional institutions exhibit largely severe violence and gang-related atrocities, deviance, and mischiefs. The nature of violence linked to corrections masculinities is mostly dangerous and to some extent lethal. Corrections masculinities were
said to be exerting significant cognitive pressure on inmates, staff, the entire management, and the state. Problems arising from corrections masculinities as per data which is supported by Schaufeli and Maslach (2017:15) were summed up as:

i. Stand-alone and gang fights over contraband, wifies and for gang status;
ii. Fighting over inadequate amenities bedding, clothing, and ablution facilities;
iii. Involuntary same-sex marriages in a correctional institution “a wifie syndrome”;
iv. Payback attacks and beatings, sexual assaults, and gang-rapeing the victims;
v. Sex trading amongst inmates, that is “sex for sex” or “sex for material goods”;
vi. Compulsory sex as reimbursement for pleasant food and toiletries offered;
vii. Offering sex as ‘protection fee’ for gangsters so that they may not antagonize the payer;
viii. Offering sex as ‘protection fee’ for gangsters or payee to protect the payer;
ix. Use of sharps for tattooing when initiated into the gangs, which is mostly involuntary;
x. Inmates impromptu fighting emanating from gang superiority complex;
xi. Staff injury of self-esteem resulting from the feeling of incompetence and job dissatisfaction;
xii. Staff difficulty in attending to detail and feeling of extreme anger;
xiii. Staff counterattacking management commands, being undisciplined;
xiv. Staff performance decline, abnormal behaviour, social and family-related problems;
xv. Multiple physical symptoms of distress without an identifiable organic illness;
xvi. Tiredness resulting from work, monotony, and or abnormal workload (Schaufeli and Maslach 2017:15).

Gang masculinities are collective. By implication, corrections gang masculinities seem to be a leading cause of violence and disorderliness therein. Corrections number gangs are branded by communal norms and practices, believes, and guiding principles such as:

i. “Monna haa tsoale” meaning a man shall not admit any breach of corrections rules;
ii. “Semokolo sa monna e mong ha se engoe pele” meaning you shall not stick your nose into other man’s business;
iii. “O seke oa ba ntomane” meaning one shall not snitch;
iv. “Bana ba monna ba arolelana hlohoana ea tsie” share what you have;
v. “Thusa oa heno” help other gang mates;
vi. Brothers must be respected, aided, and live in harmony with others;
vii. Do not cooperate with members of staff, lest you bring trouble;
viii. Do not trust corrections officer, they can cause trouble;
ix. Be faithful, trustworthy, and obedient to the gang; Be loyal to other gangsters;
x. Do not talk to corrections officers unless you mean to tell a lie.
7.7 Discovering violence in correctional settings

The object of this part of data is to advance the description of the notion of violence pivoting on its manifestations and magnitude in correctional settings. This is a response to research question three, what is the nature and magnitude of violence in correctional institutions in Lesotho? From the literature, it emerged that World Health Organization (2002:4) defined violence as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against a group of persons or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation”.

According to Sonke Gender Justice Network (2012:12) violence is “the use of force or power to harm and/or control someone”. Mutually, two focus group discussions and one-on-one interviews held with inmates and staff acknowledged that correctional settings are enormously violent environments. Several studies and media reports revealed that violence is pervasive in both Lesotho and South African correctional settings whereby some participants concluded that violence is an integral part of life in corrections. Violence in corrections institutions is characterized by torture, cruel, inhumane treatment.

**Picture 3: Weapons and drugs confiscated from 28 gang members at MCCl**

The most common and obvious violence in correctional settings as exposed by participants is indirect, structural, or silent violence perpetuated mainly by the system itself and cultural violence seemingly condoning violence therein. This is the form of violence that normally manifests by the marginalization of those who lack access to means of violence such as junior officers, female officers, and corrections inmates (Luckham 2017:101). In correctional settings as voiced by all participants, this form of violence is mainly perpetuated by a lack of resources, deprived, and inhabitable conditions therein. According to Haney (2011:126) inmates in the Americas live under the attitude that they are hardly recognized as human beings with a sense
of self-born with human dignity. This assertion is not different from what is prevailing in African corrections, particularly in Lesotho. The claim has been raised by various institutional reports, media reportages, and Ombudsman’s reports.

This study also discovered that there is rampant direct or personal violence perpetuated by staff-on-inmates as mentioned by Spearit (2011:119). This form of violence is also resonated as violence arising as law enforcement officials encounter with victims such as corrections staff encounter with inmates (Luckham 2017:100). Violence is inflicted on inmates by staff as disclosed by inmates: details omitted here for the sake of privacy. Such violence was attested to by Spearit (2011:120). Three officials attested to witnessing brutality against inmates, however, were quick to mention that this is just a drop in the sea of incidences. There is also inmates-on-inmates violence in corrections (Spearit 2011:109) and also as detected by Walmsley (2004:73), there is violence among inmates. There is also cultural violence as propounded by Galtung (1969:170) and echoed by (Watts 2013). According to Walmsley (2004:73), there is also violence directed to staff in corrections.

To date, there has been no effort or whatsoever attempt to systematically study forms of corrections violence in Lesotho, however, reports are alleging such by various local and international human rights bodies and media houses. In neighboring South Africa, Gear (2007:5) observed that violent correctional settings are persistent and have become a concern for the society for its spillover effects. Gear concluded that corrections culture is such that “...tolerates aggression and violence”. In his introductory remarks of the article “Reducing prison violence: implications from the literature for South Africa” Muntingh (2009:5) acknowledges that some scholars argue that correctional settings are violent spaces where inmates and officials are subjected to a considerable risk of violence and brutality categorized as physical, psychological, sexual violence and actual rape perpetrated by corrections officials and violent inmates.

Muntingh opined that this is by some means maintained by some members of the public. In the same manner, experience has taught me that, even though Lesotho as a member of the United Nations is obliged to ensure the maintenance of human rights of inmates, some corrections officials and public officers in the higher echelons of the state still hold on to archaic attitudes and occasionally make contrary statements and expressions that corrections should be purely punitive, threatening, hostile and painful for the inmates.

*It emerged from the discussions that corrections should not be considered as home, hence the feeling that correctional institution is not anyone’s comfort zone, one should learn to adjust and accept it as a legitimate condition if he or she is hit by violence therein. According to Auty et.al (2017:5), violence is a universal feature of corrections culture experienced daily by
inmates and corrections staff. Violence is said to be destructive to corrections administration as it destructively impacting on the day-to-day running of a correctional facility. Auty and others further believed that corrections violence weakens and destabilizes efforts to deliver corrections programs such as offender’s education and training as well as safe custody of inmates.

Since its formation in 1841 as prison service, corrections as a penitentiary organization in Lesotho adopted militarized bureaucracy from the British who were then colonial masters. Like in Argentina and Chile (Hathazy 2016:170) and many other former British colonies, the stature, prestigiosity, power, and authority of top-ranking corrections officers got reliant on adopted and espoused militaristic culture. Corrections remain paramilitary to date. MCCI was built in 1948 following the closure of the Maseru prison. The holding capacity of MCCI at the time of research was approximately 600 inmates and is at the time of exploration housing between 850 and 900 inmates from all over the country serving long terms of imprisonment. It serves as a referral facility as some services and functions are only carried out in this facility.

7.7.1 Staff reflections on violence in corrections
These are consolidated reflections of staff on violence in correctional settings:

i. Workplace bullying perpetrated by the militaristic and classical nature of corrections seems to be one of the leading factors causing stress and depression for both inmates and corrections staff.

ii. Militaristic leadership styles perpetuating that majority of unpleasant corrections tasks are mainly assumed by subordinate officers are causing stress for subordinate staff.

iii. Psycho-social violence caused by poor conditions of the facility and the unpleasant work atmosphere is burdening and seem to be causing burnout on the part of the staff.

iv. Participants raised that, due to overcrowding, they suffer claustrophobic sensation of multitudes of inmates incarcerated therein, resulting in catching of airborne transmitted illnesses such as simple tuberculosis and multiple drug-resistant tuberculosis (MDR-TB).

v. Participants mentioned that their challenges ensuing from workplace discrimination, nepotism, and favouritism thereby exposing the majority of staff to emotional violence as they experience cognitive pain and suffering.

vi. Dealing with difficult offenders charged with sophisticated crimes is demanding a high level of skills of which in most cases are rare amongst staff. This is the cause for work complications seemingly responsible for a cognitive strain on corrections staff and management, thus participants considered the circumstances as accountable for emotional violence against staff.

vii. Lack of contemporary skills and work paraphernalia vis-à-vis challenging, demanding and dangerous corrections work environment and requirements exert enormous pressure on corrections staff. Such is the financial difficulty facing correctional service characterized by inadequate quality and quantities of staff; shortage of staff accommodation, welfare, and recreational facilities; lack of office space, furniture,
equipment, and other paraphernalia. This state of affairs is held responsible for emotional violence not only on staff but inmates as well.

viii. Corrections practices such as “do duty first and complain after” and the law of confidentiality which is governed and reinforced through an oath of secrecy undertaken by corrections officers upon their appointment, promulgates that it is an offence for an officer to divulge any information known to him or her as a result of duty. If found to have disclosed such information, one is charged disciplinarily and characterised as weak and womanish. In some cases, this may attract dismissal from service. This was reported as burdening on officers as they are obliged to bottle-up until a mental “explosion”, as thus burnout is inflicted on the part of officers.

ix. Corrections staff reported that some members have been physically assaulted by inmates while many have to endure emotional pain inflicted by inmates on them.

x. Similarly, it was unearthed that inmates are daily faced with varying degrees of violence which is mainly enormous, widespread, and remains a national and international concern. They are physically and emotionally assaulted daily by officers and conditions themselves.

xi. Gangsters are notorious abusers of other inmates in the facility, they beat and stab other inmates, rape them and coerce them into “marriages” where weaker inmates are forced to play the female role in the “marriage”.

xii. Vulnerable inmates such as the physically weak, “fresh fish or fresh meat” denoting the newly admitted and first-time inmates, the young, non-gangsters, non-violent and those perceived good-looking fall prey to the dominant, strong, and aggressive inmates. They are sexually abused and raped, and their property is grabbed.

xiii. Staff participants stated that violence is rampant at MCCi manifesting itself in covert and overt forms. It was disclosed by staff participants that all forms of violence in corrections seem to be a leading factor that compromises and cripple corrections offender rehabilitation programmes; security of correctional facility; safety and humane custody of inmates; as well as wellbeing and security of staff; and general wellbeing of the significant others forming corrections community such as corrections official’s families.

Though reported to be minute and seemingly insignificant, there are reports of violence perpetrated by inmates on staff, be it direct or indirect. However, there were no clear records of such incidences except inmates’ disciplinary proceedings and records of awards. Staff is said to be skeptical to report violent attacks on them due to the administrator’s tendency of blaming the victims as having self-invited the attacks. Besides, having been attacked by inmates could be considered as some form of weakness which could translate into lacking some physical or mental strength as quality of one of the qualities of a corrections officer. It could also be interpreted or misinterpreted as a gross failure on the part of an officer. This is at times evidenced by the direct violent attack and verbal attacks.

The system also is said to be inflicting some form of violence as reported by noticeably disgruntled inmates and staff members who shared their views during focus group discussions and interviews with staff. This accordingly entails generally poor conditions of service; the politicization of the institution; and classical hierarchical administrative arrangement evidenced by long vertical red tape. Participants feel that the classical administrative arrangement often
frustrates organizational communication thereby leaves out some officers when significant decisions are made, thus officers suffer from stress and depression syndrome. Extreme party politicization of correctional service is reported to put up pressure on officers as it puts their job security at stake hence, they are classified as emotional violence as they are perturbed by the insecurity of tenure.

This study revealed that corrections staff are mindful that there is rampant violence at MCCI. This was exposed and noted as violence against inmates which is perpetuated by staff, by fellow inmates, and by the hostile conditions therein. Staff seemed verbose on violence perpetrated by inmates against staff and that some members of staff suffer grave and gross violence perpetrated by other dominant staff with bullying tendencies. Staff also reported that corrections environmental conditions seem not fit for human habitation thereby causing mental health complications like stress, depression, and burnout exhibited by alcohol and drug abuse, absenteeism and desertions, deviant sexual behaviour, and unbecoming family life.

7.7.2 Inmates reflections on violence in corrections

As with corrections staff reflections noted above, these are consolidated reflections of inmates on the state of violence in correctional settings. The process with inmates revealed that corrections inmates are daily exposed to both direct and indirect violence at Maseru Central Correctional Institution. It was noted that inmates revealed their daily suffering in the hands of corrections staff. This could be in either physical or psychological forms characterised by actual beatings, hitting, kicking, and slapping; gestural and verbal abuses. Some violence experienced by inmates is exacerbated by inappropriate or peculiar denial of inmate’s procedurally acceptable privileges by corrections officers. This could include visitations by family members or friends and denial of receipt of letters or food from family or friends.

Inmates also revealed that there is also physical violence occurring among the inmates themselves. This is vivid among gangsters exhibited by intra-gang violent incidences such as illegal punishments meted out for nonconformity to gang culture, which is characterised by practices, rules, and regulations. The usually impolite and ferocious inter-gangs’ fights and intimidations such as fighting over institutional rations and “besuk” special foodstuffs, uniforms and blankets, “bana” or “wifies” in-facility ‘female’ sexual partners or objects and contraband. Some of the inmates stated that psychological violence against inmates is daily inflicted by the entire conditions therein. One elderly inmate revealed that he found “Maemo a mona chankaneng e le a otlang pelo habohloko” {Inmate in OFGD}, meaning he characterized corrections conditions as heartbreaking.

Reflecting on corrections violence, inmates confessed that:
Corrections inmates are hard hit by overcrowding at MCCI which was appalling at the time of this study. This is characterised by lack of bed space; inadequate ablution facilities; lack of bedding and clothing; inmates meal ration is uninteresting, repetitive, indecent, and lacking nutritious value (OFGD).

Inmates reported a range of incidences of violence by staff against inmates, both physical and emotional, details not included in this report.

Inmates are exposed to sexual violence including one-on-one and gang rapes perpetrated by other inmates who are seemingly older, physically stronger, and bigger than victims who are soft, small, young, psychologically and physically weak (OFGD).

Weaker inmates are subjected to forced same-sex marriages in correctional institutions whereby powerful inmates become “husbands” and force weaker inmates into being “wives”. Weaker inmates more often give in to sexual abuse for their physical protection against the bullies. Those who do not have relatively permanent “husbands” succumb to sexual abuse as a protection fee (OFGD).

After the validation meeting, four inmates volunteered to share their life experiences in corrections in a closed meeting with me. I had to remind these inmates of their right to voluntary participation. The safety of inmates and staff who participated in the study was extremely important. As noted, for staff, members were drawn from all management and operational levels and across professions with their safety guaranteed by anonymity and safe keeping of all notes made during the interviews and focus groups.

Regarding the four inmates, I explained to them about the process and discussed the issues of their security which they all felt safe, more so because the perpetrators of mainly sexual abuse have since been transferred while some have deserted the job. They have duly reminded them about the researcher’s obligation to uphold ethics and focus on the purpose of the study. However, due to pressure and the need for a democratic approach in doing PAR as qualitative inquiry fostered by emerging issues thereof, I had to allow them opportunity and time to express their views only on the subject under research. I engaged the principle of flexibility as advocated due to its ability to elicit the innermost feelings from participants. Flexibility according to Ohman (2005:274) is important in doing qualitative research since “it allows participants to delve deeper into their “understanding and explanation of their reality, not researcher’s preconceived views and perceptions of reality”. Though they were only four participating inmates in this unplanned one-on-one encounter, I was firm that as Ann Ohman opined “qualitative inquiry is about the quality of a phenomenon in focus, not in quantity” (Ohman 2005:274). My encounter with these inmates was duly authorized by the Head of MCCI who was quite accommodative.
It is accordingly important to highlight "cross limitations of this study" as I experienced what I saw as such cross limitations. As noted in the previous chapter, I intended to work with five percent (5%) of the MCCI population which is approximately fifteen (15) inmates and fifty (50) members of staff. This process was frustrated by the researcher's positionality in the LCS. Only nine (9) inmates participated inclusive of those who were later engaged in one-on-one encounters upon their request. On the part of members of staff, sixteen (16) participated throughout, however, only twelve (12) attended a focus group discussion. Sixteen (16) of the members of staff enrolled for a training workshop which was an intervention.

There were difficulties to access participating staff and inmates due to the dilly-dallied flow of information regarding the purpose of this study and the action thereof. There was evidenced by unexplained postponements of meetings and needless delays to start meetings on the agreed dates and times. I encountered unethical and uncalled for demands from inmates who informed me that some officials told them that I had to buy them for sharing information. Some requested that I should promise them that I will push for their early release. These inmates were disengaged from the process. On the part of the staff, many were reluctant to participate. I addressed fifty (50) members at the beginning whom I explained my cause to them, however, the numbers dropped to seventeen (17) and later sixteen (16). This was explained to me by withdrawing participants as exacerbated by lack of trust in me as a senior member and to keep their information confidential.

Regarding the personal discussions with the four inmates, the details of these discussions are not included here for the sake of confidentiality, however, as noted above, their stories confirmed the findings of violence in the corrections institution both from staff to inmates and inmates to inmates.

Corrections masculinities, in conclusion are branded, by rampant brutal and cruel physical, sexual, and gender-based violence associated with number gangs coupled with accordion "famo" music acquaintances who are popular amongst both inmates and staff. Inmates are forced to subscribe to hyper-masculine traits to resist or survive the atrocities of life in correctional institutions. Inmates are suffering direct and indirect violence in the hands of staff and numbers gangsters. Furthermore, inmates suffer emotional pain and suffering inflicted by poor conditions of corrections characterised structures not suitable for human habitation, inadequate social amenities, and lack of food, bedding, and clothing. Corrections conditions of service and management style were also reported to inflict direct and indirect violence on corrections staff, Lastly, corrections staff were reported to suffer some violence inflicted by inmates from time to time.
7.8 Intersecting masculinities and violence in correctional settings

Participants agreed as earlier noted that, masculinities in correctional settings describe interpersonal dynamics or how members of the corrections community relate, with superior masculinities domineering over inferior masculinities and femininities therein. In doing exploration for this rubric of the study, I gathered and presented data on masculinity and violence at MCCII with the intent to respond to research question four, what is the relationship between masculinity and violence in correctional settings?

Participants were asked, having formed the opinion on what corrections masculinities and violence is, what then could be the relationship between masculinities and violence in corrections? In response, some participants have been recorded labeling dominant patterns of masculinity in correctional settings as destructive, malicious, and harmful, thus, have been held responsible for rampant violence therein. On the one hand, three inmates who participated in focus group discussion outrightly formed an opinion that, if an inmate appears calm, peaceable, or seem to preach nonviolence, he swiftly falls prey to inmates who subscribe to dominant masculinities. He would ‘by the blink of the eye’ be subjected to some form of violence such as sexual assaults. Therefore, participants formed an opinion that some inmates are forced into violence by the environment which is already violent.

The preceding opinion was indeed resonated in consensus by all participating inmates and staff. Furthermore, while making connections, participants reported that brutal criminal acts such as sexual assaults and gang rapes, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, ritual murder, and body parts harvesting and assassinations or cold blood killings in Lesotho are largely an assemblage of acts of harmful masculinities. This is convergent with the reviewed literature on the fact that "...relationships between violence and well-being is considered from the perspective of masculinity and that violence is taken as a crucial element in the construction of ruling African masculinity". Therefore, in societies where avenues for individual and social human development are limited, violence and abuse become even more central in men’s strivings to be regarded as successful (Ratele and Suffla 2011:260).

In doing this exploratory rubric of this study which aimed to identify intersectionality between masculinity and violence, some participants have been recorded labelling dominant patterns of masculinity in correctional settings as destructive, malicious, and harmful, and have been held responsible for rampant violence therein. On the one hand, three inmates who participated in focus group discussion believed that, an inmate who appears calm, peaceable, or seem to preach nonviolence while therein, swiftly falls prey to inmates who subscribe to dominant masculinities {OFGD}. Such an inmate “would by the blink of the eye be subjected to some form of violence such as sexual assaults” {opined one participant in OFGD}.  

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Participants agreed that masculinities in correctional settings seemingly describe interpersonal dynamics or how members of the corrections community relate, particularly referring to superior masculinities and inferior masculinities. This is, not in any manner suggesting that there are no femininities and androgynous masculinities in correctional settings. Of course, there are living cases of inmates and staff who possess androgynous forms of masculinities (SFGD and OFGD).

Furthermore, participants when unearthing the connection between masculinity and violence in correctional settings, participants reported that:

"Brutal criminal acts such as sexual assaults and gang rapes, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, ritual murder and body parts harvesting and assassination or cold blood killings in Lesotho are an assemblage of acts of harmful masculinity" (SFGD and OFGD).

"Basotho boys grow up from childhood, with the mindset that for a man to be respected, he must be feared, then he will terrorize women, threaten children and intimidate other weaker men and boys so that they fear and respect him. This social setup cuts across urban, rural, and semi-urban geographic areas" (SFGD and OFGD).

"In many cases, 'makoloane', circumcision school graduates, who of course are males at early adulthood, perhaps pressured to prove that their masculinity is refined. At this stage, they are known for rampant violence characterized by 'bolaere' meaning being uncultured, impoliteness, disorderliness, and disruptive troublemaking such as gang fights resulting in grievous body harm and homicides, sexual violence including gang rapes (lightly termed streamline), and vandalism of individuals and public property such 'umbrella' or 'matobo', meaning reserved grazeland and 'ieremo' or 'meru', meaning communal woodlots (SFGD).

"I was born and bred in the rural area of the country where violence and aggression are considered as, perhaps masculine efficiency and usually customized from situation to situation. , I did not go to school as my sisters did, I used to stay alone at the cattle post where I was employed as a herd boy. I have spent most of my early years herding various herds of animals deep in the rural mountains" (OFGD).

"As rural boys, we were herding, it was normal for me and my peers to fight with boys from other villages, we were beating and molesting school boys and girls on their way from school and women who would be walking past by our cattle post either visiting from other villages or those to or from town for shopping or medical services" (one participant in OFGD).

"I have learnt as very young herd boy that for my herd to access water and rich grassland, I had to negotiate if things do not work out, destruction was the solution, "etsoe khang ea monna e khaoloa ke letlaka” meaning the only solution to a conflict was hostility and fighting (one participant in OFGD).

In sum, this study concluded that Basotho cultural and social norms tend to teach boys to become aggressive and fierce in protecting their families, communities, and property. Basotho
boys are deliberately groomed to be physically and psychologically fit and powerful to confront any challenge coming their way; to be unemotional; be hard-working and able to provide for the family, and to become firm leaders and controllers. The eventuality is for the boys to understand and contribute to the social acceptance of male persons as dominant as it is culturally expected of Sesotho masculinity. The situation of masculinities in correctional settings are known to be extreme due to physical and psychological conditions therein seemingly inflicting extreme violence on inmates and staff. This resonance is supported by Van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2016:279) whose study established that masculinity appears to be closely intertwined with violence.

7.9 Measures to address masculinities and reduce violence in corrections

In an endeavour to respond to the need for nonviolent correctional settings, the question was posed in both focus group discussions and one-on-one interviews conducted with staff participants. The inquiry, as research question five was, what can be done to transform masculinities and reduce violence in correctional settings? Participants in this study resolved that, even though the atmosphere therein is not favourable for the facilitation of a swift change, there is, however, a pressing need to reduce violence there for the good health of inmates and staff. The main factors that could be hindering speedy change are deep-rooted gangsterism, inadequate facilities, and commodities, coupled with security issues {OFGD and SFGD}.

Participants noted that in an endeavour to transform masculinities and curb violence therein, correctional service should establish a decisive and deliberate programme aimed to accustom members of the corrections community gradually into nonviolent ways and means of dealing with pertinent issues affecting their lives. Participants in this regard echoed that there is a need to customise a practical programme conceivably with short-term and long-term goals of transforming masculinities. The intervention which was suggested by participants aimed to improve the quality of professional and interpersonal relationships between and amongst the staff and inmates {OFGD and SFGD}.

It was agreed that this study should target the negative and harmful masculinities and strive to engage all stakeholders to transform undesirable masculinities to create nonviolent correctional settings. It was suggested that staff training programmes should be designed and conducted for all the ranks and professional cadres {SFGD}.

To address violence arising from general conditions of corrections, it was suggested that correctional service should conduct a mass campaign to raise awareness on the part of the general public and elites with power and influence on policy and legal issues such as members
of the Senate who are Principal Chiefs and House of Commoners who are Parliamentary Electorates and Development Partners. The interventions which were suggested, emergent from focus groups and interviews broadly involved:

- Advocacy, community education, and social mobilisation aimed to bring on board all stakeholders who would support corrections reforms to improve corrections conditions responsible for violence in corrections.
- Awareness-raising campaign for the political elites and business bourgeoisie on the conditions of corrections vis-à-vis national commitments to embrace human rights culture and good corrections management.
- Advocating for codification and speedy review of legal and policy frameworks concerning corrections aiming to transform negative masculinities and create a nonviolent correctional setting.
- Defining and putting in place operational standards, legal and policy framework targeting the elimination of all forms of violence in corrections, such as improved workplace relations, criminalizing number gangs, and protecting subordinate staff and weaker inmates.
- Designing and conducting peer-education programmes for both inmates and staff on human rights and responsibilities; conflict, violence and conflict transformation; gender issues and transformative masculinities.
- Designing and conducting a wellness programme aimed to build a healthy relationship of mutual trust and understanding between inmates and staff, and within inmates and staff themselves.
- Timeous disciplinary action against perpetrators of any direct violence in correctional settings as an individual and general deterrence.
- Enhancing organizational communication at MCCl thereby improving timeous management response to inmates and staff grievances, thereby allowing all aggrieved members and inmates safe spaces for catharsis and ventilation of their innermost feelings in confidence that they are listened to with a purpose.

Having scrutinized the ultimate goal and objectives of the intervention vis-à-vis availability resources including time constraints, it was arranged that a workshop would be held for corrections staff with intensive content aimed to expose participants to learning, thus, a relatively permanent change in behaviour regarding masculinities, violence and conflict transformation. The intervention built on three critical concepts identified in learning and teaching circles being learning, unlearning, and relearning. These are the intentions which the intervention was envisaged to achieve. Learning refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills for permanent behaviour change. Unlearning refers to letting out and go of deeply rooted and held assumptions about masculinities. Relearning would be the process of creating new understandings and behaviours around the concepts of masculinity, conflict, peace, and conflict transformation (Klein 2008: 80).

There were multifarious views on how to deal with masculinities and violence in correctional settings as noted above. However, for this project, the programme designed as an intervention
was a training workshop. The intervention provided to equip participants with knowledge of conceptual and theoretical issues concerning masculinities, violence, conflict transformation, and transforming power to assist in behaviour change. In doing so, the workshop adopted and customised some of the Transformative Masculinities Project (TMP) as championed by Ecumenical HIV and AIDS Initiative in Africa (EHAIA) and Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) methods and techniques. At the end of the workshop, participants were expected to be able to:

i. Define, identify and internalise the notion of masculinities in correctional settings;
ii. Describe and internalise the notions of conflict, violence, and conflict transformation;
iii. Relate the notion of masculinities with violence in correctional settings; and to
iv. Describe and internalise the notion of transforming power.

7.9 Summary and Conclusion

This study engaged qualitative research methodology to explore issues of masculinities and violence among the corrections community at Maseru Central Correctional Institution. This rubric of the study was aimed to unearth issues of masculinities and violence in correctional settings. Participants were drawn from inmates and staff who were guided to share their knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions on the nature, patterns, causes, and implications of Sesotho masculinity; the nature and magnitude of violence in corrections; and the relationship of masculinity and violence. The exploration was brought to a close by navigating the possible interventions to transform masculinities and curb violence in correctional settings.

This exploration exercise established that masculinity, in plural form masculinities, is behavioural patterns of masculine gender mainly manifested in a male person. These were found to be conventional qualities traditionally vested in male persons such as physical strength and courage. Generally, it was established that normatively, masculinity is characterized by the ability to provide. Sesotho masculinity per se is expected to provide for the family, community, and self. A man has to provide largely the basic and, or physiological needs such as adequate food, shelter, clothing, and sex for his spouse or spouses. Mosotho man also is expected to protect from danger and destruction; himself, his family, his community, personal and communal property such as animal herds, land, fauna, and flora. Finally, Sesotho masculinity is characterized by a healthy, strong, and well-built body; sexual performance, and the ability to procreate for community enlargement, family extension, and lineage sustenance.

This study revealed that there is an assortment of masculinities in correctional settings among inmates which were acquired before incarceration and those which were developed through
the prisonisation of inmates. Masculinities amongst corrections staff were also found to be resultant from a range of prior experiences, meaning life before working for corrections and situational factors in corrections, these could be corrections structural or operational issues such as militancy. Factors responsible for corrections masculinities were noted as mainly natural, socialization, priznization, and nurturing of Mosotho man. This study also took cognizance of, recognized, and noted the existence of both harmful and peaceable forms of masculinities ranging hierarchically as hegemonic, complicit, marginalized, and subordinate forms of masculinities (Connell 2005).

Furthermore, this study established that there are situational performances of masculinity in correctional settings such as androgynous masculinity and situational homosexuality. Notably and regrettable is the reality that; corrections masculinities were by and large found to be harmful and domineering over weaker masculinities and femininities. The dominant forms of corrections masculinities amongst inmates were noticed by aggression and violence such as fighting and grievous bodily harm; individual and gang rape and other forms of sexual molestations. Whereas subordinate masculinities are largely characterised by womanliness and the would-be womanish tendencies.

On the part of the staff, masculinities were demonstrated by militant tendencies, workplace harassment, the humiliation of subordinate staff and female officers. More often, inmates' torture and degrading treatment by staff were found and were classified as violent masculinity activities.

The implications of corrections masculinity were largely found to be a compromise of the core mandate of correctional service being security and rehabilitation of inmates. Furthermore, by implication, this exploration established that corrections violence was attributable to formations of masculinities therein, especially hegemonic or traditional manifestations of masculinities. Corrections violence was largely found to hinge on gangsterism and lack of adaptation programmes for inmates of which by implication, adaptation programmes are taken to be essential for a healthy prisonization process. While on the one hand, corrections violence was found to be attributable to poor conditions of corrections and less-resourced and inadequate staff training. Less informed and disgruntled corrections officials who remain in operation were presumably part of causal factors to violence.

Forward-looking for this project is the implementation of the intervention, this is an Action Research which formed the subsequent rubric. The intervention as agreed had borrowed from, and customised the contents, methods, and techniques from mainly Transformative Masculinity Project (TMP) of the Ecumenical HIV and AIDS Initiative in Africa; Peace Clubs

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Manuals of the Mennonite Central Committee and Alternatives to Violence Project training manual.
CHAPTER EIGHT:

Taking an informed action: action learning for transformation

8.0 Introduction to the intervention

Taking informed action is the last step in the action research process. Action Research primarily seeks to put into action some form of an intervention found worthy to remedy an identified problem during the fact-finding exercise or diagnostic stage of action research. It is a learning process whereby participants actively diagnose the problem and engage in the problem-solving process as an Action Learning process aiming to transform an organization, society, or community. The problem-solving approach is an educational method in which the attention of the learners is focused on a problem of concern to all. Everybody becomes involved in a common search to understand the root causes of the problem, and to find solutions to the problem, recognising that each participant has a contribution to make and that no one person has all the answers to the problem at hand. Action Research and Action Learning Process bear some form of resemblances in the sense that they are both problem-solving actions grounded in tackling tangible and felt needs of an organization or community (Rigg and Coghlan 2016: 2).

However, despite the sameness in their nature, Rigg and Coghlan further opined that Action Research is more inclined towards generating and distilling knowledge from a given phenomenon for theorization and wider dissemination. Action Research is in essence a process of planning-reflection-action-evaluation-planning-reflection-action and repetitively over and over. This cyclical process was termed by world-famous Brazilian educationalist, a renowned adult educator and liberating education practitioner, Paulo Freire in his monograph "Pedagogy of the oppressed" as "praxis" (Hope and Timmel 1984a: 11). Action Learning, on the one hand, is concerned with undertaking some form of action aimed to inspire change in behaviour for the better, by instilling new knowledge and skills through Participatory Learning (Rigg and Coghlan 2016:2). Below is the picture of some of the participants during the workshop:
What came up clearly from the exploratory exercise is the reality of the existence of violence at Maseru Central Correctional Institution and the reality of a relationship between unhealthy masculinities and violence in correctional settings. This intervention is the product of the consolidation of responses to the research question: what can be done to transform masculinities and reduce violence in correctional settings? Responses to this question, put together during synthesis and analysis exercise, blended with Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs), gave birth to this intervention, “Alternatives to Violence Project introductory workshop on the theme “addressing masculinities and violence in correctional settings”.

This workshop was held for corrections staff at Maseru Central Correctional Institution with a prime determination to provide participants with a safe and conducive space to identify and reflect on corrections masculinities and violence. It was intended to provide participants with an opportunity to explore and adopt nonviolent practices when performing functions as corrections officers, and finally to appreciate “Alternatives to Violence Project” as a peacebuilding apparatus in correctional settings. Specific objectives of the intervention were that at the end of the workshop, participants would be able to:

i. Describe the theory of masculinity and appreciate its relevance to correctional work.
ii. Understand and explain forms of masculinities including transformative masculinities.
iii. Define the notions of conflict, violence, and nonviolence.
iv. Identify and mitigate factors responsible for violence in correctional settings.
v. Identify and discuss the relationship between masculinities and violence.
vi. Understand and discuss the concepts of power and authority.
vii. Understand and discuss the notions of peace and peacebuilding.

viii. The Alternatives to Violence Project.

ix. Understand and discuss the notion of transforming power.

x. Understand and discuss the notion of conflict transformation.

8.1 Implementing an intervention

In an endeavor to remedy some revealed unhealthy conditions which constitutes violence as Galtung (1969:172) puts it that “violence is the cause of the discrepancy between an acceptable state of affairs and the actual state of affairs”, thus, “a gap between the actual conditions and what should be” in correctional settings in which the condition is aggravated by masculinities and violence therein. The programme for the training workshop was built up of five sessions which were covered over two days as per the workshop programme attached in appendices as appendage one. The workshop was held at Maseru Central Correctional Institution with twenty officers in attendance drawn from different operational units, management, and supervisory levels. I was a Lead Facilitator with Mr. Ntholeng Molefi, an AVP Facilitator, Durban University of Technology – International Centre of Nonviolence, Peacebuilding Masters Student and Corrections Head Chaplain co-facilitating the workshop. The workshop proceedings were video covered by Tumaini Amani Development Foundation.

**Picture 5: Training workshop facilitators on day two**
8.1.1 Pre-training activities
A pre-training session was conducted by the Lead Facilitator. These included errands such as setting up the venue; monitoring participants' arrival and registration; welcome remarks which were meant to assure participants of their value and reassuring them of their safety, rights, and freedoms such as confidentiality and withdrawal. Participants were informed of video and voice recordings and general coverage of the workshop. They were assured of safe-keeping and a high level of security of all recordings of the process. Consequently, participants were requested to pledge their support, confidentiality, and full participation which they all signed. When setting the tone of the training workshop, the Lead Facilitator previewed the agenda with participants and introduced the workshop's purpose and objectives as stated above.

This was followed by official remarks by Maseru District Commander and Head of Maseru Central Correctional Institution, Assistant Commissioner of Corrections, Mr. Lesaoana Matijane who pledged support for the activity as it came at an opportune moment when corrections as an organisation require enlightened workers. Thus, he stressed the need for training to improve performance. He urged participants to consider this training as an opportunity for empowerment as it is meant to improve corrections practice. He welcomed workshop facilitators and the entourage; workshop participants were also welcomed. He earnestly requested participants to cooperate with the team of facilitators and requested them to participate as much as they can for their learning and backing the Lead Facilitator as researcher and learner in the process.
8.1.2 Setting the rules of the workshop

Training workshop participants moved on to quickly generate ideas through brainstorming exercises on how to conduct themselves during the workshop duration to make each feel safe and sense of worth. These were expected to guide behaviour of participants and were listed as:

- Respect for time to start and finish, time for breaks and lunch.
- Keep mobile phones silent or on vibration mode.
- Avoid as much we can unnecessary movement and side meetings.
- Respect for self and others and care for others.
- Listen attentively and ask questions with respect for understanding.
- Everyone shall freely participate and be encouraged to participate.
- Each participant is of value and needs to be respected as such.
- Everybody must feel free to raise his or her opinions and shall be tolerated.
- Give honest feedback in a form of constructive criticisms.
- Remember to uphold the principle of confidentially and shared confidentiality.
- We are all adults and lets us behave as such.
8.1.3 Expectations from the workshop

Participants were invited by the researcher and lead facilitator to share what they expect from this two-day training workshop. As a social event, this work had manifest and latent functions, and participants had manifest and latent expectations. They also had an opportunity to express their hard feelings, anxieties, and excitements about the exercise. In doing this exercise, participants were requested to divide themselves into pairs avoiding acquaintances as much as possible. Each participant in a pair was given three minutes to share with his or her partner in turns. This was followed by three minutes of presentations made by each partner sharing his or her partner’s expectations written on a small sheet of paper. These expectations sheets were collected and consolidated using the "delete repetitions approach" by participants. Participants in this workshop expect:

i. to acquire new knowledge regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings;
ii. to acquire new knowledge and skills in dealing with violence in correctional settings;
iii. to develop relationships in a more relaxed and conducive environment;
iv. to earnestly share practical and academic knowledge on the subjects of the workshop;
v. co-participants and facilitators will keep confidential, issues of confidential content shared;
vi. not to be punished, face abhorrence, or called to witness in a disciplinary matter;
vii. to be treated as adult learners with multiple responsibilities to attend to anytime;
viii. that all participants adhere to the rules set for this workshop.

8.1.4 Pre-intervention assessment

1) Introduction

The pre-intervention assessment was conducted using a pre-assessment set questionnaire as appended (see appendages). Participants were given ten minutes to respond to the questionnaire. This tool was constructed in a manner that reminds participants of the purpose of the process and the rights and responsibilities of participants. They were further requested to append the signature if one consent to participate in the workshop. Twenty (20) participants were invited and expected to attend and fill the assessment questionnaires, but only sixteen (16) responded positively. Out of sixteen (16), two (2) did not append their signatures for consenting, but filled the forms and participated fully and actively throughout the workshop. This means four (4) people who were expected to attend did decline or could not make it due to reasons not communicated to the researcher.

2) Participants Background

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All sixteen participants were above eighteen years of age and were members of corrections staff serving at Maseru Central Correctional Institution. Five (5) of the participants were females which were approximately one-third (1/3) of the participants, making it a fair representation of females in such a male-dominated setting. Ten (10) members served for ten (10) years and above, four (4) for five (5) years to ten (10) years, and two served for less than eighteen (18) months. Since the majority of participants (10) ten, which is approximately two-thirds (2/3), served corrections for over ten (10) years, their experience with correctional settings is enormous, and are believed to be seasoned members of the corrections staff population. This gives me confidence in them as reliable sources and dependable informants. Seven (7) officers were from the offender custodial services section, which was five (5) participants serving as security officers, two (2) as health care services providers. Seven (7) members were from the offender rehabilitation services section, two (2) of them were education and training specialists while four (4) were behavioral scientists serving as psychosocial support officers. From general support services were only two (2) officers with vast experience in correctional work and MCCl in particular.

Checking on participants' previous exposure to issues of masculinities, violence, and peacebuilding, data revealed that, on masculinities, eleven (11) participants were never exposed, two (2) were exposed, while three (3) were never sure. On violence, fourteen (14) participants were never exposed, one (1) was exposed, and one (1) was not sure. While on peacebuilding eleven (11) were never exposed, three (3) were exposed, while two (2) were not sure. From the data, it was concluded that approximately two-thirds (2/3) of the workshop participants were never exposed to issues of masculinities, violence, and peacebuilding.

3) Experiencing masculinities and violence in correctional settings

i) Participants opinions on common issues regarding masculinities in correctional settings

Concerning common issues regarding masculinities in correctional settings, the following were noted from participants' comments:

- Corrections gangs violence such as riots.
- Challenges with overcrowding.
- Bad environment, poor corrections conditions.
- Threatening and manipulation of other inmates.
- Gangsterism and violence amongst inmates.
- Fights and delinquent acts for survival in a correctional facility.
- Gender issues such as inequalities and poor communication methods.
• Violence and victimisation of both inmates and staff.
• Personal background and upbringing influenced both inmates and staff masculinities.
• Establishment and growth of group number gangs.
• Recruitment of inmates and staff to join gangs.
• Gangsterism and lack of communication between inmates and staff.
• Trafficking of contraband into a correctional facility by inmates and staff.
• Gangsterism and use of force by corrections officials against inmates.
• Big-headedness, that is being overly conceited or arrogant.

ii) Participants awareness and knowledge of acts of violence in correctional settings

On the question of noticing or discovering violence in correctional settings, thirteen (13) members confessed that they have noticed and, or discovered some form of violence in correctional settings. Three (3) said they have not noticed or discovered violence therein. This was left ambiguous for the researcher since the same participants confessed violence in the preceding question regarding masculinities. Reasons could be lack of understanding of the question due to its ambiguity; inadequate understanding of the concepts of masculinity and violence; or issues of English language itself since questions were not translated into local language as done during the exploratory session. Thirteen participants explained the manifestations of corrections violence as follows:

• Assaulting of inmates by correctional staff.
• Assaulting of inmates by other inmates.
• Sexual abuse, like sodomisation of inmates and gang rapes.
• Corporal punishments of inmates.
• Violent conflicts between several gangster groups.
• Officers trafficking with inmates – that is illegal merchandising.
• Gang fights due to favouritism, preferential treatment, and discrimination among gangsters.
• Gangsters' kangaroo courts meting irregular punishments for inmates by an irregular unauthorized court administered by gang leaders.
• Corrections officers correct inmate's behaviour using violence which is the use of unauthorised force by members of staff.
• Trafficking contraband in a correctional facility.

iii) Participants' awareness and knowledge of challenges regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings.
Regarding the most common challenges concerning masculinities and violence in correctional settings. Participants identified the following challenges regarding masculinities vis-à-vis violence in correctional settings:

- Inequalities and poverty.
- Violent approaches.
- Violent masculinities dominating and bullying other inmates.
- Delinquent masculinities attracting the use of force.
- Gangsters grabbing weaker inmates' properties including corrections property issued by corrections.
- Difficulty with proper inmates' security classification.
- Lack of information, knowledge, and skills.
- Absenteeism and desertions of officers due to their involvement in trafficking and disorderly practices in correctional settings.
- Injuries and killings of inmates.
- Political influences causing malpractice.
- Inadequate psycho-social support services for victimised inmates.
- The greater challenge is the understanding of the manifestation of masculinity and violence.
- Spread of HIV infection and other sexually transmitted illnesses.
- Starvation of inmates.

iv) Participants' ideas of nonviolent solutions to masculinities and violence in correctional settings.

The question was whether the respondent has ever thought of nonviolent approaches to corrections violence. Eleven (11) participants acknowledged that they thought of nonviolent approaches to corrections violence, while four (4) said they never thought of nonviolent solutions to corrections violence, one (1) did not respond to this question. Participant thought of the following nonviolent solutions to corrections violence:

- Proper inmates' orientation on admission.
- Proper profiling and classification of inmates based on their gang affiliations, crime committed, length of sentence, previous criminal history, willingness to reform, home addresses.
- Regular inspections of correctional institutions and adequate and regular searching of inmates and staff on duty.
- Establish clear lines of communication between inmates and staff and amongst staff and inmates.
- Training on life orientation and interpersonal relations for inmates and staff.
• An adequate supply of inmates’ basic needs for survival such as food, toiletries, bedding, and clothing.

• Training of officers on issues of conflict and conflict management.

• Write-up and publishing of offender management standard operating procedures.

• Write-up and publishing of corrections policy on violence prevention.

• Social mobilisation and awareness programmes in correctional settings.

• Training on issues of masculinities and violence for the corrections community.

• Cultivation of sense of belonging regardless of rank structural differences as to instill the spirit of nonviolence, and deliberate and intensive training staff on peace studies.

• raining of inmates and staff based on the respect of self and significant others.

• Devise protection measures for inmates and staff, whether in or outside the facility

• Proper organizational communications policy put in place and training on effective communication for inmates and staff.

• Gender-based and rights approach to enhance women officers' performance.

• Gender-based approach to programming, management, and administration.

v) **Participants’ level of confidence regarding masculinities and violence, peacebuilding, and conflict transformation.**

Participants were requested at this level to rate their level of confidence regarding issues of masculinities, violence and peacebuilding in correctional settings: 1 = Not confident (NC); 2 = Doubtfully Confident; 3 = Unsure (U); 4 = Partly Confident 5 = Extremely confident (EC); and 0 = No response (NR).

**Table 7: Pre-intervention assessment**

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**Issue 1: Masculinities and violence:** The indication of the table above is that, before the intervention, out of sixteen (16) participants, only three (3) were aware and conversant with issues of masculinities and violence, while five (5) were not confident. Three (3) were partly confident and three (3) were unsure. This is attributed to the level and type of education coupled with day to day duties that made information privy to the three members. Three (3) were doubting while two (2) did not respond to this part.

**Issue 2: Transformative masculinities:** On the issue of transformative masculinities, out of sixteen (16) participants, six (6) were not confident, two (2) were doubtfully confident, two (2) were unsure, one (1) was partly confident, three (3) were confident, while two (2) did not record.

**Issue 3: Peacebuilding efforts:** Out of sixteen (16) participants, two (2) were not confident, one (1) was doubtfully confident, one (1) was unsure, four (4) were partly confident and six (6) were extremely, while two (2) did not record.

**Issue 4: Identifying forms of masculinities in correctional settings:** Participants' responses indicated that, out of sixteen (16), four (4) participants were confident that they could identify forms of masculinities in correctional settings. One (1) was partly confident, two (2) were doubting, two (2) were not confident while two (2) did not respond.

**Issue 5: Identifying forms of violence in correctional settings:** Out of sixteen (16), six (6) participants were confident that they could identify forms of violence in correctional settings, three (3) were partly confident, three (3) were unsure, one (1) doubting while one indicated
ignorance of the forms of violence in correctional settings. Three (3) did not respond to this part.

**Issue 6: Masculinities vis-a-vis violence in correctional settings:** The responses of sixteen (16) participants indicated that six (6) were aware of the relationship between masculinities and violence in correctional settings. One (1) was not confident, five (5) were not sure and one (1) was partly confident. Three (3) did not respond.

**Issue 7: Sensitizing colleagues on masculinities and violence:** Of sixteen (16) participants, four (4) were confident that they can sensitize co-workers on issues of masculinities and violence. Three (3) were partly confident, one (1) was unsure and two (2) were doubtfully confident while another four (4) were not confident. Two (2) did not respond to this part.

**Issue 8: Protecting inmates and staff from violence:** Out of sixteen (16) participants who responded, six (6) were confident, two (2) were partly confident, one (1) was partly confident that they can protect inmates and staff from violence in correctional settings. Two (2) were not confident, one (1) was doubting, three (3) were unsure while two (2) did not respond.

**Issue 9: Identify and manage risks of victimization among inmates and/or staff:** On the issue of identification and management of risks of victimization among the inmates and staff, seven (7) participants out of sixteen (16) were confident that they could identify and manage the risks of victimization of inmates and staff. Two (2) were not confident, three (3) were unsure, two (2) were not doubtfully confident while one (1) did not respond to this part.

**Issue 10: Psycho-social support and care of victims of violence among inmates and/or staff:** Out of sixteen (16) participants, four (4) participants were confident that they could provide psycho-social support and care for the victims of violence among inmates and staff. Three (3) were partly confident, one (1) was not confident, two (2) were doubting while five (5) were not sure. One (1) did not respond.

**Issue 11: Understanding the significance of care and support of victims of violence in correctional settings:** On the issue of whether one understands the significance of care and support of the victims of violence in correctional settings, four (4) participants were confident, while two (2) were not confident and six (6) were partly confident while three (3) were not sure and one (1) did not respond.

**Issue 12: Aware of measures to curb violence in correctional settings:** Considering awareness on measures to curb violence in correctional settings, four (4) participants out of
sixteen (16) were confident, one (1) was partly confident, one (1) was doubting, seven (7) were not sure and two (2) were not confident, whereas one (1) did not respond.

**Issue 13: Peacebuilding efforts and conflict transformation in correctional settings:** Out of sixteen (16) participants, four (4) were confident while three (3) were partly confident of peacebuilding and conflict transformation efforts in the correctional settings. Two (2) were not confident, two (2) were doubting while another four (4) were not sure. One (1) did not respond.

**Issue 14: Peacebuilding as a national agenda:** On the issue of peacebuilding as a national agenda, only four (4) were confident that they are aware of the issue, one (1) was partly confident, the other one (1) was doubting while three (3) were not confident and six (6) were unsure and one (1) did not respond.

Thus, the overall purpose of this training workshop was to ensure that all participants acquire new knowledge and are informed and become confident about issues of masculinities and violence in correctional settings and to introduce participants to Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) as an Evidence-Based Intervention for conflict transformation and peacebuilding in similar settings across the globe. This pre-intervention assessment was meant to establish the level of participants' awareness and confidence on the issues to determine methods and techniques to be deployed during the intervention.

### 8.1.5 Adjective naming exercise

An adjective is a word used to describe a noun. In this workshop, adjective naming was done to give the participant a platform to affirm or assert themselves. Participants sat in pairs, each one identified a positive adjective starting with a letter that starts his or her first name and shared with his or her partner the adjective advancing why he or she chooses such an adjective. For example, my name is Akim and I choose "Accurate" as my adjective name for I would like to be accurate in my dealings. My co-facilitators first name is Ntholeng, he chose an adjective neutral "Neutral" for he would like to remain neutral and non-judgmental in his dealings. After three minutes, each participant introduced his or her partner's adjective name with a reason for a choice of such an adjective. Adjective names were thereafter used during the entire training workshop.

### 8.2 Pre-intervention exploration results shared

The synopsis of the results of the exploratory exercise was presented to participants by the researcher and lead facilitator. This session intended to engage the participants and help them have a feel of the process. It was a bid to entice workshop participants to own up the results and rally them for the buy-in of the process. Due to the exciting facts and issues it held, the process was not lacking in interest and did not cause any cognitive weariness. This was
evidenced by the enthusiastic participation of the majority of this workshop participants who were contributing selflessly during exploration. Participants also were courageous and confrontational to issues and processes as a whole. This has been instrumental in building my confidence in the process and swayed me to trust the process. This session was lively and participants' contributions were sober and earnest in a bid to validate exploration results. Including the decision to eventually settle on the workshop as an intervention tool used to transform masculinities and curb violence in correctional settings.

8.2.1 Masculinity and masculinities defined: exploration results
Masculinity is a noun, that is, it is a content word that can be used to refer to something, in the case of this Action Research, masculinity was suggested to be some form of distinction or an essential and distinguishing attribute of a man or a boy. It encompasses actions, roles, and responsibilities socially allotted to a male person or persons; it is, therefore, what is culturally and typically required of a Mosotho man or boy under specified settings or situations such as correctional settings.

In doing this study, masculinity was unpacked and interrogated using "from general to specific approach", that is from the global level cascading to regional, societal “which was specific to Basotho” and correctional settings level “which was done at Maseru Central Correctional Institution”. Participant in the process responded that:

- Masculinity is a set of features and roles socially attributed to male persons.
- Masculinity is patriarchal and it is by and large influenced by a superiority complex.
- Masculinity can be identified in all genders, hence feminine masculinity.
- Masculinity may be defined against femininities, that is as the reverse of feminine attributes.
- Masculinity is hostile and distrustful to women; most men have a deep-seated distrust of women.
- Masculinity may be presented in multifarious forms, therefore, there is no single masculinity but multiple, hence masculinities.
- Masculinities are psych-sexual and psycho-social constructs meant to define gender patterns in a given society.
- There are interlinkages between sex, gender, masculinities, and corrections violence.
- Masculinities are fluid and dynamic, that is, like culture, they are not static, they evolve with time and are changed by socio-economic, political, and global technological changes and advancements.
- Masculinities are by and large homophobic, that is to say, they are discriminatory and intolerant of homosexuality.
- Masculinities are largely heterosexual, that is to say, usually, they are sexually attracted to the opposite sex.
• Masculinities are hierarchically arranged with dominant masculinities at the pinnacle or the apex of the pyramid followed by complicit masculinities, marginalized masculinities, and subordinate masculinities at the base of the pyramid.

• Manifestations of Sesotho masculinities are like global masculinities since they share similar characteristics such as aggressiveness and violence. Like in the global north, there are intricacies of superiority and inferiority complexities amongst masculinities. Thus, the hierarchy of masculinities.

• Transformative masculinities imply thoroughly changing formations of masculine traits.

• Transformative masculinities reject the domination of women and children and its associated traits and embrace values of care such as positive emotion, interdependence, and rationality.

• Transformative masculinities are on some incidents referred to as caring masculinities.

• Corrections masculinities at Maseru Central Correctional Institution were identified, discussed, and compartmentalized into, desirable and undesirable, reasonable and traditional masculinities.

• Reasonable corrections masculinities entail features; sound judgments, assertiveness

• Desirable corrections masculinities include inter alia; considerate, supportive, caring, attentive, and generally nonviolent.

• Undesirable corrections masculinities include inter alia; inconsiderate, unsupportive and generally characterized by physical, sexual, and emotional violence such as torture.

8.2.2 General observations

• One particular man may reveal different behaviours concurrently. For example, King Moshoeshoe the Great was an aggressive and fierce warrior and commander, but he was generous, merciful, and lenient to punish.

• One particular man may exhibit different conduct when put in different settings. For example, a man who is considered sexually straight “heterosexual” outside correctional facility, may display homosexual behaviours while in incarceration.

• Masculinities are not strictly about being male, hence some females are displaying masculine attributes. For example, some of the female corrections officers appear to prefer usually masculine aesthetics like short hair-cut and wearing sleeveless muscle shirts and short pants.

• A particular social setting may produce varying masculinities in one person or different persons at a specified time.

• Masculinity is not universal, hence masculinities, a pluralistic term for masculinity. That is purported against the argument or discourse that masculinity is not static, it is dynamic or fluid, it changes from time to time and is situationally dependent.

8.2.3 Some of the characteristics of undesirable corrections masculinity

Table 8: Characteristics of undesirable corrections masculinity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrogance</td>
<td>Abuse of power and authority, dominance and domineering pride, superiority complex, and display of unfair and undeserved importance in a big-headed manner towards others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompous</td>
<td>It looks down upon others and is being foolishly arrogant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-centredness</th>
<th>Being egocentric, that is selfishness, caring only about self and one’s own needs and competitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boastful</td>
<td>Over-confident and bragging in a bid to exhibit self-importance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Having or showing determination and energetic pursuit of ends characterized by hostility, overdefensive, confrontational, and cruelty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcritical</td>
<td>Blowing out of proportion and exaggerating the negative aspects in a bid to make one always feel inferior. An overcritical person who normally finds negativity in everyone’s personality and actions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patronising</td>
<td>Use words that resonate caring and sympathetic attitude with the finality of instilling in one’s psyche how better of more important he is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloof and impolite</td>
<td>Being rude, unfriendly, cold, and distant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsiderate</td>
<td>Thoughtless and does things that hurt or annoy others without thinking about their feelings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant</td>
<td>Exercising influence and control over others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weakness</td>
<td>Hopelessness and powerlessness revealed by an inability to act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>Sexually attracted to same-sex, referred normally to as men having sex with men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyfie</td>
<td>A man playing a female role in prison marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangster</td>
<td>A mobster or an offender who is a member of a prison number gang.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.2.4 Some of the characteristics of desirable corrections masculinity

**Table 9: Characteristics of desirable corrections masculinity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>Giving care, feeling, and exhibiting concern and empathy for others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerate</td>
<td>Showing concern for the rights and feelings of others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loving</td>
<td>Positive feeling, showing affection, fondness, and liking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>Capacity to tolerate unfavourable environmental conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brave</td>
<td>Courage to face and deal with danger or fear without panic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Having physical and emotional power to stand challenges.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.2.5 Some of the characteristics of reasonable corrections masculinity

**Table 10: Characteristics of reasonable corrections masculinity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative</td>
<td>Be able to work together with others on a common enterprise of project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express emotions</td>
<td>Give verbal or other expressions of one’s feelings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertiveness</td>
<td>Confident and direct in dealing with others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound judgment</td>
<td>Be able to make a reasonable judgment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8.2.6 Characteristics of traditional masculinities

Table 11: Characteristics of traditional corrections masculinity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexuality</td>
<td>Sexually attracted to members of the opposite sex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallantry</td>
<td>Exceptional or heroic courage when confronted with danger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolve</td>
<td>Firmness and determination for a purpose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bravery</td>
<td>The trait of being willing to undertake things that involve risk or danger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resilience</td>
<td>The ability to bounce back from atrocities is a strength of mind that enables one to endure adversity with courage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machismo</td>
<td>This is exaggerated masculinity normally associated with violence, power, and aggressiveness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscularity</td>
<td>This is the quality of having body muscular strength.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruggedness</td>
<td>This is a property of being big and strong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virility</td>
<td>This is the masculine property of being capable of copulation and procreation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>This is the property of being physically or mentally strong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toughness</td>
<td>Having enduring physical and emotional strength and energy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.7 Violence defined

- Violence was perceived as the cause of injury of another person and self.
- Violence was perceived as a cause of harm to property.
- Violence could manifest either physically or psycho-socially, it can be overt or covert.

*Classification of violence*: Violence in correctional settings was classified as (1) physical violence, (2) sexual violence, and (3) emotional violence.

Examples of violence were listed as:

- Beating someone with anything to cause pain and suffering.
- Hurting hand-cuffing, leg-cuffing, or straight over jacketing.
- Spitting on someone to dehumanise.
- Raping and other sexual assaults.
- Verbal rebuke and insulting.
- Denial of opportunities and discrimination.
- Denial of food and other corrections' property.
- Unreasonable isolation and torture.
- Denial of sleep to cause injuring mental fatigue.
- Intimidation and threatening to expose to harm.

*Causes and effects of violence in correctional settings*

- Gangsterism causing riots and lawlessness.
• Gang rituals causing gang rapes and blood spilling.
• Burnout on the part of staff causing them emotional pain and mental suffering.
• Lack of adequate proper training and equipment triggering irrational decisions.
• Inadequate food, bedding, and clothing causing illegal merchandising in the facility.
• Poor management of personal finances by staff leading to absenteeism and suicides.
• Alcohol and drug abuse by staff causing pecuniary embarrassment.
• Poor workplace ethics causing poor workplace relations and sexual harassment.

8.3 Getting to understand the notion of masculinity

In this session of the workshop, participants were trained on masculinities facilitating the understanding of the notion and its implications. The session pivoted on facilitating participants’ comprehension and understanding of the notion of masculinity focusing on conceptual and theoretical issues of the notion and its relation to correctional settings. At the end of this topic, participants were expected to be able to:

• Define the concepts of masculinity and masculinities.
• Identify the characteristics of masculinity.
• Identify and explain Sesotho masculinities.
• Identify and explain corrections masculinities.
• Identify factors responsible for the construction of masculinities.
• Understand and appreciate the notion of transformative masculinities.

Adult education methods and techniques used in this session are colloquy, brainstorming, discussions, and story-telling.

8.3.1 Defining the concepts masculinity and masculinities

Workshop participants viewed masculinity as a social discourse and its relatedness to manhood and the ideal Mosotho man. A man in Sesotho as culture may not ask for food but provide food, thus, “man is a provider”. Definitions of the terms, masculinity, and masculinities were depicted and provided in the workshop as garnered from the researcher’s personal experience, exploration session, and as in the reviewed literature as presented in chapter two. The notion of masculinities was propounded by one of the gurus of men and masculinities studies, Raewyn Connell in 1995 in her book “Masculinities” as edited in 2005. Also, among the gurus of masculinity theory is Michael Kimmel in 2001 who defined masculinities as:

“Social roles, behaviours, and meanings prescribed for men in society at a given time”. Kimmel further emphasises the fact that “… such normative gender ideologies must be distinguished from biological sex and must be understood as plural since there is no single definition” (Kimmel 2001: online).
Other definitions include:

According to Connell (2017: online) masculinity is about gender relations, the concept is concerned about the position of men in gender order, nevertheless, masculinities are not equivalent to men. Masculinities were defined as patterns of practice by which members of the society, predominantly men engage in. Masculinity is a socially assigned characteristic, behaviours, and roles typical of a male person as well as meanings attributed to such behaviour in a given society (Kimmel and Bridges 2014: online and Wariboko 2019:25). These are qualities stereotypically associated with a male person.

According to Mfecane (2016:3) masculinity among the Zulus in Southern Africa refers to practices associated with being a real man. The Basotho as Bantu society with similar social life practices bear similar connotations with Zulus, Thus Basotho also considers masculinity as “practices associated with being a real man”.

There is no single masculinity, the notions are often referred to as masculinities in pluralistic form, Thus, “masculinities are configurations of practice structured by gender relations” (Kimmel and Bridges 2011: online).

Masculinities are defined against femininities, Thus, there is no masculinity without femininity. That is to say, what is not femininity is masculinity.

- All men and women possess some form of masculinities, meaning masculinities are not strictly confined to men and boys as there are female masculinities like amazons “large strong and aggressive woman”.

Summing up this session, the notion of masculinity was found linked with the notions of power, authority, force, violence, control, and patriarchy.

8.3.2 Characteristics of masculinities

Working groups exercise were held in session three to identify areas of concern regarding masculinities. These areas were used in the workshop to form up small groups that were tasked to deepen the discussion on a single issue. Training workshop participants were requested to spill their reservoirs of experiences and fill up each other with respect and mutuality during the discussions. In doing this, workshop participants arranged themselves in four (4) groups of four participants (4) each.

- Group A was tasked to deal with traditional masculinities and qualities of an ideal Mosotho man.
- Group B was tasked to deal with transformative masculinities and qualities of a “new man”.
- Group C dealt with feminine qualities of masculinity.
- Group D handled issues of confused or fence-sitter masculinities.

After thirty [30 minutes] of discussions on traditional masculinities amongst the Basotho; transformative masculinities; feminine masculinities; and confused or fence-sitter
masculinities giving careful consideration and watchful of masculinities in and out of correctional settings, yielded issues which were analysed and the following discourses emerged and dialogued in the plenary:

**Group A: Features of traditional masculinities**

- Ability to bounce back from atrocities.
- Courageous to carry with a struggle.
- Willingness to face up with danger.
- Ability to endure physical and emotional strength and energy.
- Ability to endure physical and emotional pain and suffering.
- Spirited to enthusiastically engage in lively action.
- Hardened to bear fatigue and exceptional adversities.
- Tough and intelligent enough to lead, control, and make decisions.
- Physiologically fit, well-built, and sexually attractive.
- Heroic courage when facing danger with possible death and grievous bodily harm.
- Display active physical strength and gymnastic abilities.
- Heroism is distinguished by strength, dignity, and exceptional courage.
- Patriotic and purposeful brilliant fighter protecting his people, their land, and property.
- Portraying stereotypically male behaviour such as drunkenness, impoliteness.
- Chauvinistic, that is belief in the superiority of men over women.
- Willingness to take on challenges and risks such as dangerous work, sports, and other hardships.
- Determination to do or achieve something.
- Resolute and firm of purpose.
- Capable to copulate, have sexual intercourse and procreate.
- Power and authority to control, mete out orders, and make decisions over others.
- Aggressive and hostility arousing thoughts of violent attack and confrontation.
- Discriminatory and abusive behaviour towards women and weaker masculinities.
- Stewardship and custodian of property and affairs of others.
- Attentive to women, promiscuous, and sexually irresponsible.
- Willing to create and face unnecessary danger.
- Worthy of, honourable, and deserving esteemed respect.
- Self-reliant, self-directed, autonomous, and independent.
- Stubbornness, persistence, and refusing to give up or surrender.
- Hefty, muscular strength, powerful, huge, and heavily built.
• Rough, harsh, strong, and extraordinarily courageous.
• Heterosexual
• Virility

*Group B: Features of transformative masculinities*

• Politeness to women and children, marginalized and subordinated men.
• Attentiveness to women and children, marginalized and subordinated men.
• Respectful towards women and children, marginalized and subordinated men.
• Observing and upholding decent sexual mores in his conduct and speech.
• Considerate, showing remorse, and is apologetic if wronged.
• Empathetic and understanding of others’ states of affairs.
• Ensure physical, psycho-social, and emotional care for others.
• Courteous regard for women, children, and other subordinate men feelings.
• Ability to tolerate adversarial situations and people.
• Ability to acknowledge the goodness in others, especially women and children.
• Open to criticisms, especially by subordinates, minorities, women, and children.
• Lenient, merciful, and generous disposition in dealing with women and children.
• Deal non-violently with perhaps violent conflicts and other hostile situations.
• Capable to bounce back from psycho-social social atrocities.
• Participatory in dealing with family and work issues.
• Understand and appreciate human sexuality and able to negotiate safe sex with his spouse.
• Promote efforts to protect women and children against abuse.
• Appreciate promotion and protection of human rights and uphold human dignity.
• Disapprove acts of criminality and juvenile delinquency.

*Group C: Features of feminine masculinities*

• Sexually attracted or attractive to men or boys discussed as homosexual or gay men.
• Lack of significant confrontation with challenges and social pressures in life.
• Easily manipulated into being a sexual object and occupy a subordinate position.
• Subjugated by situational factors like scarcity of life basics or individuals such as gangsters.
• The target of sexual exploitation by hostile inmates and mockery by inmates and staff.
• Lack of some courage or bravery to stand for corrections life upheavals.
• Prone for moulding into being at a service “like a washing boy” of domineering elements.
• Portray undeniable and yet unnecessary obedience for others inviting ridicule by others.

• Adopt personality traits painstakingly considered as womanish by society.

• A timid man lacking courage and bravery, is socially considered as immature and deficient.

• Chickenhearted or chicken-livered, that is an easily frightened, scared or threatened man or boy.

• Emotional and sensitive rather than factual and reasonable in dealings.

• “Closet queen”, a derogatory term for a homosexual man hiding his sexual orientation.

• “Sissy” or “softies”, a derogatory term for a woman-like man with a soft spot for sexual abuse like inappropriate femininities.

• “Wyfie”, a derogatory term for a man who is coerced into “corrections marriage” as a wife.

• “Madam”, “Small boy”, “young man”, “ntoana”, “ngoana” or “girlfriend” are passionate terms for a man roleplaying wife in sexual partnerships, notoriously known as “corrections marriages”.

• “Bitch-ass” or “concubine”, a derogatory term for a loose or promiscuous “wyfie”.

• “Concubine” a derogatory term for a “small boy” who possesses multiple sexual partners role-playing “husbands” or “boyfriends”, “my man” or “my boss”.

• Portray effeminate or emasculated manhood.

• Impotence and, or infertile.

• Cowardness and, or general weakness.

**Group D: Features of confused or fence-sitter masculinities**

• A bisexual person who either possesses masculine or feminine sexual interests.

• Reserved and detached gender dispositions and practices.

• Possessive of intermediary or transitional gender configurations.

• Trapped in psycho-social and cultural burdens regarding changes in gender dispositions.

• Stuck with major changes in attitude, principle, or viewpoint regarding gender dispositions.

• Sexually gratified by wearing used and perhaps dirty panties of the opposite sex.

• Prefer and espouse dress code, mannerisms and sexual roles of females

• Having an ambiguous sexual identity susceptible to more than one interpretation.

**8.3.3 African masculinities: traditional versus transformative masculinities**

Attributes of African traditional masculinity/masculinities and transformative masculinities in this training workshop were further considered from the secondary source. The patterns of behaviour and social responsibilities of a traditional African man and transforming or
transformed African man as propounded by Professor Ezra Chitando were discussed as in the table below:

**Table 12: Traditional masculinities versus transformative masculinities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional masculinities:</th>
<th>Transformative masculinities.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Being tough, rough, and insensitive to spouse and other people.</td>
<td>• Passionate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Addicted to hard work - workaholic.</td>
<td>• Caring for others such as inmates and subordinate workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Addicted to alcohol and drugs - alcoholic.</td>
<td>• Sensitive to other people’s feelings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Promiscuous and has multiple sexual partners.</td>
<td>• Faithfulness in relationships and work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sharp and wild sexual appetite for spouses and extramarital partners.</td>
<td>• Respecting women, children, and weaker masculinities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Uses force and violence at work and in relationships.</td>
<td>• Availing equal opportunities to women and children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Aggressive and violent in dealing with others.</td>
<td>• Accept the leadership of women and young children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Competitiveness and fearfulness in their dealings.</td>
<td>• Actively promote the leadership of women and young children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Assertiveness and confidence in dealings.</td>
<td>• Grant their partners' space to be independent and grow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Do not cry or show any emotions or feelings in public, except anger.</td>
<td>• Use dialogue, not violence, to resolve conflicts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Must be in control, be winning, in possession, and dominating.</td>
<td>• Challenge sexual and gender-based violence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Chitando 2013:8).

8.3.4 The burdens of masculinity.

These burdens of masculinity on men and boys were found to be and concluded that they are cross-cultural.

**Table 13: Burdens of masculinity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Explanations</th>
<th>Burden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A man must provide protection</td>
<td>Mosotho man must be able to protect himself, his family and property, his people, and their belongings such as communal natural resources. He provides physical, social, emotional, and religious protection.</td>
<td>Men and boys usually suffer physical injuries in their endeavours to provide protection. Men and boys who fail to provide protection suffer ridicule and social rejection hence emotional suffering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man must provide basic and psycho-social needs for the family</td>
<td>Mosotho man must be able to provide for himself, for his nuclear and extended family, and his community and his chief. He provides basic physiological needs including food, shelter, clothing, and sex as well as other basic services.</td>
<td>As heads of families and breadwinners, men are generally pressurized to engage in risky income-generating activities such as horse riding, mine shaft-sinking, and unusually long working hours to earn income to enable them to provide for their nuclear and extended families as well as extra-marital sexual partners (International Labour Organization 2013:1). Some men and boys indulge in criminality and juvenile delinquency because they seek quick income to provide for families or significant others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man must be sexually capable to reproduce.</td>
<td>Mosotho man must be sexually active and have many children from many wives to reproduce his blood-line. He has to be able to satisfy his wife or wives.</td>
<td>Medical conditions and sometimes deformities on one hand, either on one or both spouses are responsible for the majority of infertility syndrome cases. This is a stressful and frustrating condition mainly on the part of a man who is expected to the extent of the family. This is one of the factors responsible for family disputes and escalating divorce rates.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Grajdian (2018)

8.3.5 Typology of masculinities

The literature revealed that masculinity theory infers that:

- Masculinities is about and concerned with gender relations in a given society.
- Masculinities are not equivalent to men but seek to depict issues regarding the positioning of men in the gender order.
- Masculinity is socially constructed – meaning it is an idea that has been created and accepted by the people in a particular society (Merriam-Webster online dictionary).
- Masculinity is fluid – meaning masculinity is subject to change from time to time or situation to situation and is presenting for fluctuating purposes.
- Masculinity is historical in the making and remaking – meaning masculinity is historically defined as societal expectations changes with civilization.
- There is no single masculinity, hence masculinities – the inference is that multiple masculinities are presenting simultaneously from a single case or situation (Connell 2005:76).
- Masculinity is complex – meaning it presents a blend of feelings, pressures, and aspirations that are influencing social fabric.
- Masculinities are hierarchical– meaning typology of masculinities present an assortment of masculinities exhibited pyramidal on an inverted pyramid in a hierarchical manner with hegemonic masculinities at the helm, followed by complicit
masculinities, marginalized masculinities, and subordinate masculinities at the bottom tip.

Picture 7: Hierarchy of masculinities – portrayed with an inverted pyramid

8.3.6 Hierarchical order of masculinities.
An inverted pyramid above indicates that there are more men at the hegemonic level of masculinity hence the pyramid is upside down. This is an indication that most men aspire to the ethos of hegemonic masculinity, and there are more men at this level than at the subordinate level. The black thick line indicates that there are unpredictable fluctuating masculinities all the time hanging at any level of the continuum. An illustration was developed as an extrapolation and pictorial presentation of Raewyn Connell's theory of masculinity who is the guru of the theory.

i). Hegemonic masculinities.: Raewyn Connell defined hegemonic masculinity as those “configurations of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees or is taken to guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell, 2005:77). According to Russell and Kraus (2016:8), hegemonic masculinities are gendered practices and norms upholding domination of superior masculinities and subordination of inferior masculinities and female persons (Russell and Kraus (2016:8).

ii). Complicit masculinity: This is the second-placed type of masculinity following hegemonic masculinity. It is considered as that form of masculinity that does not fully match with hegemonic masculinity and does not contest the ethos of hegemonic masculinity. Connell argued that complicit masculinity does not challenge hegemonic masculinity because it enjoys the proceeds of hegemony, Thus, it is considered an ally of hegemonic masculinity and continues to cherish hegemony (Connell 2005:79).
iii). **Marginalized masculinity**: Marginalized masculinity is third on the hierarchy. It does not fit into hegemonic masculinity because of its features such as disability, tribe, colour, and race. Connell stresses that marginalized masculinity like complicit masculinity subscribes to the ethos of hegemonic masculinity such as aggression, body built, physical strength, and suppression of feminine considered emotions like crying. (Connell 2005: 80-81).

iv) **Subordinate masculinity**: This is the last form according to Connell. It is situated at the bottom tip of the inverted pyramid of masculinities. Subordinate masculinities are characterized by shyness, the exhibition of emotions considered a feminine, physical, and mental weakness. These include men classified as sexual minorities such as "MSM" men having sex with other men, the timid and cowards (Connell 2005:78).

### 8.3.7 Corrections masculinities.

Corrections masculinities in this Action Research were identified and explained. Like earlier mentioned, the corrections community is made up largely of inmates and staff. Thus it was imperative to probe into how corrections work experience has constructed their masculinities. Corrections work was in itself found to be a learning curve where the majority of corrections staff seem to acquire some new experiences moulding their behaviours through the process of learning, relearning, and unlearning. As a para-military organization, corrections staff training militarised methodology and life in correctional settings seems to have infused in their psyche some form of militant values, ethos, and philosophies forming a host of corrections masculinities as:

- Muscularity is manly and an indicator of work readiness, this is evidenced by a huge chest and limbs.
- Deep-seated anger and infuriation evidenced by unexplained aggression and hostility.
- Brutality on inmates evidenced by reports of inmates' physical torture by staff.
- Sluttish or promiscuous behaviour such as "office sex" and "one-night stand" sexual relationships.
- Inconsiderateness is evidenced by the manner of approach to junior staff members and inmates.
- Gender insensitiveness evidenced by revelations of sexual abuse and rape of junior female members; indecent sexual advances on inmates' female relatives and friends; and fellow members' spouses and children.
- Pomposity is fuelled by a superiority complex, evidenced by arrogance, boastful tendencies, and nasty demeanour.
- Domineering over inmates, inferior and subordinate staff, and entire the system enabled and exacerbated by the bestowed power and authority to command and make decisions in a militant and classically styled organization.
• Insubordination of staff is evidenced by junior officers’ rebellion and defiance of authority borne of frustration and burnout.

• The inferiority complex is evidenced by the submissiveness of junior members concerning corrections rank structure and docility of the materially unsuccessful members of staff.

• Inferior masculinities, these forms part of subordinate masculinities, they include those suspected to be associated with opposition parties; the financially weak, small-bodied, sickly, and ill bodies.

• Alienated, these are members who were regarded as aliens in the system such as homosexuals, and ae treated differently and alienated, as a result, they feel the psycho-social coldness or heat of not belonging.

For corrections inmates, there were two conspicuous assemblages of masculinities, the superior and inferior masculinities. Superior corrections masculinities are those dominant rudiments of inmates who seemingly affirm dominant masculinities:

• The bullies, those who are known to be cruel and deliberately threatening and coercing weaker inmates into unacceptable acts such as sex and surrendering “besouk” personal belongings.

• Gangsters are members of corrections number gangs, normally they are aggressive in dealings.

• “Ndoda e mnyama” or “tiger” is normally brutal and unreasonably forceful in their dealings.

• “Mafamo”, “husbands”, “men” “bosses” are those who are sexually abusive and coercing weaker inmates into being “wyflies of corrections marriages”.

• “Li-laere” are the “fighting boys” normally upholding dominant violent masculinity and domineering over the ‘weaker’ or subordinate masculinity.

The inferior masculinities in correctional institutions are those confirming subordinate masculinities therein, they include:

• Boy wives or “wyflies”, those in corrections forced marriages, one partner has power over the other. The one who dominates is the “husband”, while the overpowered is referred to as “wyfie”, “girlfriend”, “small boy”, “babe” or “ntoana”. The role of “wyfie” is to provide sex for the “husband” and take care of the “husband’s” meals, clothes, and bedding. The “wyfie” is forced to wear feminine lingerie and host a feminine demeanour like defending the relationship as the woman defending her husband and children.

• “Mafora” or “mafranse”, are those who do not associate with any corrections number gang.

8.3.8 Case studies

The case study teaching and learning method are two dimensional: that is the case is presented and deliberations on that particular case are guided through to make meaning out of the case. In this training workshop, two cases were presented for participants to discuss and consequently make a sensible meaning out of them. Participants were led by the
researcher to reflect on the cases which were designed to trigger in-depth discussions and identify the presenting challenges of masculinities amongst the Basotho.

**Table 14: Case study one**

**CASE ONE:**
**A BOY AND HIS SISTER’S PANTIES ON WASHING LINE**
A boy knocked off school at 14h00 Maseru time, he hurriedly went home as he was supposed to proceed to ensure that his father’s cattle has enough fodder for the next day. He arrived home, took a sickle and a fodder bag. He went to the kraal to check on animals. While at the kraal, there was a heavy rain accompanied by a thunder storm and hail coming.
An elderly woman who was a neighbour called him “Thato, there are clothes on the washing line, please remove them and keep them safely”. The boy went to the washing line, he hurriedly removed all clothes and left his mothers’ panties on line. The neighbour was watching him as he rushed to the hut. She shouted “Thato, you left some clothes on line”. Thato went to the washing line, he looked around to see who else is watching him, he took a stick, looked around again, he removed panties with the stick and rushed to the hut as the rain begun to fall heavily.

**Table 15: Case study two**

**CASE TWO:**
**A DAY AFTER JOINED IN MATRIMONY**
A newlywed young man visited his mother’s bedroom early morning on Sunday. He requested a short meeting with his parents as he was in a hurry to catch the first flight with his newlywed for a honeymoon in Seychelles. His mother was happy and woke up the father. They sat in his parents’ pyjama lounge and had morning tea.
The young man commenced:
"Mummy and dad, I would like to wholeheartedly thank you for bringing up through all ups and downs of life, for allowing me to pursue my studies including Medical Degree, my wife and I are proud of you"
Mother:
"Your father is proud of you my son, I am happy and appreciate your happiness and appreciation, I love you, my boy"
Young man:
"I just want to inform you, mummy and dad, that, we agreed with my wife that after the wedding we will adopt and use her maiden name as our family name, meaning from today I will use her maiden name as my surname and our children will use their mother’s maiden name as their family name...".

Participants had a moment to reflect on the above two cases to identify and discuss masculinities emerging from both cases. Participants remarked that case one was a portrayal of the traditional form of masculinity clouded with sexism, probably driven by homophobic ideas and characterised by male chauvinism. Case one was taken to be typical of Mosotho boy masculinity clouded by stereotypes. Case two was criticized by participants as non-African and particularly non-Sotho. Participants perceived case two as an extreme form of
transformative masculinity that might fit well in Western societies and not received well among the Basotho. It was said to be more than being matrilocal as it included adopting the bride’s family name as the new matrimonial name. This is not a Sesotho culture and goes against Sesotho’s traditional ethos. The exercise lasted for twenty (20) minutes where participants considered and discussed in two groups the two cases advanced. The discussion took ten (10) minutes and the plenary took ten (10) minutes, each group was allowed five (5) minutes to present their observations.

Central to corrections masculinity are the concepts of power and authority which are closely linked to the characterisation of masculinity. Power as defined by Maxwell Weber is the “person’s ability to impose his or her will upon others despite resistance rendered”. This drops squarely onto hegemonic masculinity and dovetails with the management culture of corrections. In essence, power is the ability to influence another person’s interests, the ability to command and duty for those commanded to obey orders. Thus, power based on the ability to influence other people’s interests is the authority. Power is the possession of controlling influence or the specific ability to lead others or direct others to do as per wish (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus, 1993:892 and Word Web: online). By definition, authority is the right to direct the activities of others and make decisions for others.

Exercising authority involves using some form of material or psychological rewards and punishments to induce certain behaviour. For example, when a judge sends someone to corrections for incarceration and rehabilitation, it would present on the person sent to corrections both physical pain (which is material), and shame of being found guilty and expressed to be an offender and punished by law, (which is psychological). Promoting one to a higher position would mean higher salary (which is material) and job satisfaction (which is psychological) as regard, perhaps for efficiency, loyalty or other good quality in such a worker.

An example of power is that of an army commander who may impose his will over an enemy battalion using superior technology, arms, and tactics, however, he does not exercise authority over the enemy since they may not lay down their weapons at his or her command. He or she has authority over his or her charges who is duty-bound for them to obey his or her command. This is power and authority as evident in correctional settings. Hegemonic masculinity is superior, Thus, dominant, and has power and authority over inmates and junior staff who in this case seem to possess subordinate masculinities.

8.4 Understanding conflict, violence, peace and peacebuilding

This session was aimed at facilitating participants' understanding and appreciation of the notions of conflict, violence, peace, and peacebuilding as interwoven concepts. The
philosophy that drove this session was a popular catchphrase decoded by Professor Geoff Harris and Dr. Sylvia Kaye of the International Centre of Nonviolence (ICON). Amongst the popular sayings in peace studies circles, they usually echoed that "conflict is inevitable but violence is the choice". Methods and techniques used in this session were brainstorming, case studies, discussions, and colloquy.

8.4.1 Understanding conflict in and out of correctional settings

The conflict was defined in this workshop as the situation when two or more people "parties to the conflict" do not agree. This could arise from:

- Disagreement on the general state of affairs or circumstantial issues at a given particular time.
- Divergences in opinions or viewpoints such as conflicting parties' positions or schools of thought.
- Differences in moral and ethical actions, reactions, and aspirations of parties to a conflict.

In correctional settings, conflict in many cases occur when:

- A party to the conflict, largely inmates or members of staff is required to engage in an activity that is incongruent with their needs or interests. For example, inmates are required to wake-up, sleep, bathe, eat, go to work, attend adult and non-formal education classes, and clothing by rules and regulations of corrections. In many cases, these are contrary to inmates' wishes, causing dissatisfaction thereby condensing into conflict.

- A party to conflict holds onto its behavioural preferences of which satisfaction of such preferences is not compatible with another party's implementation of preferences. For example, gang violence is considered a culture and is enjoyable to gangsters while it is discouraged by corrections administration.

- A party to a conflict wants some mutually desirable resources which are in short supply to satisfy all parties involved. For example, both inmates and staff wear a uniform, however, when funding to purchase uniforms run short, the uniform is supplied to staff, in worst-case scenarios, uniform items are issued to senior executives operating from the city and fall short for officials operating under harsh weather conditions in the outskirts of the city.

- A party to conflict possesses knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and aspirations that are salient in directing one's behaviour but are, perceived to be exclusive of the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and aspirations of the other party. For example, members of management staff who served for a long time in corrections and those who were recognised for their academic competencies usually clutch over issues concerning corrections practice.

- Parties are interdependent in the performance of functions or activities; and have partially exclusive behavioural preferences regarding joint operations or actions.

Though conflict is generally considered as an impediment to socio-economic advancement and development growth. It remains, like human communication, as a "necessary monster" of humankind and certainly is, the lifeblood of any given lively organization, a community, or
society. It remains imperative in this learning process to take heed that conflict is two-pronged; there are destructive conflicts that usually impair and hinder human development and organizational performance, on the one hand, there are constructive conflicts that challenge debate and attract different opinions necessary for organizational development and performance. In the case of staff of corrections in Lesotho, conflict manifests in frequent disagreements causing standstill of programme operations; deviations from regularities, diversions, and discrepancies in routine and standard operating procedures; and differences in opinions.

8.4.2 Advantages and disadvantages of a conflict
A conflict can manifest at any level, intra-personal, inter-personal, and extra-personal; intra-organizational, inter-organizational or extra-organizational; between people, groups, agencies, or nations. At each level, it can be either advantageous or disadvantageous. Arising from the preceding paragraph, conflict is a two-pronged phenomenon. It can bear positive or negative results due to its constructiveness or destructiveness. With a popular Sesotho adage, “ha hona ntho e mpe e se nang molemo” literally meaning, “there is always some goodness in a bad thing” and that is “there is always some “sense” in “nonsense”. Consequently, the understanding that conflict has advantages and disadvantages emerged.

Advantages of conflict: If properly identified, named, and dealt with, the conflict remains a life-giving force for the human development process; organizational growth and sustainability; and national socio-economic development. This is so because, an organization doing proper introspections periodically, may be able to build on lessons learnt from the conflict situation.

Disadvantages of conflict: If not appropriately fingered and left unsettled, a conflict may become ferocious and manifest in violence, emotional and psycho-social withdrawal, communication breakdown, animosity, organizational hostility, and fallout. This could be as discussed earlier in this training workshop a cause for corrections violence, staff dissatisfaction, and staff resignations.

8.4.3 Factors responsible for the conflict
There are numerous conflict causal factors identified and discussed in the workshop. The following have been identified as some of the leading in the host of factors:

- Lack of clear legal and policy framework.
- Nonadherence to organizational legal and policy framework.
- Poorly stated or ill-defined lines of communication in an organization.
- Discrimination, nepotism, and favouritism showed by those in power.
- Inadequate or lack of resources for operational and administrative support.
Incompatible purpose, goals, and objectives.
Divergences in schools of thought and aspiration.
Lack of cognitive and psycho-social motivation including organizational upward mobility.
Poor discipline is evidenced by inadequate or lack of respect for others and work.
Poor organizational management and administration.
Poor or unhealthy workplace relations.
Competition over inadequate opportunities.
Fear of the unknown.
Superiority and inferiority complexes

8.5 Considering and understanding violence in and out of correctional settings

This session of the training workshop ventured into the notion of violence and further moved into reasoning on the reality of violence and its repercussions in correctional settings. The session looked at violence as it affects both inmates and staff. Case studies of violence in corrections were presented for further extrapolation of the phenomenon. The session’s objectives were to:

- Explain the notion of violence
- Identify and explain forms of violence
- Identify and explain forms of violence in correctional settings
- Identify and explain the causes and effects of violence in correctional settings.

The methods and techniques used in this session included a talk or lecture method, the case study method, and colloquy. The session began with a guided discussion and brainstorming addressing the following questions: i) What is violence; ii) What are the forms of violence; iii) How does violence manifest itself in correctional settings; iv) What are the causes and effects of corrections violence.

Participants were divided into two groups. The first group discussed violence as it affects members of staff and the other looked into violence affecting inmates. Each group chose a chairperson to guide the discussions and recorder of the issues discussed and conclusions of the group on each of the subject matter which the group rapporteur later presented to the workshop plenary. Cases based on true stories were presented by participants to ignite discussions aimed to augment what has been concluded in groups and cement their learning.

At the close of the session, the lead facilitator and researcher delivered a talk, which was a lecture in a bid to convey ideas garnered from exploration “primary data” and largely from the
authorities “secondary data” in violence studies. The pivotal purpose of this talk was to trigger participants’ exchange of some thoughts and experiences on the subject as to increase participants’ reservoirs of knowledge and consequently change attitudes, perceptions, and behaviour regarding violence.

8.5.1 Plenary session

The two groups’ rapporteurs presented to the plenary in turns. The plenary recorded and the identical and corresponding ideas and views from the groups were merged and put a record of the plenary.

i). Definition of violence in and out of correctional settings

Violence, either in or out of correctional settings was defined as an act consisting of aggressive and ferocious threats of death or bodily harm; loss of a job or related opportunities and privileges, torture, unlawful corporal punishments, physical and verbal assaults, sexual assaults, and actual rape.

ii). Forms of violence in and out of correctional setting

Table 16: Forms of violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grouping</th>
<th>Itemised form</th>
<th>Amplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV):</td>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>Rape is intentional intercourse between a man and a woman in which one of the actors does not give consent”. It is defined as a common-law crime denoting any forced or coerced carnal penetration of a woman by a man. The essential elements of the crime of rape in Lesotho would not take the rape of a man as rape. Thus, the enactment of Sexual Offences Act No. 3 of 2003 that consolidated and codified the laws that relate to sexual offences, consequently repealed the crime of rape from common law crimes in Lesotho. This was done to combat sexual offences, to prescribe appropriate sentences for sexual offences, and to provide for other incidentals (Kingdom of Lesotho 2003:239) also to repeal the offence of rape from common laws of Lesotho (Kingdom of Lesotho 2003:258). An act of rape is now defined as a sexual offence in Lesotho whereby a male or female person may be a victim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual assaults</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual assault refers to any type of threat, injury, attack, or insult of a sexual nature. This can involve a verbal attack, forced oral sex, forced masturbation, attempted rape, or exposing someone to aggression of sexual nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual harassment</td>
<td></td>
<td>This is unwanted sexual attention, whether physical or verbal. It is a form of sexual assault that includes grabbing body parts like breasts or buttocks, telling sexual jokes, displaying pornographic materials where a victim is forced to watch, and demanding sexual favours from those over</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Psycho-social | Emotional torture | - Uncalled for isolation and unnecessary solitary confinement of inmates causing them emotional pain and suffering.  
- Deliberate deprivations of liberties, malicious neglect, and insignificant denial of some human wants and basic survival needs. |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Physical     | Physical torture  | Intentional infliction of severe or acute physical pain or suffering by corrections officials on inmates, such as:  
- Denial of necessities such as bedding and clothing, bathing, elimination of faecal waste, and urinating.  
- Denial of time to sleep leading to physical and mental collapse.  
- Choking, beating, and kicking. |
| Cruel and degrading treatment | A harsh or neglectful treatment denting physical and mental health, or any punishment intended to cause physical or mental pain and suffering, humiliate or degrade a person.  |

Effectively, the psycho-social and emotional consequences of rape surpass far its technical definitions. Rape as a phenomenon was concluded to be about a show of force, power, and control which are some of the patterns of traditional masculinity, dominant. This is contrary to the general social view and the assertion that rape is about “sexual release” for sexual satisfaction and pleasure, as it may look, but it is about male dominance over women. This is evident from the rape of children as young as five months old and old women as old as eighty-five years old (Wiess 2003:53). In war-torn areas rape is also used as a weapon of war.

iii). **How does violence generally manifest in correctional settings?**

- Pressuring a man to wear women’s underwear, nightclothes, and generally intimate apparel.
- Forcing an inmate to have sex with another inmate or inmates.
- Property grabbing by bullies and "cell lords".
- Sexual harassment and intimidations of junior officers by superior officers.
- Intimidation of weaker people to make them comply, normally with sexual advances.
- Intimidation by hard looks, actions, gestures, a loud voice, rebuking, and insulting.
- Belittling comments and mockery aimed to destroy someone’s ego.

iv). **Codified causes and effects of violence in and out of correctional settings.**

| Table 17: Causes and effects of violence |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Causes                                 | Effects         |

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- Denial of opportunity for heterosexual relationships, and zeal for sexual pleasure on the part of inmates.
- Denial of autonomy, freedoms, and independence on the part of inmates and staff.
- Bureaucratic control of the basic human needs of a group of inmates.
- Lack of necessities such as toiletries for inmates.
- Superiority complex and show of force, power, and control by senior officials.
- Lack of family life and sex education.
- Inadequate knowledge and skills on the part of corrections officials.
- Use of alcohol and drugs.
- Pecuniary embarrassment on the part of corrections officials.
- Affiliation with political parties and gangs by members of staff.
- Physical and emotional injuries causing severe emotional pain and suffering.
- Gangsterism, fond of gang violence and bullying.
- Anger and a deep-seated desire for revenge and retaliation.
- Sexual assaults are traumatic to a victim.
- The inclination of the victim to social withdrawal and contemplations.
- High risk of spread of HIV infection and transmission of other sexually transmitted illnesses.
- Developing low self-esteem because of the feeling of belittlement, humiliation, unfairness, helplessness, and hopelessness.
- Suicides and suicidal tendencies.
- Developing a sense of guilt and self-blame.
- Feeling unsafe and constant fear of being further victimised.
- Social withdrawal and constant sadness.
- Loss of trust and interest in sexual and intimacy in relationships.
- Substance abuse (alcohol and drugs).
- Loss of workplace discipline.
- Degeneration workplace ethos and moral fibre.
- Unexplained change of values and attitudes.
- Developing unpleasant sexual tendencies like promiscuity, prostitution, aggressive or timid sexual behaviour.
- Feeling cheated, dirty and contaminated.
- Development of psychosomatic disorders.
- Poor performance, absenteeism, and desertions.

### 8.5.2 Case studies

Case study learning was used to engage participants in a lively discussion of specific scenarios which are real cases of corrections violence. The cases were picked during the exploration session. They were used as bait to entice participants to actively engage in discussions. Case studies enhanced intense interaction thereby enhanced the exchange of knowledge and experiences which was essential for adult learning.

**Synoptic versions of corrections violence cases used during the training workshop:**

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Table 18: Case three, four, and five

Case three: Corrections staff quashing gang activities
- Upon detection of simmering riot targeting to spill blood as it is group 28 number gang ritual spill blood periodically. Corrections officers identified gang leaders and locked them up into solitary confinement cells for a week. These inmates were tortured, physically, and mentally. They were denied food, clothing, and blankets, beaten, kicked, and choked every morning and afternoon. They were locked in a dark cell with a wet floor and significantly little ventilation. They each had one old blanket and were denied food and visitors.

Case four: Violence outbreak amongst 28 number gangsters
- At the dawn of calamitous Sunday at Maseru Central Correctional Institution, two factions of 28 number gang were divided and clashed over the gang’s leadership promotions. It was immediately after morning unlock when 28 number gangsters fought fiercely leaving many of the seriously injured and one inmate died from sustained serious bodily harm. The inmates had used smuggled knives, machetes, “mabetlela” fighting sticks, stones, and other locally made weapons.

Case five: Inmates kangaroo court
- An inmate was accused in kangaroo court for failing to keep secret 28 number gang operations in the correctional facility. He allegedly reported to corrections officials about the hiding of the contraband including marijuana and weapons. At the close of the case, the accused was found guilty as charged and he was sentenced to twenty strokes of “chompane” chest hitting with a hard object, daily for two weeks, he was also lashed with reduced ration a week. He was only allowed one meal a day. This inmate suffered severe chest pains and later died in hospital.
- An inmate charged in kangaroo court for violating two gang’s rules i) “semokolo sa monna e mong ha se engoe pele” meaning “an inmate’s contraband dealing should not be exposed or tampered with by another inmate”; ii) “Never talk to an officer unless you mean to tell him a lie”. Having failed to defend, this inmate was meted with two sentences. For the first charge, he was “slapped with” given one thousand “lipoho”, that is to empty a “chamber pot” a bucket used for urination and defecation during lock-up time every morning, and for the second charge he was given two weeks “streamline”, that is to be gang-raped by gang leaders every day for two weeks. This inmate was later diagnosed with HIV positive and later died allegedly from “MDR-TB” multiple drug-resistant tuberculosis.

8.6 A talk on conflict, peace, violence, conflict transformation, and peacebuilding

This lecture was conducted by the researcher and lead facilitator for thirty minutes. The intention was to bring together some loose ends on the issues deliberated on during group discussion and case study learning sessions previously conducted on the subject. The aim was to trigger some informed discussion and debate on the topic based on secondary information gathered from the literature. Both secondary and primary data exposed that it would be awkward to discuss the notion of violence leaving out significant concepts such as conflict and peace. It was inevitable for facilitation to reflect on the concepts of conflict and
peace in a bid to accentuate participants' comprehension of the notion of violence. This is consequential to the intersectionality of peace, conflict, and violence.

8.6.1 Conflict defined

According to Rummel (1981: online) "conflict is a balancing of powers among interests, capabilities, and wills. It is a mutual adjusting of what people want, can get, and are willing to pursue". It is a cognitive struggle ensuing from divergent interests and ideas, differing needs and wants, drives, desires, and aspirations resultant from external or internal demands or motivators. Furthermore, Prause and Mujtaba in their 2015 article 'Conflict Management Practices for Diverse Workplaces' scrutinised conflict from a workplace perspective. Thus, they found conflict as comprising of "a disagreement or differences in the position of the parties participating in the conflict". For a conflict to occur, Prause and Mujtaba (2015:15) opined that:

- There have to be inconsistencies regarding the opinions, needs and wants of parties to the conflict.
- There has to be some misinterpretation of the opinions by either of the parties to the conflict.
- Conflicting parties should be identified and singled out for any disagreements.
- There should be different sides according to their beliefs, values, and needs in any confliction.

The advanced definitions indicate that conflict is part and parcel of human existence. It arises when there is a disagreement between two or more people, two or more groups, agencies, or nations. In the case of correctional settings, a conflict could arise from topical, practical, and functional matters such as depriving inmates and staff of certain rights and privileges about the nature of corrections, prisons, and penitentiaries. There are simultaneous but incompatible interests between corrections officials and inmates; between senior in rank officials and junior officials and amongst inmates themselves. Conflict in correctional settings can also arise from conditions of service, remuneration and benefits, promotions and transfers, decision-making, superiority and inferiority complexes, nepotism, favouritism, and general discrimination. Competition over inadequate resources such as transport and office space, inmate's meal rations, inmates clothing, boarding, and lodging utensils.

8.6.2 Peace defined

"Peace has always been among humanity's highest values...the most disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war. Peace is more important than all justice. "I prefer the most unjust peace to the most just war that was ever waged. There never was a good war or a bad peace" (Rummel 1981: online).
Before delving into the literature on the concept of peace, Lead Facilitator and Researcher presented the concept of peace as put in English dictionaries as thus: Collin English Dictionary and Thesaurus of 1993 defined peace as “the state of harmony between two people or groups of people” whereas Oxford Dictionary of 2010 defined peace as “the state prevailing during the absence of war” and Word Web online dictionary defined peace as “the absence of mental stress or anxiety”. The three dictionaries settle that, peace is the state of calmness and tranquility, absence of disorders, upheavals, and tribulations.

Basotho embrace peace as the foundation for prosperity and self-sufficiency. In his remarks, former Deputy Prime Minister Selometsi Baholo who was assassinated in 1994, proclaimed that according to Sesotho culture, peace is the panacea for poverty and hunger and that “recipe for peace is justice for all”. This spirit is traced from “Moshoeshoeism” as described from focus group discussions and spilled onto various contemporary political slogans in Lesotho such as: “Khotso ke nala” meaning “peace is prosperity”; “sera sa motho ke tlala” meaning “an enemy of humanity is hunger”; and “toka ho sera le ho motsoalle” meaning “justice to a friend and foe”. All these signals the desire for Basotho to live peaceably.

Peace is the state of tranquillity or quietness; freedom from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions and harmony in personal relations. According to Herath (2016:105) the term, peace is more often used to denote the state of absence of aggression, violence, or hostility. In his monograph, Johan Galtung, the guru and global leading authority in peace studies, defined peace as the absence of violence but not of conflict (Galtung 1996:196). It is the opposite of violence.

Galtung further went to acknowledge that peace is an intangible and intellectual concept which is amoebic and hard to define. It is easily defined with and against its antonyms such as violence and war. Peace can best be defined as the absence of violence and war. Accordingly, Johan Galtung, the guru, and authority of peace studies, propounded that there are two types of peace with distinctive features though resulting in similar results being nonviolence characterized by quietness and calmness. The two types of peace as propounded by Johan Galtung are the “positive” and “negative” peace (Galtung 1996:14).

Positive peace according to “Moshoeshoeism”, “seMoshoeshoe” or Moshoeshoe’s viewpoint can be described as “Khotso ea moshoelella” meaning “the lasting peace”. That is an enduring and continuing state of absence of war and violence coupled with stable climatic conditions for general farming culminating into prosperity. As the national motto goes “khotso, pula, nala” meaning “peace, rain, and prosperity”. For Galtung, “positive peace” signifies concomitant and continuous concurrent existence of requirements for the socially acceptable states of mind such as law-abiding and orderly society; public safety and security; accessibility to social
amenities; access to justice by all; tranquillity and food security for all; respect of human dignity and protection of human rights. This is, by and large, the most desired form of peace dispensation.

Negative peace according to "seMoshoeshoe" is described as "khotso ea mabele" literally translated as "peace of the sorghum" meaning it is a temporary kind of peace obtained when one has some food or "masiba a limpshe" ostrich feathers and other material valuables to offer in exchange for nonviolence. This kind of peace is reached between conflicting when the two parties agreed on the "what is in for me" principle. In this case, subordinate masculinities usually submit to terms of dominant masculinities. Negative peace does not consider whether all parties are at "true peace", but concerned with the "absence of war" and other forms of observable violent conflicts. Contemporarily, ostrich feathers could be equated to "bilateral development assistance between nations or countries in exchange for a "significant vote" or "significant comment" in the United Nations Assembly; African Union Summit; or Southern African Development Community Summit.

8.6.3 Violence defined

The dictionary definition of violence is "the state of usually open and declared antagonism". It is "a struggle or competition between opposing forces", "an exertion of physical force to injure or abuse, as in effecting illegal entry into a house" (Word web online dictionary). Correspondingly, it is taken as an occurrence of violent treatment or dealing, practice, or process, coupled with a vehement sensation or expression. It is in essence an absence of peace or conflict at its heightened peak point (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1993) which is referred to as violent conflict. According to Herath (2016:105) violence is "an extreme form of aggression, such as assault, rape or murder". Furthermore, it is considered that "violence and other forms of abuse are most usually understood as a pattern of behaviour intended to establish and uphold control over the family, household members, intimate partners, colleagues, individuals or groups" (Herath 2016:116). This is a behavioural pattern attributed to dominant forms of masculinity.

According to Galtung (1969:168) violence is defined as "the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could be and what is ... that which increases the distance between the potential and actual, that which impedes the decrease of the distance". The implication of preceding Galtung's definition is that, violence emerges when the "needs of the people" are not adequately met and when there is a difference in the manner of doing things. This can be avoided if the discrepancy and inconsistencies creating the "gap" which is "the distance between what it is and what should be" is avoided or closed.
Violence can be inflicted either by omission of the right thing to do or commission of a wrong thing to do. It involves premeditated use of force against self; another person or a group of persons. According to World Health Organization, violence can be defined as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (Modvig 2014:19).

It is noteworthy that the definition includes threats such as the potential use of force, and that the defining outcome is not only injury or death but also psychological harm, maldevelopment, and deprivation. Furthermore, it is noteworthy to take heed that, violence is largely inflicted by persons known to the victims, like in correctional settings inmates know each other and they know the officials. However, though violent offenders are most frequently known to their victims, acts of violence and abuse in correctional settings may also be inflicted by strange inmates, usually at night or in hiding places. This happens usually to newly admitted inmates.

8.6.4 Types of violence: the violence triangle
The violence triangle is the categorization, compartmentalization, and pictorial presentation of violence following its typology propounded by Johan Galtung as in the figure below:

**Picture 8: Violence triangle**

Source: Filibeli and İnceoğlu (2018)

Johan Galtung in his paper "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research" of 1969, suggested that there are two forms of violence, "personal or direct violence" and "structural or indirect violence". In 1990, Galtung brought to the surface the concept of "structural or symbolic violence" in his article "Structural Violence". The triangle above indicates that both structural and cultural violence are covert, that is, they are invisible and cannot be seen with naked eyes. Direct or personal violence is overt; thus, it remains observable and both perpetrator and victim are easily identified.

According to Galtung (1969:170) "the type of violence where there is an actor that commits the violence as personal or direct, and to violence where there is no such actor as structural
or indirect (Galtung 1969:170). Galtung further argued that the term institutional violence is often used instead of structural violence because structural violence is largely embedded in institutional structures (Galtung 1969:187). The third form of violence according to Galtung is cultural violence. This is the form of violence emergent largely from cultural aspects of an organization or society exemplified by political ideology and religion. Cultural violence is used mainly to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence (Galtung 1990:291).

i) **Structural or indirect violence:** According to Webb (2019:53) "structural violence is a condition in which groups of persons are harmed by general and persisting situations not of their choosing; from which most have no real way of escaping. Great harm, including death, and limits on the actualization of potential are the result". In essence, structural violence emanates from wrongs such as injustice, biases and discriminations; inequalities and unfairness; corrupt practices, maladministration, manipulative dealings, and exploitation

ii) **entrenched in institutional structures.** Institutions involve social institutions such as family, economics or business, politics or government, religion, or church. In the case of this Action Research, the kind of violence we are looking into is that which is characterised by the disrespect of human dignity and rampant violations of human rights in our correctional institutions. It is the form of violence that is embedded and hooked on corrections physical and institutional structures that is largely caused and aggravated by poor conditions of corrections and the inadequacies of legal and policy frameworks. The illustration below was trapped during the review of the literature and was according to the researcher found to be appropriately depicting and portraying structural violence as discussed.

**Picture 9: Structural violence illustrated**

![Structural violence illustrated](image-url)
I have noted and sensed structural form of violence from Sotonye Orinaemi Briggs, 2018 paper presented at the 4th International Conference on Social Sciences in Abuja, Nigeria titled “The effects of insecurity on investment in Nigeria” that:

“... the poor are led to crime because of their relative deprivation and an acute sense of want ... the social environment of the poor and jobless often leads them to crime” (Briggs, 2018:365).

“... the unemployed experience low self-esteem, deprivation, frustration, and acute want...leading the unemployed youths to deviant behaviours like crime in the society” (Briggs, 2018:365).

“... frustration breeds hostility and produces anger as emotional readiness to aggression, and hostile aggression springs from anger” (Briggs, 2018:366).

“... the increasing gap between the rich and poor intensifies frustration and unprovoked aggression ensures and escalates. These aggressions are manifested as crimes and violence...” (Briggs, 2018:366).

“... frustration and desperation that daily torments the unemployed create a fertile ground for crime to thrive” (Briggs, 2018:376).

iii) Cultural violence: Cultural violence is the predominant attitude and belief that explains, justifies, and legitimises structural violence and at times direct violence, making it seem normal and acceptable. Correctional service as an organization has its own organizational culture that seems to normalise violence. Superiority and inferiority complexes based on among others; whether one is male or female; economic success and achievements; whether one is an inmate or corrections official; and job rankings shapes our attitudes so much that it becomes a norm to oppress in any way the inferior or subordinates. According to peace psychology, a branch of psychology seeking to theorise peacebuilding, the existence of cultural violence is felt from a barrage of any form of violence. Peace psychologists further take note that this form of violence occurs when beliefs are used to justify, validate, and defend either direct or structural violence (Christie and Cooper 2016: online). Beliefs in correctional settings are thus embedded in corrections traditions, culture, and sub-cultures.

*Traditions, culture, and sub-culture defined*

- Traditions are inherited patterns of thought or actions within a group or community.
- Culture is defined as learned societal beliefs, practices, customs, and accepted forms and behaviours that are seen as 'normal' in an organization, community, society, or in a group or sub-group within a society.
Sub-culture is that culture containing values, ethos, and principles of a certain grouping in a larger group. For example, in doing this study, much of the focus is on the corrections sub-culture. A group within a society in this research is seen as a corrections community in toto, inclusive of inmates, staff, and their significant others as sub-groups. Culture and traditions are best portrayed through rituals, language, dress code, staple food, and mode meal preparation in the entire society. Whereas, sub-culture is the portrayal of sub-group rituals such as, the ceremonies and sacraments of a particular corrections number gang which are, by and large, violent acts, criminal behaviour, and delinquency culminating into cultural violence spilling over onto direct violence therein.

iv) Direct or personal violence

Direct or personal violence is the use of physical or mental power and control aimed to harm or to weaken and/or to control another person's behaviour. This form of violence involves an actual physical attack like beating and shoving, burning and choking, terrorizing and intimidating, including harassments such as sexual assaults and stalking of one person or persons by another person or persons; engagement of the other person in conduct in which the other person intimidates or stalks the other person or persons. This is the form of violence involving some straightforward means, manner, behaviour, language, or actions entailing direct infliction of pain and suffering on someone by someone. This entails gang fights, combat of various sorts, and varying magnitudes; man's slaughter, physical assaults, sexual assaults and rape, verbal abuse, and physical neglect.

Lead facilitator in closing highlighted that, it is worth taking note that:

- Cultural and structural violence can be the cause for direct violence (like the SA apartheid struggle).
- Direct violence is seen as a reinforcer of structural and cultural violence (like Lesotho 1970).
- Direct violence injures or kills many people quickly and intensely (like the Rwandan genocide).
- Structural violence is much more widespread and kills far more people by depriving them of satisfactory of their basic needs (like food insecurity and inadequate health services).
- Cultural violence condones the two other forms of violence: direct and structural (like patriarchy).
- Corrections violence has features of organizational cultural violence, direct and structural violence (like corrections physical and emotional torture, gang violence, sexual abuse, and rape).
8.6.5 Forms of violence in and out correctional settings

Violence is an intentional physical and/or emotional harm of one or more persons by the other person or persons. It manifests in various ways such as self-injury and injury of others by others. Conventionally, violence, either in or out of correctional settings can take many forms. Thus, it is taken to incorporate among others sexual violence; physical violence; emotional violence; religious violence, and economic violence.

8.6.6 Manifestations of violence in correctional settings

*Staff on inmates’ violence:* This is the most common form of violence emergent in correctional settings. It involves largely, physical and emotional torture manifesting in threats of physical violence and many cases, actual physical violence. Amongst revealed acts of violence are:

- Direct violence is evidenced by the actual administration of physical assaults and torture.
- Unwarranted lock-ups and solitary confinement coupled with the infliction of physical assaults.
- Indirect violence is evidenced by omissions to address such violence by ignoring it.
- Indirect violence permeated by condonement of such violence or avoiding responsibility.
- Subtle threats of physical violence and denial of essentials for inmate’s survival.

*Staff on staff violence:* Staff-on-staff violence is in my view an understated yet enormous in magnitude. It is largely manifesting in a form of *workplace violence*. This was defined by the United States Department of Labour, Occupational Safety and Health Administration in 2002 as “violence or the threats of violence against workers”. It can occur on or off work site and can range from any form of threats and verbal abuse, sexual harassments, intimidations, and to physical assaults and homicide. This is in Lesotho, and in particular correctional settings, is one of the leading causes of job-related stress and depressions leading to suicides, desertions, underperformance, ill-discipline, and general workplace pandemonium.

*Inmates on inmates’ violence:* This is one of the most evident forms of violence in correctional settings. It is the use of force by an inmate or inmates on an inmate or group of inmates to control such a victim or victims and coerce them to do things they would not do under normal circumstances such as acceding against their will to sexual activities.

*Inmates on staff violence:* This is also one of the hidden forms of violence which are rarely reported. However, in this study, it was revealed that some officials fall prey to inmates’ violence. This was evidenced by forced recruitment into prison number gangs and
intimidations such as threats of physical injury or causing injury to significant ones like spouse and children.

Blackmailing was found as one leading emotional violence exerted by inmates on staff.

8.6.7 Prisonisation: an instigator and enabler of violence in corrections

Donald Clemmer in his monograph “The Prison Community” penned in 1940, had put forward, as of an idea, the notion of “prisonization”. The concept which he defined as the process by which inmates’ behaviours is being moulded by the social and structural hallmarks of life in correctional settings, in particular, life in an institution. It is the process by which inmates seek to adapt to life in a correctional setting utilizing the adoption of customs and norms subcultures therein. For some people, prisonization could be seen as socialization into the corrections subculture. Thus, through prisonization, inmates get to learn the nitty-gritty and the utmost essentials of life for inmates in correctional settings.

There are two core models deployed in an endeavour to explain prisonization, the importation model and the deprivation model. The importation model teaches that inmate subcultures are ensuing from what inmates have learned before their incarceration, hence “importation”, which means those brought from outside. The model pivots on the fact that presenting behaviours in corrections were learnt out of corrections and have been brought along into corrections, thereby, instigating violence therein. The deprivation model, on the one hand, teaches that inmate subcultures have cropped up as a response to a series of deprivations and denials. It suggests that to fit in, inmates learn the “drumbeat” of corrections life, that is, corrections culture and norms, roles, language, practices, and general dogmatics, and corrections aesthetics. The model submits that to fit well, inmates tend to learn new ways of living in corrections as to be comfortable and effectively deal with the pains stemming from incarceration (Bannister 2016:2).

Both models of prisonization were found necessary as they have perused possible factors responsible for inmates’ behaviour looking into both sides of the “coin”. One side looking into past experiences of an inmate and the other delving into current experiences. The two models in my opinion seem not only applicable to inmates but also to the staff. This was also echoed by the Head of Maseru Central Correctional Institution during the opening of the workshop. Psycho-analysis theory also seeks to explain this scenario with its two popular theories; psycho-sexual development and psycho-social development which both delve and hold on human development stages, and the influence early stages have on later stages in human life. Thus, whether an inmate or member of staff, cognitive processes run on similar platforms, therefore what affects an inmate before incarceration could affect an official before
employment. Also, corrections conditions could affect an inmate and shape his or her behavior, similarly, an official can be affected and shaped by corrections conditions.

The deprivation model of prisonization suggests that there are five conspicuous deprivations daily and perpetually affecting inmates. However, the model does not only affect inmates but also staff as their socialization into correctional settings is similarly influenced by some of the identified deprivations namely: deprivation of heterosexual relationships; deprivation of liberty, deprivation of goods and services; deprivation of autonomy; and deprivation of safety and security. The manner and magnitude in which these deprivations affect staff is the subject of another study.

Table 19: Deprivation model: deprivations and explanation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deprivation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual relationships</td>
<td>Denial of heterosexual relationships and being held captive with same-sex inmates causes frustration for inmates of “straight” sexual orientation and is the root for loss of self-concept. This is a leading factor of inmates’ indulgence into “situational homosexuality” with the majority of inmates, thus, coupled with sexual violence therein.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty, free movement, and speech</td>
<td>Inmates and to some extent, corrections staff, are denied freedom of choice, opinion, and of worshiping as one would wish. They, inmates, are kept and restricted from movement within a relatively small area resulting in boredom, loneliness, and largely a feeling of shame for knowledge that the free community has rejected them, whereas staff is put under intelligence surveillance against their wish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions and services</td>
<td>Regardless of riches out of corrections, inmates are being impoverished by confinement in societies where one’s possessions often measure one’s worth and the ability to take or reject service in favour of another. While incarcerated, inmates are exposed to similar services such as health. The fact that this loss occurred as a result of one’s actions contributes to the injury of inmates’ self-image and self-worth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy and the ability to make choices.</td>
<td>Denial of independence and hindrance of inmates’ ability to make choices reduces them to the inferior state, as such they occupy a level of subordinate masculinity. Concerning staff, the best choices are made by commanders as the classical style of corrections leadership hinders them from making and implementing their decisions. This is the cause of frustration and burn-outs on the part of inmates and to some extent, on the part of the staff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety and security</td>
<td>Inmates are being locked up with others who may be viewed as dangerous or unstable which provoked issues concerning personal safety and security. Operational staff is also concerned about their safety and security when dealing with high-profile inmates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
attracting public interest in various ways. Frustration and anxiety emanating from the feeling of insecurity on the part of both inmates and staff are one of the instigators of violence therein as they resort to some form of violence in a bid to secure physical and emotional protection.

The deprivation model of prisonization is instantaneous in explaining systemic violence in correctional settings. It is direct and straightforward in amplification of structural form of violence since it arises from corrections physical and institutional structures. This is evidenced by deprivations and denial of some wants and needs of either inmates or staff. The totalitarian nature of corrections sought aggravates and condones corrections violence which is emergent from organizational structures and culture largely causing emotional pain and suffering arising from self-guilty conscience, systematic frustration, and anger.

8.6.8 Some of the factors responsible for corrections violence
Corrections violence in Lesotho is by and large systemic, that is, it is affecting an entire system. The are several problems confronting correctional service which are held responsible for violence therein. They are among others:

*Poor conditions of a correctional institution*: The antiquated and dilapidated state of corrections physical structures and institutional infrastructure; overcrowding and struggle over inadequate resources; idleness, boredom, and disgruntled inmates. Limited access to proper health care, psycho-social support services, and inmate’s education and training services.

*Sub-standard living conditions*: unhygienic and unsanitary environments; confinement of inmates in spaces are not fit human habitation indicated by failure to meet minimum requirements for inmates boarding and lodging such as living space like basic hygiene, portable water, natural lighting, proper ventilation, and inadequate cooking and ablution facilities.

*Inadequate staff accommodation and office space*: insufficient opportunities for staff training and development, poorly remunerated, and less recognised staff. Due to inadequate opportunities for manpower training and development, many staff finds themselves learning the “real” part of their work through large apprenticeship or on their own and from inmates.
Conditions like an unhygienic environment, idleness, and boredom contribute enormously to intense frustration resulting in burnouts and unpleasant conduct on the part of inmates. To exercise their minds inmates find correctional institutions a fertile ground for the breeding of gangsterism. This is a nasty phenomenon in the administration of corrections hurting the emotional and physical health of inmates and correctional staff by increasing their exposure to infectious diseases such as multiple drug resistance (MDR), tuberculosis (TB), and measles.

Overcrowding of correctional institution: Overcrowding in correctional services institutions poses a threat to prevention, treatment, care, and support of HIV and AIDS and other infectious diseases are easily spread in congested environments. The problem of overcrowding becomes a challenge in correctional service institutions as it also accounts for risky behaviours such as violent conflict over limited resources such as sleep areas, ablution facilities, foodstuffs, bedding, and clothing.

8.6.9 Consequences of corrections violence
The consequences of violence in and out of correctional settings were mainly identified as: (i) physically and emotionally harmful effects, including deaths; (ii) destructive to human development and devastating organizational development and growth; and (iii) an impediment of the societal socio-economic development process in toto.
8.6.10 Understanding conflict transformation

Transformation according to Webster’s Dictionary online, is a major change in form, function, or nature. Conflict transformation, therefore, is “a process of engaging with and transforming the relationship, interests, discourses and if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflicts (Anthony and Enna 2015:58).

Conflict Transformation is a long-term process that engages society on multiple levels to develop the knowledge, understanding, and skills that empower people to coexist peacefully. According to Witt and Balfe (2016:7), Simon Weathered in his presentation to Christian Aid Seminar in June 2012, conflict transformation is defined as: “an approach that seeks to transform the very systems, structures, and relationships which give rise to violence and injustice. It is a long-term, gradual process which must involve wide-ranging and comprehensive actions and actors across different sectors of society as they work together to develop strategic goals for change”.

Conflict transformation involves:

- Engaging conflicting parties in the processes that lead to long-term and gradual change.
- Mapping out conflicting parties or actors, considering their historical and geographical factors.
- Working on changing stakeholder’s relationships (particularly looking into the power dynamics).
- Holistically interpreting social context looking into (i) Attitudes or assumptions (how individuals feel or understand the situation); (ii) Behaviours (visible actions that may be articulated as violence); and (iii) Structures (mapping out social institutions such as religious institutions for example).
Contradictions

The ABC model in conflict transformation is built on the foundation that a conflict has three conspicuous and pivotal features being:

(A) stands for attitudes or assumptions about the conflict, that is general feelings and appreciation of the subject of conflict by stakeholders in conflict;

(B) stands for behaviour, these represent all the actions including utterances of each of the stakeholders in conflict; and

(C) stands for the context of the confliction, contradictions, or circumstances surrounding the conflict. These could be described as frustrations (Galtung 1996:72).

In the case correctional settings, the context would be correctional institutions' physical and institutional environmental arrangements and the publics' therein. This could involve the denial of certain civil rights and privileges affecting inmates and staff in corrections. For example, corrections, prisons, or penitentiaries, and other places of detention around the world are perceived as total institutions in which by design, they deliberately ignore some of the passionate demands of its inmates, the one but significant part of the corrections community held captive and deprived of (i) liberty and freedom of movement, (ii) autonomy and decision-making, and (iii) heterosexual relationships. In Lesotho, denial of sex in correctional institutions is exacerbated by the fact that sodomy is a criminal offence and sexual activity between inmates is prohibited, and inmates are denied sexual relationships which is the root cause of frustration among heterosexual male inmates leading to frustration, anger and violence eruption.

8.6.11 Conclusion

This talk introduced the participants to the concepts of conflict, peace, violence, and conflict transformation. The concepts were tackled using some secondary information, primary information, and personal experience. Furthermore, it is crucial to recall that the primary purpose of the talk was to facilitate participant exposure to the notion of violence. As an attempt to do justice to the topic, violence, I covered the following sub-issues: conceptual definitions of conflict, peace, violence, and conflict transformation. To deepen understanding of violence, I further tackled: three types of violence following the violence triangle as
structural, cultural, and direct violence; Forms of violence were tackled as (i) sexual violence; (ii) physical violence; (iii) emotional violence; (iv) religious violence and (v) economic violence. This was followed by manifestations of violence in correctional settings which were identified as: (i) staff on inmates’ violence, (ii) staff on staff violence, (iii) inmates on inmates’ violence, and (iv) inmates on staff violence. Prisonization was also tackled and the two prisonization models were discussed as the importation model and deprivation model, the deprivations causing pains of incarceration as the cause of corrections violence were discussed. Two factors responsible for corrections violence were discussed as poor conditions of corrections and overcrowding in corrections. The consequences of violence were also discussed as:

i. Physically and emotionally harmful;
ii. Destructive to human and organizational development; and
iii. Impediment of societal socio-economic development.

Nearing closure of the talk, we tackled the notion of conflict transformation as a concept and as a process. Conflict transformation was defined, thereafter, I engaged the ABC triangle to explain the processes. Initially, the model requires:

i. Identification and engagement of conflicting parties in the process;
ii. Mapping out the conflicting parties historical and geographical backgrounds; and
iii. Getting to understand the conflicting parties' relationships and power dynamics in a conflict situation.

Conflict transformation was discussed as indicating the necessity to understand that, unlike conflict management and conflict resolution, in conflict transformation, the focus is on working with and through the conflicting parties themselves while other methods look into conflict itself. For example, conflict management and conflict resolution target the conflict itself while conflict transformation targets parties to the conflict and their context. The model indicates that A, calls for an interrogation of “Attitudes” of the parties involved in the conflict; B is concerned with the “Behaviours” displayed by conflicting parties, and C stands for “Context” of the conflict.

8.7 Sharing a conflict that I resolved non-violently

Participants were requested in this session to divide into pairs and they were given ten minutes to chat and exchange their experiences of conflict one ever remembers resolving non-violently. The duo was given two (2) minutes each to share what they shared with the entire group. This session intended to motivate and empower each participant to keep up the spirit of non-violence and influence others to follow suit.

8.8 Introducing Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP Network).

This session was presented in a form of a talk which was presented by AVP Facilitator “Neutral” Ntholeng Molefi who presented: The history of the Alternatives to Violence Project;
The thinking behind Alternatives to Violence Project Network; and the mode of operation of the network. “Accurate” Akim Phamotse, Researcher and Lead Facilitator presented a talk on Principles guiding AVP; Pillars anchoring AVP and the underlying core values of AVP organisation and workshops as espoused by AVP International Network and AVP USA Joint Education and Best Practices Team May 2017. This session intended to inculcate the spirit of AVP and seek to establish how the AVP model could be instrumental in transforming masculinities and curbing violence in correctional settings in Lesotho.

AVP nonviolence training workshops are participatory learning events seeking to enhance the candidate’s knowledge and skills and sharing practical experiences other than teaching. In this workshop, facilitators endeavoured to create an environment conducive to adult learning. The core intention of this workshop was to enhance the participant’s abilities to transform conflicts, not by violent means. Participants were introduced to the core pillars of AVP being; affirmation, communication, cooperation, community building, and conflict transformation regarding correctional settings.

8.8.1 History of the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)
Facilitator “Neutral” Ntholeng Molefi lead the talk on AVP history, he shared that this initiative, AVP, is a global network of volunteers running workshops for anyone who wants to find ways of resolving conflict without resorting to violence. The network emerged in 1975 at New York prison in the United States of America as an initiative of inmates serving long-term sentences in the quest for nonviolent correctional settings. The workshop was held for the young offenders held therein and later rolled out to other correctional facilities. It is now considered as one of the Evidence-Based Initiative (EBI) in peacebuilding and conflict transformation globally. It is found in social institutions and the general public in America and beyond. At the request of various agencies including institutions of learning, churches, non-state actors, and international organizations, across the globe, the network expanded to over fifty nations including New Zealand, Costa Rica, Israel, Russia, South Africa, and now at the teething stage in Lesotho. AVP began with support from the Quakers’ “Religious Society of Friends” which is an ecumenical movement. It is currently working in various social and religious contexts.

"Neutral" shared with participants that, The Alternatives to Violence Project Lesotho Network is an initiative of peacebuilding students of the International Centre of Nonviolence (ICON) of Durban University of Technology (DUT) and AVP Facilitators; Messrs “Romantic” Mosiuoa Ramakoele, “Neutral” Ntholeng Molefi and “Accurate” Akim Matinge Phamotse, who is the leading facilitator, researcher and author of this report. Reverend “Visionary” Vera Vernom and Anglican Priest "Sweet" Sello Moshoeshoe also showed up and brought AVP Lesotho
Network members to five. The initiative in Lesotho is backed up by the Alternatives to Violence Project – KwaZulu-Natal Network.

8.8.2 The thinking behind Alternatives to Violence Project Network

- The network understanding is that conflict is a natural and normal part and parcel of life and that it is possible to learn new ways of handling it.
- The network holds workshops in which the participants consider; the underlying causes of violent conflict; and practical ways of dealing with conflicts in nonviolent means.
- The training workshops build on everyday experiences and try to help people to move away from violent or abusive behaviour by developing other ways of dealing with conflicts.
- The training workshop endeavour to help people to increase respect for member volunteers, significant others, and the general public.

8.8.3 The AVP mode of operation

Presenting AVP mode of operation, Facilitator “Neutral” Ntholeng Molefi mentioned that the power of AVP is in its styled three series workshops: Basic Training Workshop; Advanced Training Workshop; and “T4F” Training for Facilitators. “Neutral” further revealed that AVP is for everyone, everywhere, every time. The other uniqueness of AVP divulged was that its training workshops are designed to easily adapt to particular characteristics of each setting, such as; correctional settings, schools, and communities.

i) Alternatives to Violence Project in Correctional settings: Alternatives to Violence Project Network has been known to help reduce violence within correctional settings; help to curb and mitigate recidivism syndrome and improve communication both amongst the incarcerated community, amongst corrections staff, between inmates and corrections officials, and also between the corrections community and general stakeholders. Generally, AVP training workshops are being held and proved useful in ultra-maximum-security correctional institutions; maximum security correctional institutions; medium-security correctional institutions, youth detention facilities, and open security correctional institutions.

ii) Alternative to Violence Project in Schools: Alternatives to Violence Project hold workshops in schools to reduce school violence and improve on manifest functions of school as a social institution. The training workshops are being held with: pre-school children; primary school children; secondary school children and tertiary level students. AVP workshops build on everyday experiences and help the school’s community to refrain from violent or abusive behaviour by developing other ways of dealing with conflicts. They help improve the general conduct of the school community.

iii) Alternatives to Violence Project in the Community: The AVP has been known to help improve interpersonal relationships and reduce incidents of domestic violence. AVP
workshops are being held with: companies and corporations; faith communities; government agencies; non-profit organisations; remote communities; rural communities; urban communities and youth groups.

### 8.8.4 Principles guiding Alternatives to Violence Project

- The AVP is an international volunteer movement which organises workshops empowering people to lead nonviolent lives, based on respecting and caring for ourselves and others.
- We believe there is a power for peace and good in everyone, which can transform our relationships.
- AVP is open to all ages, backgrounds, and genders. Our workshops are not allied to a particular faith or sect.

### 8.8.5 Pillars anchoring Alternatives to Violence Project

In this workshop, five AVP pillars were explored as i) Affirmation, ii) Communication, iii) Cooperation, iv) Community building, and v) Transforming power.

**Affirmation exercise:** The purpose of the affirmation exercise was to recognize and give strength to the one being affirmed if not self-affirmation. This was done to strengthen the confidence of participants to motivate them to strive for goodness. In this workshop, participants were unveiling positive qualities in themselves and others within a warm, safe space providing positive feedback in a form of applause. Participants were guided to declare the goodness in a person one admires enviously. In doing this, participants were put in pairs. They were requested to be with their non-acquaintances in the established pairs. Each participant in a pair was given three minutes to share with his or her partner in turns affirming the goodness in a person adored and envied. This was followed by three minutes statement of the assertion made on behalf of one’s partner. Also, this was done in turns. A considerable majority of participants making it nine (9) affirmed their spouses. Three (3) affirmed their friends, two (2) affirmed colleagues in office; one (1) affirmed his sibling 'brother', and one (1) echoed affirming sentiments for her child. Generally, participants echoed unwavering support they adored from their subjects of affirmation.

More on affirmations, participants were requested to change partners, each exchanging with the couple on the left side. Participants were requested to share with their partners within three minutes in turns, things they like most about themselves. For example, "I like myself because .........."; "I can.............."; "I am good in .............". Participants were also requested again to exchange partners, each exchanging with a couple on the left, in turn, participants were requested to affirm their partners in turns. For example, "You are good in..............."; "You can.............".
At the close of the affirmation exercise, participants were requested to reflect on the exercise guided by the following questions:

- How did you feel when sharing about the person you envy?
- How did you feel when sharing about yourself?
- How did you feel when asserting your partner?
- How did you feel when given a hearing?
- How did you feel when listening to your partner affirming you?

Participants responses brought forward were:

- It was dull when it started but I was subsequently charged up and excited.
- I was caught off guard, I felt ambushed and had to protect myself.
- I made sure I do not say much lest I embarrass myself.
- I was not ready for such an exercise and I could not open up easily.
- I felt unsafe, just trusting the process.
- It was an opportune moment for me to say good things about the person I envy.
- It felt like talking to the person I envy, was like he or she is listening.
- I was privileged to learn of good things I did not know about myself. I felt proud and happy.
- I was privileged to say things I like about myself.

**Communication:** Improving communication skills form an essential part of the workshop. The workshop began with adjective naming and introductions in pairs. One pair seated at their comfort space where each, listened carefully to one another while talking and sharing in turns. This was followed by suggesting and agreeing on rules or boundaries for the workshop, sharing adjective names, and getting to know the entire group including facilitators. The exercises which were done in tandem, were instrumental in two ways: i) improving speaking and listening skills (communication) and ii) enabling sharing of the goodness about one another (affirmation). This is what AVP pioneers found rarely done by many people, “which is something we typically don’t do enough of” (AVP Manual).

**Co-operation, collaboration, and teamwork:** According to Schöttle (2014:1275) cooperation is “...interstate, interagency or interpersonal relationship among the participants of an undertaking which are commonly related by vision and mission, whereas, collaboration is seen as a relationship with a common vision to create a common project organization with a commonly defined structure and a new jointly developed project culture, based on trust and transparency; to jointly maximize the value for the customer by solving problems mutually
through interactive processes, which are planned together, and by sharing responsibilities, risk, and rewards among the key participants.

According to Reeves et al. (2018:2) collaboration is similar to teamwork in that it required shared accountability between individuals, some interdependence between individuals, and clarity of roles and goals. It is about working together for a common purpose as portrayed on the pictorial representation of mules in picture 16 page 220 below. AVP processes and efforts to create nonviolent environments are a collaborative process and teamwork. Participants echoed in consensus that teamwork is vital for success in voluntary organizations like AVP for it requires mutual understanding, mutual agreements, and selflessness, hence the adages like "ntja-peli ha hlooe ke sebata", meaning "two dogs may not be defeated by the beast" and "matsoho a ea hlatsatsoana", meaning "hands wash each other". Indeed, no one hand can wash.

**Picture 13: Co-operation, collaboration, and teamwork for success**

![Image](image.png)


**Community building:**

- Group construction and trust exercises help build a sense of community, as do fun games and shared storytelling of experiences.
- Doing such exercises together is fun, and also teaches us a lot about ourselves and others.
- Our trained facilitators will debrief each exercise, drawing out lessons and insights from the group.
- AVP workshops are great teambuilding tools - participants get to know each other much better, and build a valuable basis of trust and understanding.
8.9 Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) – Transforming power talk

AVP believes that conflict is part and parcel of humanity. AVP does not in any manner pursue to eradicate conflict. However, it reaches out to all people in an endeavour to transform the conflict since we may not shun the reality of its existence. AVP seeks to engage artistic ways and means to transform toxic relationships in social institutions and organizations such as family, schools, churches, and workplaces like correctional institutions. AVP mode of operation in doing this is an enhancement of mutual understanding, honest sharing, improved intrapersonal and interpersonal skills, and mutual care and support.

In this training workshop, I delivered a talk on the notion of transforming power based on AVP – USA Basic Workshop Manual of 2002. Transforming power is at the heart of AVP operations. It is believed to be that intrinsic power, inner ability, or force culpable to transform how we deal with a conflict in any given context. In this Action Research, this is the power we believe could change our mindsets regarding masculinities and violence thereby creating nonviolent correctional settings.

8.9.1 Introducing the notion of transforming power

Transforming power is the concept that has been defined in various ways by several people given the differing schools of thought they may belong to. Transforming power shape up and solidify the base of Alternatives to Violence Project, thus it is pivotal thereby inevitable to AVP operations.

However, for the purposes and intents of this training workshop, transforming power is defined as - that power or controlling influence that works within an individual to change, convert or transform violent masculinities and negative masculinities; unhealthy attitudes and relationships, or lifestyles into more positive, healthy and nonviolent ones. It is an essential lifeforce prevailing in every person, culpable of changing the form of one’s superiorities and anti-social behaviours. “It is the power that changes, the power that transforms”. The relevance of transforming power in this workshop was, as tapped from its description, its ability to transform masculinities, the ability to transform violent settings, and bring about nonviolent settings.

8.9.2 The basics of transforming power

In this training workshop, I dealt with the following talking points while delivering "Transforming Power Talk":

i. This is the inner power that can transform violent and destructive situations and behaviour into a liberating, constructive experiences and cooperative behaviour.
ii. This power is always present in each person “that is, it is in us; it is in our opponents; it is in me; it is in you, and it also surrounds all of us”.

iii. Transforming power is proficient to work through the people who are amenable and receptive to it.

iv. Transforming Power is not something that people can use, rather it is something that uses people.

v. It is not manipulated and cannot be manipulated, rather we can only try to remain open to it so that it can work through.

8.9.3 Things involved in being "open" to Transforming Power include:

i. The will power to leave aside habitual assumptions that violent or destructive solutions are the only solution available and to be willing to engage in different approaches.

ii. We must believe that a "win-win" solution is possible and that there is something in the opponent, however, hidden it may be, that is willing to join you in seeking such a solution.

iii. We must be willing to commit ourselves to a nonviolent position and to take risks and possibly to suffer, if necessary, to maintain a nonviolent position.

8.9.4 There are some things that nonviolence is not:

i. It is not passivity. On the contrary, it involves respect for the worth of every person and must therefore actively seek justice for all as a condition of a nonviolent lifestyle.

ii. It is not submissiveness; it is not letting someone take advantage of you. Your rights are worthy of respect, and you are entitled to assert them.

iii. It is not sacrifice—it does not seek suffering. It merely recognizes that risk and suffering are inherent in both violent and nonviolent lifestyles, and that the choice is not really between suffering and security, but rather between destructive and life-affirming actions and responses (AVP Basic Manual 2002: online).
The noun “mandala”, was adopted by AVP from Japanese as a content word. It is a noun or content word denoting any of various geometric design, usually circular, which according to Japanese it is symbolizing the universe; It is used largely in Hinduism and Buddhism as an aid to meditation (Word Web dictionary 2020: online). AVP Mandala messages were reflected upon during the workshop by participants, each participant picked any of the messages on the mandala and reflected on:

*Expect the best*: AVP members believe that there is goodness in every person and every situation. Regardless of the condition of such a person, there is always something worthy and valuable in each person that is seated inwardly. In all dealings like corrections work where the
work subjects are offenders, people who are in most cases disliked by the general public, as AVP members, we believe that there is something good in everybody including the offenders. This is so because as AVP members we proclaim that notwithstanding his or her behaviour, there is goodness in the person which is our duty to identify, disentangle, and put on the surface.

(Think before reacting: AVP members advocate for and believe that one has to be aware of all aspects of the situation before acting or commenting. This helps in picking the right things to say or do in any given situation. It also helps to eliminate unnecessary conflict that might arise from uninformed or ill-informed decisions. Engaging cognitively before re-acting either by doing or speaking is a precursor to mastering even the most difficult situations. It is a prerogative if one's quest is to improve interpersonal relationships. It calls for “The Habit of Mutual Understanding” as propounded by Stephen Covey “Seek first to understand, then be understood” (Covey 2005:106). This habit advocates that for one to communicate effectively, he or she must first understand each other, in doing that one must (i) diagnose before prescribing, (ii) listen empathetically, and (iii) seek to be understood from others perspective."

Ask for nonviolent solutions

AVP members believe that in any conflict situation, there are always alternatives to violence, violence is the choice. Participants, however, were blatantly made aware that non-violent ways of dealing with conflict are a skill that improves with practice and optimistic persistence. Nonviolent ways are often risky but not as violent, It takes courage to live non-violently. Upholding nonviolent conflict workout seeks to recognise the maintenance of human rights of both nonviolent solution seeker and other players in the conflict. Nonviolent conflict seekers in operation should always watch out for their rights and the human rights, values, and worth, thus identify the overlaps and establishing the common ground as to do away with the win-lose situation but win-win situation.

Respect for self: AVP members believe that there is power in them, and they have worth and can do good. In doing this as AVP members, we should always seek to change our attitudes, believes, and how we approach and talk to others, thus, we should watch our mannerisms, tone of voice, and general behaviour including non-verbal cues. Concisely, AVP members should be determined and able to walk the talk.

Caring for others: AVP members endeavour to always be kind, at the service, and concerned about others regardless of background. In doing this, AVP members believe in upholding respect for human dignity, respect others, and seek to make sound decisions in dealings.
8.10 Philosophy of Alternatives to Violence Project

- AVP is good for everyone
- AVP is not therapy but can be healing
- AVP is not religious but is spiritual
- AVP is an experiential learning exercise
- In AVP all are teachers and all are learners
- In AVP all are volunteers
- AVP is fun and enjoyable

8.11 Summary and conclusions

This chapter contains the activities undertaken as a response to findings presented in the preceding chapter that presented exploration of masculinities and violence in Maseru Central Correctional Institution, the largest correctional facility in Lesotho. The intervention was a training workshop held for two days at Maseru Central Correctional Institutional facilities. The workshop was facilitated by the Researcher as Lead Facilitator and Mr. Ntholeng Molefi co-facilitated the workshop. The expenses of training including catering and workshop materials were sourced by the Researcher. Training workshop programme is appended for ease of reference. An exploration looked into the nature of masculinities in and out of correctional settings in Lesotho focusing on perceptions about masculinities which were described as configurations of manhood in Lesotho. This was followed by unpacking the notion of violence looking into its definition, typology, its causes, and effects in correctional settings. At the close of exploration, the researcher endeavoured to establish a possible form of intervention to implement as actual action which participants settled for the training activity. Subsequently followed by a training workshop which chapter eights report on.

Participants were led to defining masculinity. The intervention exposed participants to definitions of masculinity and masculinities and the characteristics thereto. Typology of masculinity was explored in group discussion and facilitator talks which unraveled the characteristics of masculinities as traditional, transformative, feminine, and confused or fence-sitters. Attributes of traditional masculinity vis-à-vis transformative masculinities; the hierarchy of masculinities was discussed put in line with Raewyn Connell’s hierarchy of masculinities as hegemonic, complicit, marginalized, and subordinate. Define the notions of conflict, violence, and nonviolence. The workshop also facilitated learning in areas of violence in correctional settings; factors responsible for violence in correctional settings; the relationship of masculinities and violence; power and authority; notions of peace and peacebuilding; Alternative to Violence Project, transforming power, conflict transformation and peacebuilding.
The following chapter shall present an evaluation of the intervention and the totalitarian evaluation as done by participants.
CHAPTER NINE:

Evaluating an intervention

9.0 Introduction

The evaluation was carried in two parts using one tool. The first part focused on post-intervention in which case post-training questionnaires were administered to participants after the training. The intention in this case was to establish whether the intervention made an impact or not. This is presented under part four below. The second part of the evaluation involved the organization and administration of the training workshop. This is presented under 9.3 below where ten questions were presented and responses were analysed accordingly.

Picture 15: Corrections Superintendent and Senior Rehabilitation Officer

![Image of Corrections Superintendent and Senior Rehabilitation Officer]

The above Corrections Superintendent and Senior Rehabilitation Officer participated in the workshop. The picture captured them during the closing of the workshop where the Superintendent presented an overview of the workshop while the Senior Rehabilitation Officer delivered a vote of thanks on behalf of participants.

9.1 Process of evaluation

Fourteen intervention workshop content issues were tabulated in a table form and respondents who were participants responded to the issues on a scale of 1 to 5. One (1) being not confident, two (2) doubtfully confident, three (3) unsure, four (4) partly confident, while five (5)
represented extremely confident. These intervention content issues are intended to establish whether the intervention has attained its intents and purposes and of course if it has made an impact or not.

A total of ten questions were coined and administered also after the intervention workshop. The intention was for participants to tackle in a bid to evaluate how an intervention was logistically and administratively handled. This was largely influenced by the belief that the learning environment has a direct influence on the adult learning process.

9.2 Post-intervention assessment

Like mentioned during the pre-intervention assessment, there were altogether sixteen members of staff stationed at Maseru Central Correctional Institution from various job specialties and positions who attended this training workshop. The post-intervention assessment was conducted using a post-assessment set questionnaire as appended (see appendages). Participants were again given ten minutes to respond to the questionnaire like with the pre-intervention assessment. This assessment was conducted to determine the overall effectiveness of this intervention.

Part one: This part of the assessment was to cross-check if the participants were still the ones who enrolled for the workshop which confirmed that all participants completed the training.

Part two: The essence of part two was to establish an understanding of participants about the training. All participants in this regard acknowledged that they have at this time attended training on masculinities, violence, and peacebuilding while in the beginning, it was only two (2) participants who earlier attended similar training. This was recorded as a major accomplishment of the training workshop to have reached the majority of unexposed members.

Part four: The post-assessment questionnaire contained a total of fourteen issues (see appendices). For all fourteen issues raised, participants were requested to tick their responses from the provided options on the scale of one (1) to five (5). One (1) representing “not competent”, these are those who were unsuccessful to grasp the basic and rudimentary elements necessary for the intervention; two (2) representing “doubtfully confident”; three (3) representing “unsure”; four (4) representing “partly confident” and five (5) representing “extremely competent”, these are participants who demonstrate overall competence; Zero (0) represents the nonresponsive, that is those who did not record with a mark or a tick, that is those whose response sheets were left blank. This part is the participant’s competency level analysis.
Table 20: Post-intervention assessment (n=16)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculinities and violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformative masculinities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacebuilding efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifying forms of masculinities in correctional settings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identifying forms of violence in correctional settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinities vis-a-vis violence in correctional settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensitizing colleagues on masculinities and violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protecting inmates and staff from violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify and manage risks of victimization among inmates and/or staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psycho-social support and care of victims of violence among inmates and/or staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the significance of care and support of victims of violence in correctional settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aware of measures to curb violence in correctional settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacebuilding efforts and conflict transformation in correctional settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacebuilding as a national agenda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Issue 1: Masculinities and violence**: The above analysis table indicates that, after the intervention, eight (8) participants out of fourteen (14) were aware and confident with issues of masculinities and violence. Four (4) participants were partly confident while none recorded doubtfully confident. Two (2) participants did not respond to this part. This is against three (3) who were confident and three (3) who were partly confident before the intervention. This improvement implies that the intervention achieved the intended results.

**Issue 2: Transformative masculinities**: After the workshop, fourteen (14) participants responded, one (1) was still not confident while they were six (6) before the intervention. Seven (7) were confident while they were three (3) before the intervention. Five (5) were partly confident and one (1) was unsure. Two (2) did not respond while no one was doubtful.
Issue 3: Peacebuilding efforts: On issue three, sixteen (16) participants responded. seven (7) participants who responded were confident, two (2) were partly confident, six (6) did not respond while one (1) was unsure. None were either not confident or doubting.

Issue 4: Identifying forms of masculinities in correctional settings: Participants' responses indicated that, out of sixteen (16), seven (7) participants were confident that they could identify forms of masculinities in correctional settings. Five (5) were partly confident, one (1) was not confident, none were doubting or unsure. while three (3) did not respond. The analysis also indicates an improvement in the numbers of participants who gained confidence.

Issue 5: Identifying forms of violence in correctional settings: Out of sixteen (16), seven (7) participants were confident that they could identify forms of violence in correctional settings, five (5) were partly confident. None of the participants recorded unsure, doubting, or not confident. This also indicates improvement. However, four (4) did not respond to this part.

Issue 6: Masculinities vis-a-vis violence in correctional settings: The responses of sixteen (16) participants indicated that eight (8) participants who were six (6) before intervention were aware of the relationship between masculinities and violence in correctional settings. One (1) was still not confident, three (3) were partly confident while none were in doubt. Three (3) still did not respond.

Issue 7: Sensitizing colleagues on masculinities and violence: From sixteen (16) participants, five (5) were confident that they can sensitize co-workers on issues of masculinities and violence while six (6) were partly confident. This also indicates improvement. Three (3) were unsure, one (1) was not confident while one (1) did not respond.

Issue 8: Protecting inmates and staff from violence: Out of sixteen (16) participants who responded, five (5) were confident, six (6) were partly confident, while three (3) were unsure. While none were confident or doubting while two (2) did not respond. Similarly, there has been an improvement on this issue.

Issue 9: Identify and manage risks of victimization among inmates and/or staff: On the issue of identification and management of risks of victimization among the inmates and staff, seven (7) participants out of sixteen (16) were confident that they could identify and manage the risks of victimization of inmates and staff. Five (5) were partly confident and two (2) were unsure while two (2) did not respond to this part. None were doubting or not confident which is also an improvement.

Issue 10: Psycho-social support and care of victims of violence among inmates and/or staff: Out of sixteen (16) participants, ten (10) from four (4) participants who recorded before
intervention were confident that they could provide psycho-social support and care for the victims of violence among inmates and staff. Three (3) were partly confident, one (1) was unsure while two (2) did not record.

**Issue 11: Understanding the significance of care and support of victims of violence in correctional settings:** On the issue of whether one understands the significance of care and support of the victims of violence in correctional settings, nine (9) participants were confident, three (3) were partly confident while one (1) was unsure. While three (3) did not respond there has been an improvement on this issue.

**Issue 12: Aware of measures to curb violence in correctional settings:** Considering awareness on measures to curb violence in correctional settings, seven (7) participants out of sixteen (16) were confident, five (5) were partly confident while one (1) was unsure. Three (3) did not respond. There has been also an improvement on this issue.

**Issue 13: Peacebuilding efforts and conflict transformation in correctional settings:** Out of sixteen (16) participants, six (6) were confident while four (4) were partly confident of peacebuilding and conflict transformation efforts in the correctional settings. One (1) was unsure while five (5) did not respond.

**Issue 14: Peacebuilding as a national agenda:** On the issue of peacebuilding as a national agenda, only three (3) were confident that they are aware of the issue, eight (8) were partly confident and one (1) was unsure while four (4) did not respond.

The above fourteen-point competency analysis was aimed to determine if the intervention has made an impact or brought about desired results. The general conclusion is that an intervention has been effective since many participants seem to have grasped much of the content of the training workshop as the numbers of those who improved were increased. On the issue of “peacebuilding as a national agenda”, respondents were able to recall that, His Majesty King Letsie III, when delivering “Speech from the Throne” when opening parliamentary session, and also, His Excellency President of South delivering State of Nation Address (SONA) touches on issues of peacebuilding. This issue is also engulfed in National Strategic Development Paper.

**Part five:** This part carried four (4) questions regarding the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP). Question one (1) seek to establish if the respondent may recommend that AVP forms part of corrections programmes. Question two (2) seek to find out if the responding participant would recommend that members of corrections staff may join AVP. Question three (3) seek to
establish things participants did not like about AVP, whereas question four (4) wanted to establish things participants liked about AVP.

All sixteen participants felt they can recommend AVP to become one of the programs in correctional settings and that corrections staff be members of peacebuilding initiatives in correctional settings. They all recommended that AVP becomes part of corrections programmes. Some participants did not like AVP light moments due to their childishness and playfulness. AVP was liked for its ability to create an environment enabling sharing and building trust and a supportive team.

**Part six:** This part of the assessment questionnaire sought to establish the feelings and reactions of participants about the organization and administration of the workshop concerning and guided by the following questions:

1. Were the objectives of the workshop clearly articulated?
2. Were participants encouraged to participate and interact?
3. Was the venue conducive for learning?
4. Were the meals satisfactory?
5. Was the workshop well-timed?
6. Were the facilitators well prepared for the workshop?
7. Were the facilitators confident with content knowledge?
8. Were the issues covered in the workshop relevant to corrections work?
9. Were the issues covered compatible with the intervention objectives?
10. Did you learn anything new in this workshop?
11. General observations and remarks

### 9.3 Organization, administration and the impact of the training workshop

**Question one: Were the objectives of the workshop clearly articulated?** At the beginning of this workshop, the Researcher and Lead Facilitator stated the goal and objectives of the training workshop. All participants agreed that the objectives were clearly articulated. The only catch was with two participants who were not aware that the workshop is the continuation of Action Research conducted by the Lead Facilitator. It was observed that it needed to be necessary to present the objectives to allow participants to know what to expect and be in the position to decide on the relevance and whether to stay or not.

According to Toffler (2016:2) “objectives are the building blocks or steps towards achieving a goal of the activity. An objective is a specific and usually quantifiable statement of program achievement. Collectively, objectives represent qualification or quantification of the training program goal”. The online business dictionary defines training workshop objectives as “the
measurable intended result of the training activity expressed in terms of i) the desired behaviour or skill level; ii) conditions under which it has to occur, and iii) the benchmark against which it will be measured. The Word Web online dictionary simply put that; the objectives are the clearly defined attainable goals intended.

**Question two:** Were participants encouraged to participate and effectively interact during the workshop?: This question seeks to establish if participants were allowed the freedom to participate and express themselves; to share their experiences and learn from others. In that part, the whole group responded that, yes, they were encouraged to participate. All were confident that they had a safe environment to freely participate and that facilitators were able to guide the process in that they felt comfortable and safe to interact and fully participate. The lead facilitator assured participants of their safety, and ownership of the process. Head of the Maseru Central Correctional Institution also requested and pleaded with them to fully and honestly participate in the process assuring them of their rights and freedoms in his opening remarks.

Participation is defined as an act of sharing in the activities of a group (Word Web online dictionary). An adult education training activity involves engaging participants in all activities such as group discussions and brainstorming in a manner that recognises their wealth of experience and readiness to learn and share. Participation is enormously critical, as thus a pivotal aspect and breakthrough in the adult learning process. It is a proven fact that adults learn better and retain more when they are active participants in the learning process.

**Question three:** Was the venue conducive for learning?: All participants believed that the venue was conducive for learning though seven (7) participants felt "it would have been better if it was not on corrections premises for changes in orientation and motivation". The room had "enough light, was well ventilated with an air-conditioner and comfortable furniture" seven participants stated variably. Safe to mention that the venue was the commander's board room with adequate facilities for training workshop including ablution facilities. Training workshop meals, materials, and coverage were acquired at cost by the researcher and lead facilitator. Though seven participants would have liked a venue out of corrections facilities, all at the close, felt it was safe and comfortable at this venue.

**Question four:** Were the meals satisfactory?: The researcher provided refreshments which were served at 10h30 and 16h00. Double course lunch was served at 12h30. Both refreshments and lunch were served at the venue. The purpose was to enhance and keep the spirit of togetherness and communion by eating together and have over meals sharing and exchange of ideas, suggestions, and experiences on the topics dealt with in the workshop.
Serving lunch also helped to keep up with the schedule since participants would not walk away to the restaurants.

All participants were satisfied with the meals and refreshments served during the workshop. In their quotes, participants wrote; “the food was satisfactory”; “they food were plenty and well prepared”; “tea break snack was satisfactory”; “meals were well served and were timely”; “meals were delicious, awesome”; “healthy and palatable”. One of the participants wrote “re jele sa mpana phatloha” meaning “we were all full”. This adage culturally implies that food was plenty and everyone got full and satisfied.

**Question five: Was the workshop well-timed?:** The training workshop was held on Thursday and Friday for full two days. Participants did not have qualms with the dates except that three participants had to leave earlier on Friday for family commitments. All participants felt that time apportioned to each topic and activity was enough though they felt more subjects should have been included. However, all felt that more topics could have been included and time would be extended. On both days’ participants were on time but on the first day the workshop was delayed by the guest of honour who was Head of Maseru Central Correctional Institution. Generally, the time allocated for the training was sufficient.

**Question six: Were the facilitators well prepared for the workshop?:** This question seeks to establish if facilitators were well prepared and had possessed relevant content to deliver workshop content. The major accomplishment of the facilitation team was the creation of a supportive and safe space for participants to learn. Participants noted that both facilitators were confident and seemed knowledgeable and well equipped in the content they were delivering and methods of delivery thereof. “This was more than I expected,” wrote one participant.

**Question seven: Were the facilitators confident with content knowledge?:** The question pursues to establish whether facilitators were confident with the content they were delivering. In this case, participants felt that facilitators were well prepared and confident with the content they were delivering. They were passionate and knowledgeable about the subject matter while they displayed good facilitation skills for adults.

**Question eight: Were the issues covered in the workshop relevant to corrections work?:** The whole group felt confident that all the topics were relevant corrections work. This was indicated by all the responses. One participant wrote thus, “the topics touched on critical issues in the contemporary corrections administration, particularly in the era of dramatic changes regarding the issues of human rights as dictated by international rules.” Corrections is classified as a total institution, this workshop equipped us with new skills and challenged us to study more
on masculinities, violence, and peace studies.” “The topics were not only relevant to
corrections work but also to the intents and purposes of the training workshop”, another
participant resonated.

**Question nine: Were the issues covered compatible with the intervention objectives?** This
intervention aimed to transform undesired masculinities using adult education methods and
techniques to curb violence in correctional settings. At the end of this intervention, participants
were expected to: Define the notion of Sesotho masculinity/masculinities; Demarcate between
the desired and undesired masculinities; Identify and describe masculinities in correctional
settings; Understand the notion of transformative masculinities; Identify and explain the
implications of corrections masculinities; Define violence and identify its forms in correctional
settings; State and discuss Alternatives to Violence Project building blocks; State and discuss
the principles of transforming power; Embrace and endorse transformative masculinities, and
Embrace and endorse Alternatives to Violence Project. All the issues which were tackled
during the training workshop were found by all participants to have been compatible with the
objectives of the intervention workshop.

To ensure that the training offered was relevant, the researcher administered a pre-training
questionnaire in a bid to gauge the training needs of participants. The responses obtained
from the administered questionnaires went a long way in guiding the direction of the training
workshop and in the selection of the modules taught during the sessions.

**Question ten: Did you learn anything new in this workshop?** The training workshop can
present the new theories and concepts prompting participants to further search on their own
in the endeavour to increase their knowledge and skills and prove changed behaviour and
relative practice of new knowledge. This was the founding phase for participants to enhance
their capacities in peacebuilding and conflict transformation skills. In this workshop,
participants acknowledged that they have learned new theories and concepts which seemed
obvious before the intervention.

Out of sixteen (16) participants trained, thirteen (13) were never deliberately been exposed to
the theories of masculinity and masculinities, conflict, peace, violence and nonviolence,
peacebuilding, and conflict transformation. Consequently, participants acknowledged that they
will daily endeavour to apply the new concepts they have acquired in the discharge of the
performance of duties in daily operations

Participants were also introduced to the Alternative to Violence Project which proved as one
of the global evidenced-based interventions in peacebuilding in correctional settings.
Consequently, the researcher felt that the corrections staff insightful and thoughtful
consideration of peacebuilding efforts would enhance the creation of nonviolent correctional settings. Sixteen (16) participants declared that the Alternatives to Violence Project was new to them and wished all members could be exposed to the entire project as one of offender management tools in corrections.

_**Question eleven: Participants' general observations and remarks:**_ The last question on this part requested participants to advance their general observation and remarks about the training workshop. Generally, all participants felt that if the workshop was well-financed and given more time, more could have been learnt. Five (5) participants further observed that there was no time for roleplaying what they have learnt which could have further deepened their new learning. Participants reiterated that facilitators possessed the required knowledge and were passionate about the subject matter. Participants also felt that facilitators were able to get along with participants. The workshop was well prepared in terms of logistics, administration, and content delivered.

Facilitators were able to build amongst the participants, cooperation, loving, and caring relationships. Facilitators and participants were open to each other, facilitators were approachable, sociable, and welcoming all the characters while upholding a principle. The mood was relaxed and allowed all to express themselves while being listened to attentively. Participants' experiences were taken heed of, indicating that the posture of facilitators did not consider participants' brains as a clean slate, consequently considered concerning the experiences they brought to the learning initiative.

Though responses were common in all response sheets, they varied in style and tone due to respondent's persona and character; and of the elasticity and flexibility of open-ended questions posed on this post-intervention evaluation questionnaire. All respondents acknowledged and declared their appreciation of the intervention as it has been relevant and appropriate as it came at the opportune moment when the country has begun considering general reforms which include corrections system.

### 9.4 Affirmation posters

The purpose of affirmation posters was for each intervention workshop participants to proclaim any their honest inner-most feeling towards each other. Participants, in this case, were requested to put-up A4 size placards on their backs and allow each participant using his or her handwriting to affirm each participant in one's own words.
9.5 Conclusion

This intervention training workshop provides a platform for the acquisition of new knowledge and skills to bring about a relatively permanent change in behaviour, perceptions, and aspirations regarding masculinities, violence, and peacebuilding in correctional settings. It tackled the following theories and concepts on the themes: introduction to the notion of masculinity and masculinities, Sesotho masculinities, transformative masculinities and corrections masculinities; conflict, violence and correction violence; peacebuilding and conflict transformation; and Alternatives to Violence Project taster. In essence, this intervention was targeted at imparting knowledge and skills for corrections staff in dealing with masculinities and violence in corrections. The intention was to bring about a relative change in observable behaviour concerning corrections violence. Furthermore, the workshop was meant to manipulate the cognition of participants regarding unobservable constructs such as meaning, knowledge, intentions, concepts, beliefs, expectations, perceptions, and creativity in a bid to transform undesired masculinities and creating nonviolent correctional settings.

This intervention utilised largely participatory adult education instructional methods like group discussions, question and answer, and debates. In doing this, an adult education model of teaching and learning which was adopted and deployed was a workshop held with corrections staff at MCCI.

The process commenced with the sharing of the findings of exploration as presented in the preceding chapter which motivated the selection of the topic to tackle during the intervention workshop.
CHAPTER TEN:
CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.0 Introduction

This chapter carries a summary of the findings based on the aim and objectives, methodological approaches, and results of this study. This Participatory Action Research was intended to engage the corrections community in unravelling corrections masculinities attributable to violence in correctional settings. It was designed to change the negative tendencies of masculinities in correctional settings and reduce violence thereby creating a nonviolent correctional setting. Suffice to advance that, this study aimed to use adult education to transform masculinities and create nonviolent correctional settings in Lesotho. The objectives of this study were:

i. To investigate the current situation regarding the nature of masculinities vis-a-vis violence in correctional institutions;

ii. To identify the causes, consequences, and implications of masculinities in correctional settings;

iii. To consider outcomes of objectives 1 and 2 above; and to propose, design, and implement an intervention to reduce violence in correctional settings;

iv. To evaluate the effect of the intervention in enhancing positive masculinities, transforming negative masculinities, and reducing violence in correctional settings.

To achieve the above aim and objectives, this study utilized the following questions as a data collection guide during interviews and focus group discussions when doing an exploration of the problem.

i. What is the nature of masculinity within correctional institutions in Lesotho?

ii. What are the causes and implications of masculinities in correctional settings?

iii. What is the nature and magnitude of violence in correctional institutions in Lesotho?

iv. What is the relationship between masculinity and violence in correctional settings?

v. Which activities can be deployed to transform masculinities and reduce violence in corrections?

This Participatory Action Research was carried out in Maseru Central Correctional Institution. The first portion of the study was an exploratory study and the second portion was the implementation of the intervention. The first part engaged two qualitative methods; one-on-one in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Participants during the exploratory session were drawn from inmates and staff. There were nine (9) male inmates serving
sentences ranging from seven (7) years to fifty-four (54) years for crimes of largely violent crimes such as man's slaughter; light assaults and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm; a range of sexual offences; housebreaking with intent to steal and theft; robberies and theft. All inmates who participated have spent at least eighteen (18) months in correctional settings.

Inmates participated in the Offender Focus Group Discussions (OFGD), however, three (3) inmates sought a private interview with the researcher where they revealed their encounter with violence in correctional settings. I did not intend to have interviews with inmates but these three inmates vehemently requested private interviews. I felt this was an opportune moment to allow flexibility with good intentions though it was not planned. Twelve (12) members of staff participated in Staff Focus Group Discussions (SFGD) and one-on-one in-depth interviews. The staff was drawn from security operational support services and offender rehabilitation services. They were from the rank of basic correctional officer to senior superintendent as indicated by table 3 under 6.5.

10.1 Objective one:

To investigate the current situation regarding the nature of masculinities vis-a-vis violence in correctional institutions.

The exploratory compartment of this study research supports several over-arching opinions and conclusions reached by gurus in men's studies. First, it was concluded that masculinities are general configurations of masculine gender as prescribed by a particular society. Second, that there is no single masculinity but multiple masculinities known as patterns of gender order. Third, that masculinities are hierarchically structured with hegemonic forms on top dominating other forms of masculinities and femininities. Forth, is the dynamism, flexibility, and elasticity of masculinity, suggesting that masculinity is fluid and capable to change over and over with historical epochs, it swings and fits with cultural and geographic context.

Furthermore, multiple masculinities are placed on the continuum, ranging from desired or positive masculinities to undesired or negative masculinities in and out of correctional settings. It was further established that normatively, Sesotho masculinities are characterized by the ability to provide the family, including self, with the necessities for human survival; to protect the family from all forms of violence, and to procreate and extend the family. Moreover, this study established that there are situational performances of masculinity in correctional settings such as androgynous masculinity and situational homosexuality is situational because it is shaped by the prevailing conditions at any point given in time.
Regarding violence in correctional settings, this study established that correctional settings are by default, violent settings. Besides violence embedded in corrections sub-cultures and physical and institutional structures affecting both inmates and staff in varying degrees, inmates and staff possess masculinities ranging from dominant to subordinate forms of masculinities. Dominant masculinities in corrections are by and large known perpetrators of corrections interpersonal violence. On the one hand, subordinate masculinities therein, are known to be victims of corrections interpersonal violence of various forms such as sexual assaults and rapes.

Kopano Ratele asserted that in an endeavour to proclaim their masculinity, young black men largely from poor, illiterate, naive and traditional communities resort to, and engage in violence such as sexual and gender-based violence (Ratele, 2014:125). In the case of correctional settings, inmates who display violent masculinities are largely from similar backgrounds identified by Ratele. They are largely from deprived and underprivileged homes; from poor rural communities; from homelessness and street gangsterism; and from difficult, harsh, and violent backgrounds such as the public transport industry, South African mines, and mining areas. Similarly, officials who engage in violence such as inmates torture and other forms of degrading and dehumanizing treatment of either inmates or other members of staff, particularly women officers, were also found to be from awkward backgrounds and exacerbated by less schooling, while other violent masculinities are displayed by survivors of violence and other forms of human abuse.

10.2 Objective two:

To identify the causes, consequences, and implications of masculinities in correctional settings.

This study revealed that one leading causal factor of corrections masculinities are personal tendencies developed outside correctional settings and brought by inmates and staff into correctional settings from either home, school, prior work environment, or any other social institution one has been in contact with before either employment on the part of staff or incarceration on the part of inmates. The second forerunner causal factor was revealed as inmates’ reactions to frustrations, pain and suffering caused incarceration. Inmates are hit by several deprivations ensuing from the conditions in correctional settings, as they are endeavoring to adapt to life in correctional settings and to absorb pains of incarceration perpetuated by deprivations and denial of some of the human needs and wants as propounded by Maslow’s theory of needs such as heterosexual relationships, safety, and security, autonomy and freedom.
Masculinities amongst corrections staff were also found to be resultant from a range of prior experiences, meaning life before working for corrections and situational factors in corrections, these could be corrections structural or operational issues such as militancy. Factors responsible for corrections masculinities were noted as mainly socialization and prisonization process. Furthermore, this study established that there are situational performances of masculinity in correctional settings such as androgynous masculinity and situational homosexuality.

The implications of corrections masculinity were largely found to be a compromise of the core mandate of correctional service being security and rehabilitation of inmates. Furthermore, by implication, this exploration established that corrections violence was attributable to formations of masculinities therein, especially gang masculinities which are largely driven by inmates' sub-culture. Corrections masculinities were largely found to be rooted in gangsterism evidenced by aggression and gang violence such as gang fights causing emotional and physical harm such as grievous bodily harm; individual and gang rapes and other forms of sexual molestations. Whereas on the one hand, subordinate masculinities in corrections are largely characterized by womanliness or feminine masculinities and the would-be womanish tendencies.

On the question of the nature and magnitude of violence in correctional institutions in Lesotho, the study concluded that there is widespread direct, structural and cultural violence in correctional settings characterized by poor workplace relations; inmates torture, inhumane and degrading treatment; overcrowding of inmates where they are exposed to physical and sexual violence; inmates are confined in poor, inhabitable conditions evidenced by inadequate space to sleep or sit during the day, poor sanitary and ablution facilities; and inadequate food rations, medical supplies, clothing, and general boarding and lodging necessities. It was concluded that the intensity of corrections violence is remarkable and attracted the attention of both local and international human rights communities.

On the question of the relationship between masculinity and violence in correctional settings, it was revealed that there are two distinct forms of masculinities therein; toxic masculinities and nontoxic masculinities. The toxic masculinities are largely engaged in corrections number gangs' violent activities such as sexual assaults and rapes, bullying, and other forms of intimidation. Some of the rituals of corrections gangs are naturally toxic and present physical and emotional violence whereby inmates who hold on to nontoxic masculinities are usually brutalized and forced into corrections marriages and some are exposed to severe pain and suffering.
Members of staff who subscribe to toxic hegemonic masculinities are key to violence against inmates. To some degree, though understated due to its sensitivity some members of staff who do not subscribe to toxic hegemonic masculinity, particularly the weaker masculinities and females suffer largely sexual and gender-based violence in the hands of members who possess toxic masculinities.

10.3 Objective three:

To consider outcomes of objectives 1 and 2 above; and to propose, design, and implement an intervention to reduce violence in correctional settings.

The stance of the findings of the exploratory component was that corrections officers and inmates should be subjected to an educational activity for them to unlearn, relearn, and learn to change their behaviour for the better. Unlearn would refer to discarding previously learnt masculine practices such as violence; Relearning refers to being subjected to learn again some relevant issues about general conduct and the use of force and workplace relations; whereas, Learning refer to the relative change in behaviour resulting from the acquisition of new knowledge and skills regarding masculinities, violence, conflict transformation and peacebuilding in correctional settings.

Responses to this question had put together the two-pronged intervention which was a training workshop on the theme “Addressing masculinities and violence in correctional settings” blended with “Alternative to Violence Project teaser” which was meant to arouse hope, desire, and curiosity of participants regarding the use of Alternatives to Violence Project is a globally appreciated Evidence-Based Intervention (EBI) that has stood the test of times regarding creation of Nonviolent Settings amid atrocities brought by gangsterism, interpersonal idiosyncrasies, political, economic, religious and cultural atrocities. The alternative had moreover, borrowed from, and customised the contents, methods, and techniques largely used by; Transformative Masculinity Project (TMP) of the Ecumenical HIV and AIDS Initiative in Africa (EHAIA) based in Harare, Zimbabwe and Peace Clubs Manuals of the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) in Lusaka, Zambia.

This intervention was designed bearing in mind (i) scarcity of opportunities to access corrections community; (ii) limited resources such as time and finance for implementing the interventions. This intervention was finally picked, to appreciate “Alternatives to Violence Project” as peacebuilding apparatus in correctional settings. Specific objectives of the intervention were that at the end of the workshop, participants would be able to:

i. Describe theory of masculinity and appreciate its relevance to correctional work.
ii. Understand and explain forms of masculinities including transformative masculinities.
iii. Define the notions of conflict, violence, and nonviolence.
iv. Identify and mitigate factors responsible for violence in correctional settings.
v. Identify and discuss the relationship between masculinities and violence.
vi. Understand and discuss the concepts of power and authority.
vii. Understand and discuss the notions of peace and peacebuilding.
viii. Appreciate the introduction of the Alternatives to Violence Project in correctional settings.
ix. Understand and discuss the notion of transforming power.
x. Understand and discuss the notion of conflict transformation.

10.4 Objective four:

To evaluate the effect of the intervention which aimed at enhancing positive masculinities, transforming negative masculinities, and reducing violence in correctional settings.

A post-intervention assessment questionnaire was used to test if the intervention has achieved its objectives or not. This was effectuated guided by the ten objectives of the intervention as tabulated. Below is the discussion of intervention evaluation as per its objectives.

10.4.1 The notion of masculinity and its relevance to correctional work.

The first question in this session was aimed to establish if participants could define and explain the notion of masculinity and appreciate its relevance to correctional work. Regarding the description of the notion of masculinity, it was permissible to scrutinize hastily but accurately the concepts closely intersecting with masculinity, like femininity, gender, and sex. Masculinity and femininity are said to be taken-for-granted assumptions about the natural difference between male and female makings, dispositions and abilities. Precisely, masculinity and femininity are those acquired behaviours largely attributable to either masculine or feminine gender. They are both customarily, normative ways and means of operations or behaviour of people. Hence it is said that masculinity and femininity are simply two sides of one coin, Thus, a deep-seated message in this regard is that each person has both masculinities and femininities intrinsic in him or her. This is supported by Sadhguru (2019: online) who opined that “a complete human being is in equilibrium between masculine and feminine”.

Furthermore, participants took note that both masculinities and femininities are characteristics that are taught and learnt by male, female and intersexed persons from infancy traversing psycho-sexual and psycho-social development stages to adolescence, young adulthood, and late adulthood through the socialisation process. They are, thus, best defined by a particular community or society at a given point in time. Masculinity is by and large amongst the Basotho defined against femininity and vice versa.
In précis, the linking thread between gender and masculinity is that, masculinities are patterns or configurations of gender and that both gender and masculinity are social constructs. According to Connell (2005:7), "gender is how the social practice is ordered". It is a term that refers to social or cultural distinctions of behaviours that are considered male or female in a particular social context. Whereas Fernández-Álvarez (2014:48) opined that gender can be defined with two ideas in mind, (i) that gender is a dynamic concept and an analytic category demonstrating mainly the stereotypes, ideologies, behaviours and lifestyles conventionally associated with feminine and masculine gender varying considerably from one culture to another. (ii) and that, men and women, are not universal and unalterable essences, but rather specific existences, changing and far from uniform.

The term sex in this study is used as a noun and as a verb. It is a noun used to denote the presence of physical or physiological differences in males and females, whereas sexuality is one's capacity for sexual feelings. It is defined generally as the biological difference between males and females, such as genitalia and inherent differences. It is an anatomical difference separating males from females. Contemporarily, sex also takes into consideration the sexual minorities such as the intersexed. Sex is also a verb referring to the act of sexual intercourse. Gender and sex are inseparable but are not the same. Gender is concerned with socially learned forms of behaviour hence the obtainability of feminine masculinity and masculine femininity. However, in most of the African societies, particularly the Bantu speaking where Basotho crops up, masculinity is closely linked to masculine sex.

Masculinity is therefore defined as, culturally defined characteristic of what it means to be a man, that is understood by members of the communities or societies. It is defined in contrast with femininity (Connell 2005:67). However, though perceived as entirely contrasting with femininity, it should be noted that not a single man inherited masculinity under the biological standing. Hence “feminine masculinities” are found in play (Connell 2005:69). The term was also defined as a set of constantly changing meanings, which are constructed through relationships with ourselves, with others, and with our world, which is socialization in various social institutions.

According to Basotho traditions and culture, men, women, boys, and girls are supposed to play out their respective socio-culturally defined masculine gender and feminine gender roles. Traditional masculinity position accordingly emphasises the expectation that men should provide a secure home for the family; fulfil a role as providers' and ensure the survival of the family line through childbearing and proper raising of such a child, particularly if it's a male child (Sikweyiya, Jewkes and Dunkle 2014:5).
Participants at the end of the workshop described masculinities as those personality traits considered to be manly by society. They concluded that there is no single pattern of masculinity found everywhere, because of multiculturalism and specified epochs of history, hence the adoption of the term masculinities as a pluralistic expression describing largely those manly personality traits (Connell 200:3). Participants also appreciated that masculinity is a learnt behaviour acquired as one constantly interacts with his or her society, Thus, it is a social construct, meaning it is a phenomenon learned through socialization. In the case of corrections, penitentiaries, and prisons, this is termed prisonization as it happens in the prison setting and considered as the process of adapting to corrections sub-cultures (Paterline and Orr 2015:70).

The theory of hegemonic masculinity was described and appreciated as the base for discourse on masculinities as seemingly all other masculinities, complicit, marginalized, and subordinate masculinities pivots on hegemonic masculinities. The theory helps us understand and appreciate gender order characterized by patriarchy and general male dominance of women and children, minority groups, and inferior masculinities. The theory further helped participants to accept and appreciate factors that caused correctional settings to be a male-dominated social setting characterized by all forms of violence seemingly perpetuated by "masculine behaviours" masculinities therein.

According to the theory of masculinity as propounded by Raewyn Connell in her book “Masculinities” of 1995, coupled with its second edition of 2005, hegemonic masculinity is that form of dominant masculinity in a given social set up. Complicit masculinity is that type of masculinity allied to hegemonic masculinity in the sense that, it does not seem to challenge dominant form of masculinity and is benefiting from its dividends. Marginalized masculinity is that form of masculinity that is not able to conform to, or benefit from the dividends of hegemonic masculinity Last is, subordinate masculinity which is lacking qualities of hegemonic masculinity and also expresses characteristics contrary to those of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995 and 2005: 77- 80).

The significance of taking a look into issues of men and masculinities in correctional work is that corrections are male-dominated total institutions characterized by violence related to hyper-masculinities therein. Manifestly, inmates’ sub-cultures such as gangsterism seem to have a lion’s share in the moulding of corrections masculinities characterized by the machismo of exaggerated masculinity. This is evidenced by the aggressiveness and toughness of inmates who would not just present their requests and grievances but would prefer to hide their emotional feelings because they are tough guys who do not just cry and who display “I do not care” syndrome even when it is worth’s it to voice out.
Hypermasculinity is usually addressed along with overstated manly behaviour which often inmates subscribe to as what an ideal man is like or should be. Moreover, hypermasculinity is displayed by inmates in search of what manliness should identify with. This frequently is exhibited by narrations and performances such as cruelty and bloodthirsty violence, willingness to hurt maliciously, insubordination, subversive acts, and explicit sexuality against other inmates and in some few cases against staff as a masculine enterprise (Ratele 2013: online). The other reason constituting relevance of appreciating issues of men and masculinities in correctional work is the basis for the explication of the conception of corrections violence such as rape of men and how the system responds to such (Javaid 2016:7).

10.4.2 Forms of masculinities including transformative masculinities.

This was aimed to foster an understanding of masculinities and their facets including the emerging notion of transformative masculinities. In doing so, the workshop exposed participants to Raewyn Connell’s theory of masculinities that introduced compartmentalization of forms of masculinities into hierarchical order. At the apex of the hierarchy is (i) hegemonic masculinities, followed by (i) complicit masculinities, (iii) marginalized masculinities, and (iv) subordinated masculinities placed at the bottom of the hierarchy.

**Hegemonic masculinity** Hegemonic Masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity in our society which is culturally valued the most and is characterized by heterosexuality, physical strength, and suppression of emotions. It was interrogated in this workshop as defined by (Jewkes and Morrell 2012) in Jewkes et al (2015) who defined hegemonic masculinity as “a set of values, established by men in power that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways bringing together several features such as the hierarchy nature of masculinities; the differential access to power and decision-making authority; and the interplay between men’s identity, men’s ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy (Jewkes et al 2015:114).

According to Javaid (2016:7), Hegemonic masculinity is “a theoretical framework referring to the culturally idealized patterns (practices, norms, and forms) of masculinity that perpetuate patriarchy” and has perceived man’s dominance over other men considered inferior as in order. Like with Aliraza Javaid in an article “Male rape, stereotypes, and unmet needs: Hindering recovery, perpetuating silence”, hegemonic masculinity was found to be a linking thread of all other issues discussed in this workshop. As mentioned in 9.4.1 above, all other forms of masculinities hinge on hegemonic masculinities. Corrections violence as a core subject of this study also hinges on hegemonic masculinities therein, either possessed by
members of staff or other inmates. In essence, hegemonic masculinity denotes the ideal model of masculinity (Javaid 2016:7).

**Complicit masculinity:** Complicit masculinity as propounded by Raewyn Connell is that form of masculinity embodied by the majority of men in the society who do not themselves live up to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, yet benefit from its dominant position in the patriarchal order. Complicit masculinity does not fit into characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but does not seek to challenge it. It often admires the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity and benefits from its dividends. It is therefore described as an ally of hegemonic masculinity.

**Marginalized masculinity:** Marginalized masculinity is the kind of masculinity that still subscribes to the ethos of hegemonic masculinity like aggression and violence but also possesses some features that disqualify it from hegemonic masculinity such as disability, albinism, and sexual minority groups.

**Subordinate masculinity** Subordinate Masculinity exhibits qualities that are in contrast with those values in hegemonic masculinity. They usually display qualities like physical weakness and expression of emotions such as crying. Subordinate masculinity is in the context of this study associated with androgynous gender, gayhood, or feminine masculinities likely to attract social disapproval. According to Raewyn Connell’s model of gender relations, homosexual masculinity is subordinate masculinity which is stigmatized and is placed at the bottom of masculinity hierarchal order. In the prevailing gender order, homosexuals are seen as the opposite of ideal or real men as espoused and embodied by hegemonic masculinity.

**Transformative masculinity:** The “Contextual Bible Study Manual on Transformative Masculinity” edited by Ezra Chitando and Nyambura J. Njoroge discoursed that the use of the idea of “Transformative Masculinity” seeks to challenge men and boys to contribute towards more helpful and life-giving ideas about what it means to be a male person. Therefore, transformative masculinity endeavours to contest and change the negative and harmful ideas of what it means to be an ideal man (Chitando and Njoroge 2013:7).

The idea, transformative masculinity, seemingly formed the core of this Action Research understand that men and boys carried for a long-time immemorial burden of hegemonic masculinity which has caused them and women more harm than good. Thus, this study endeavoured to empower men and boys and emancipate them from the oppressive notions of hegemonic masculinity by inspiring men and boys; and empowering women and girls to support men and boys in their efforts to embrace more harmonious and tolerant ways of being men. “The concept has been adopted to motivate boys and men to be ‘a born again’
concerning their interpretation of who they are and how they relate to women, children and other men”.

According to Chitando (2013:8), the overall aim of transformative masculinity theory is to contribute towards the multiplication of “gender-equitable men and women” in our communities, in this case in correctional settings. The relevance of this theory in creating nonviolent correctional settings is that it seeks to transform men in correctional settings by helping and encouraging them:

- To be caring and sensitive to issues affecting women and other subordinate men.
- To denounce violence in all its forms and adopt nonviolent behaviour as a way of life.
- To prefer using dialogue to resolve and transform conflicts.
- To always respect women, children, and other men; whether an inmate or colleague.
- To uphold human dignity and always promote human rights in all dealings.
- To be faithful in relationships and avoid by all means multiple sexual contacts.
- To grant women, including their partners’ space to be independent and to grow.
- To use respectful language towards women, children, and other men at work and home.
- To avail their time to spouses and children.
- To avail equitable and equal opportunities to women and men.
- To become willing to share responsibilities and chores in the home.
- To accept the leadership of women and young people.
- To actively promote the leadership of women and young people.
- To challenge sexual and gender-based violence whenever they encounter it.

10.4.3 Define the notions of conflict, violence, and nonviolence.

The workshop through various adult education methods and techniques, enhanced participants' understanding of theoretical and conceptual definitions of conflict, violence, and nonviolence.

Conflict and violence: Though conflict and violence were for a long on the “streets and corridors” used interchangeably, this workshop asserted and cultivated in participants’ psyche that conflict and violence are two concepts though closely related. Conflict is said to be something people normally embrace, that is people live with conflict, it is a lifeblood of a human organisation. It was defined in this workshop as the situation when two or more people “herein referred to as parties to the conflict” do not come to an agreement, consensus, or an accord. This could arise from: a disagreement on the general state of affairs or circumstantial issues at a given particular time; some divergences in opinions or viewpoints such as conflicting
parties position or school of thought; and the differences in moral and ethical actions, reactions, and aspirations of parties to a conflict.

According to Payson Conflict Study Group (2001:17), Coser, (1958) viewed the conflict as the "struggle overvalues or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the groups or individuals involved are to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals". Similarly, Creative Associates International (1998: online) defined conflict as the situation where two or more parties have dissenting voices over an issue of interest to them. These could be individuals, small or large groups, communities, or nations.

According to Galtung (2004:4) "conflict touches everything in us, our feelings and thoughts. Conflicts demand everything we have to offer. If not, our emotions will easily be expressed as violence, insulting the basic needs of others, as verbal violence, physical violence, or both". Pammer and Killian (2003:220-222) viewed conflict from public administration and management perspective and sees it as pivotal in the functioning of the political system. They opined that though it sounds notorious, the conflict could be instrumental to promote an adaptive response to developmental needs. If not properly dealt with, conflict may develop into violence.

Johan Galtung, a guru of violence and peace studies, in his article "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research" of 1969, defined violence as bodily incapacitation, or deprivation of health with homicide as the extreme its form. It is the cause of the difference between the actual state of affairs and the potential state of affairs. It is that phenomenon increasing the ridge and hindering the close of the gap between actual and potential state. The actual state could be considered as 'conflictions' whereas the potential state is a 'peaceable' situation (Galtung 1969:168).

According to Payson Conflict Study Group (2001:17), Creative Associates International (1998: online) defined conflict as the situation where two or more parties have dissenting viewpoints over and the issue of interest to all of them eventually tending to show violence when their dissatisfaction is expressed in an aggressive and hostile manner, sometimes one party pursuing its goals and interests through actions intended to damage, injure or harm the other party. Thus, violence is the threat or use of physical force to cause physical injury, damage, harm, or intimidation to another person or a group of persons. The situation becomes corrections violence if it manifests in correctional settings. In some quarters, violence is defined as an act consisting of aggressive and ferocious threats of death or bodily harm; loss of a job or related opportunities and privileges, torture, unlawful and judicial corporal punishments, physical and verbal assaults, sexual assaults, and actual rape.
Violence was defined in 1996 by the World Health Organization as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.” It is according American Nurses Association, an endemic public health issue that has become rampant at workplaces causing emotional pain and suffering to many people (American Psychiatric Nurses Association, 2020: online). Thus, Johan Galtung earlier opined that violence is just an insult to basic human survival needs (Galtung 2004:3).

There are forms of violence identified in this study being (a) direct violence, (b) structural violence, and (c) cultural violence. In his earlier mentioned paper “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research” of 1969, Johan Galtung propounded that there are two forms of violence as direct or personal violence, which is characterized by the availability of definable actors, which is the perpetrator of violence and the victim of such violence. The other form he identified as indirect or structural violence which is that violence stemming from structural and institutional frameworks 'hence perceived as institutional violence' which renders it impossible to identify an actor or perpetrator but victims could be identified while hit by such violence appearing as unequal power relations, consequently, as unequal opportunities and access to necessities of life like health services, food security and access to justice (Galtung 1969:170).

Structural violence is seen to exist when elites, those certain groups, classes, genders, or nationalities are privileged to access and benefit from public goods, resources, and opportunities over others, and when this unequal advantage is built into the social, political, and economic systems that govern their lives. This is observable when it impairs human health and life expectancies. It is the situation in which a certain group of people suffers injustices as they are denied the necessary resources to meet their basic and physiological needs resulting in uncalled for human sufferings. It is the creation or tolerance of harmful social conditions for the less privileged such as corrections inmates (Payson Conflict Study Group 2001:70-71).

In approximately twenty years of research work on violence and peace studies, Johan Galtung propounded the notion of cultural violence as that violence is used to justify and legitimize direct or structural violence (Galtung, 1990:291). Cultural violence condones violence hiding behind some aspects of culture and traditions. Examples of cultural situations exacerbating violence amongst the Basotho are initiation and traditional circumcision as a rite of passage, contemporary piano – accordion music gangsterism, stick and stone fighting, corporal punishment, herding and child labour exposing young boys to harsh climatic conditions such as heavy snow and extreme cold, heavy rains, hail, and extreme heat; and early child marriages exposing girl child to pregnancy and childbirth at a tender age not ready mentally.
and physiologically. Chief's tribute, warriors warmongers' praises and ululating during public clashes.

Conflict and violence are often used interchangeably among the Basotho and within correctional settings in particular. This activity endeavoured to clear this language conundrum; thus, participants were able to compare and contrast the concepts of conflict and violence. More importantly, the process exposed that indeed conflict is part and parcel of humanity, therefore we cannot avoid it, whereas violence is what people chose to resort to when they are not able to effectively deal with the conflict.

*Nonviolence: making sense of it and its impediments in Lesotho:* This is abstaining on a principle from the use of any form of violence. It is the policy of pursuing political goals through peaceful protests involving large numbers of people (Payson Conflict Study Group 2001:50). Katharina Schilling, in her monograph “Peacebuilding & conflict transformation: A resource book” described nonviolence as “the situation whereby force may not be used or instigated during the educational process, whether in a concrete conflict situation or to organize the learning process” (Schilling, 2012:39). Accordingly, “the aims of nonviolence are and have always been:

- to counter injustice or oppression;
- to breach law and show civil disobedience;
- to challenge unjust structures and systems;
- to adjust the control or misuse of power and bring about progressive change;
- to establish Human Rights; stop genocide, extrajudicial killings, torture, forced displacement...” (Schilling, 2012:190).

The idea of nonviolence was earlier conceived in Hinduism and Buddhism as ‘ahimsa’, the doctrine holding on that all forms of life are sacred and urging the avoidance of violence. The concept was picked by the Legend, Mohandas Mahatma Gandhi, an anti-colonial activist and Revolutionary Leader who lived and toiled for nonviolence during his politically active years. Gandhi's teachings influenced the philosophies of the world figures in nonviolence, the likes of Dr. Martin Luther King who led the United States civil rights movement, Aung San Suu Kyi's pro-democracy movement against the military junta of Myanmar, and the South African anti-apartheid movement led by Nelson Mandela (Attri 2014:19).

The theory of nonviolence gave birth to nonviolent action, which is a systematic manner of advancing social, political, and economic change. This embraces tactics like mass actions which is an expression of opposition through actions such as demonstrations or words; non-cooperation with the governing authorities; and other peaceable interventions premeditated
for regime change without the use of any form of violence (Bloch and Schirch 2018:8). Rev. Deborah Finley-Jackson preached that Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. believed that the only way to fight collective evil on earth was through the practice of nonviolence. In her paper “King’s six principles of non-violence: an antidote for youth violence today” Finley-Jackson (2017: 34-38) and Attri (2014: 21-22) in his article “Gandhi and Luther Philosophies of Non-Violence” outlined Martin Luther King’s six Principles of Nonviolence as an effective antidote to violence seemingly endemic in our society as:

**Principle 1:** *Nonviolence is the means for strong people.* This principle seeks to counsel people that nonviolence is an option for courageous people. It is not about the cowardly act to avoid conflict. It is a method that demands the courage to resist evil with love and not hate.

**Principle 2:** *The goal of nonviolence is reconciliation, not retaliation.* This principle advises that, nonviolence seeks to build a friendship; to recruit allies and associates, and to win alliances. Nonviolence is inclusive rather than exclusive. It seeks mutual respect and understanding in dealings. Thus, the result of nonviolence is recovery, redemption, and reconciliation. It seeks to pursue a win-win situation with an opponent or enemy, rather than revenge, retaliation, and retribution.

**Principle 3:** *Nonviolence is directed against evil, not against persons.* Nonviolence seeks to defeat injustices, not people indulged in injustices. It recognizes the fact that those who are evildoing also victims trapped in evildoing. Thus, it is against evildoing, not evildoers. The principle teaches that people are not and should not be defined by their behaviour. It seeks to dispel the evil forces which overtakes people; therefore, methods of nonviolence are never personal attacks.

**Principle 4:** *Nonviolence relies on the redemptive power of unwarranted suffering.* Nonviolence embraces that suffering can be a learning curve for transformation. Thus, nonviolence enthusiastically, willingly, and readily accepts and welcomes the consequences of its performances.

**Principle 5:** *The universe is on the side of justice.* This principle gives the practitioner of nonviolence inspiration to know that in the end, there is justice. It inculcates into the psyches of violent perpetrators that justice shall triumph. Nonviolence seeks justice, not victory. In teaching this principle, peacebuilders need to bring to light and strengthen public interest in enhancing the principle of natural justice and seek to follow up with lessons on perceiving situations objectively to discover a just position. Nonviolence builds confidence that the universe is on the side of justice, vice versa. Thus, nonviolent resisters have deep faith that justice will ultimately triumph.

**Principle 6:** *At the heart of nonviolence is love your neighbour.* Nonviolence pivots on the unconditional love of one another. If one loves one another, he or she may not harm or injure the other in any way. Nonviolent resisters love humanity including violent perpetrators, however remain firm on condemning violence in all its forms. Nonviolence believes
that love brings peace, forgiveness, self-esteem, leaving behind hate, anger, and all evil, not people.

In sum, nonviolence has been at the heart of the system of governance for Basotho from time immemorial. It is, in fact, part and parcel of Basotho culture and traditions. In his paper “The exemplary ethical leadership of King Moshoeshoe of Basotho of Lesotho in nineteenth-century Southern Africa” Khali Victor Mofuoa in 2015, penned that Moshoeshoe, The Founding Father of Basotho Nation, though he was a champion of “Mfecane” lifaqane wars, he also became champion of peacebuilding in the region (Mofuoa 2015:22). However, this desired state of affairs, “nonviolence”, is seen hurriedly being eroded amongst the Basotho with the advent of globalization syndrome featuring new technological advancements, contemporary economic policies, modern politics and other emerging systems of governance such as civics and criminal justice, seemed to have rendered Basotho insecurities and numerous development uncertainties for the Kingdom such as the intense political violence and socio-economic upheavals characterized by compromised human security which are evident fertile ground for violence.

Moshoeshoe’s diplomacy and peacebuilding skills were able to prove that among others; compromise and cultural diversity, forgiveness and compassion, humility and generosity can be a binding attribute for peacebuilding and nonviolent methodologies for peace-mongering in a conflict-ridden and war-torn environment. This seems to have been a key principle of leadership for Moshoeshoe, which has its roots in his overarching values of nonviolence, peacebuilding, and social justice. Thompson is noted by Khali Victor Mofuoa that Moshoeshoe “began to be noted for his numerous acts of kindness and generosity as well as his advocacy for peace, which formed the basis of his leadership career.

Through the moral influence and military prowess, he rallied the survivors of Lifaqane wars and built a kingdom” (Mofuoa, 2015:24-30). His key leadership values or qualities were: (1) the values of unity and restoration; (2) the values of fairness, forgiveness, and reconciliation, (3) the values of peace, ubuntu, and service, and (4) the values of calculated humility. (Mofuoa 2015:32). The controversial inquiry in my opinion remains as “why since independence, Lesotho never enjoyed and felt benefits of her emancipation from the harsh colonial rule, rather suffered worse than pre-independence?”. Born and bred in Lesotho, schooled, and working in Lesotho, I believe that, if left on their own, with their culture and traditions, generally, Basotho are naturally peace-loving and nonviolent society. Thus, the decomposition of a peace culture is in my view resultant from the decay of Sesotho moral fiber as the determinant of peace architecture.
Though Moshoeshoe is popular and worldwide known for his peacebuilding skills, Lifaqane 'Mfecane' Wars, were devastating and caused severe food insecurity, extreme hunger and perpetual poverty, forced migrations and dispersal of ethnic communities in various regions of Southern Africa compelled Basotho to protect their territory, property, and lives, thus, had to resort to violence. Cannibalism amongst the Basotho forced Moshoeshoe and his people to perform violent masculinities and fought battles in a bid to protect dismantle cannibals' juntas. The Free-State Basotho wars such as "Senekal's War" of 1858; "Seqiti War" of 1865-1866; and "Third Basotho War" of 1867 – 1868 over territorial rights against the British and Boers. This is the period in Basotho history attributed to having also moulded violent masculinities amongst the Basotho. However, Moshoeshoe continued to display his peacebuilding methods and insisted that peace is the way of life, and for Basotho nonviolence was cultivated in the hearts and minds. Examples of nonviolent gestures include among others, the pardoning of the cannibals devoured his grandfather, and leniency on his war prisoners whom he gave food, animals, and land to lead a peaceable life, and finally diplomatically seeking external advice and support in his endeavours for nonviolence.

Militant violence was deliberately introduced to Basotho before independence tactically to frustrate Basotho's bid for independence by then colonial masters, political elites, and traditional leaders who were benefitting from colonial rule. The formation of Josiel Lefela led "Lekhotla la Bafo", Commoner's Council in 1919; A call for independence the late 1940s; the 1965 first democratic elections; the 1970 general elections and a period afterward were seen by various historians as the source of turbulence among the Basotho. Bernard Makalo Khaketla's in his monograph, "Lesotho 1970: A coup under the microscope" outlines some of the experiences of violence Basotho were then exposed to. This was characterized by among others, ritual violence like killing for muti purposes and body parts harvesting; arbitrary arrests and executions of the then informed Basotho and other pro-independence chiefs and commoners; direct violence such as sexual assaults and gang rapes; arsons, man's slaughter and deliberate distractions of peace processes contributed hugely to political upheavals and insecurities in this country (Khaketla 1972:281, Sexishe 1984:78; and Moleleki 1994:127-150).

10.4.4 Factors responsible for violence in correctional settings.

The aim was to help participants to identify and appreciate factors responsible for violence in correctional settings. The apparent factors identified as responsible for violence in correctional settings were concluded to be stemming from poor service delivery exhibited by:

i. Inadequate corrections legal and policy framework rendering poor corrections effective management and dministration like poor workplace relations translating into sexual and gender - based violence in correctional settings.
ii. The pains and tribulations of incarceration perpetuated by deprivations freedoms and denial of heterosexual relationships leading to sexual violence and feeling of emasculation.

iii. Inmates abuse, torture and other inhumane and degrading treatment by corrections staff.

iv. Rapid growth of gangsterism, the sub-culture often characterized by:

v. Criminal elements and delinquency amongst inmates and staff.

vi. Inmates abuse, torture, sexual assaults and rape by gangsters.

vii. Direct and indirect challenging of the authority of corrections administration.

viii. Overcrowding in correctional institution translating into horrendous physical and institutional conditions of correctional facility rendering poor living and working conditions such as:

- Crowded living and sleeping space for inmates leading to sexual assaults.
- Lack of clothing, boarding and lodging facilities for inmates.
- Inadequate and poorly prepared inmate's food rations with low nutritional value.
- Lack of activity for inmates leading to idleness, boredom and burnouts.
- Inadequate office space, staff accommodation and uniforms.
- Lack of natural light and ventilation in living cells.
- Poor sanitary, ablution and cooking facilities and general hygiene.
- Inadequate recreational, vocational and rehabilitation programmes for inmates.
- Inadequate retention, manpower training and development opportunities for corrections staff.

Confronted with the above-mentioned challenges, corrections staff and inmates are confronted with frustration, often coupled with enormous emotional pain and suffering for having reached burnout which is the state of mental exhaustion, emptiness, and incapable to cope with the situation at hand. Thus, most inmates seek relief by joining corrections number gangs to keep their minds busy with largely violent gang activities. In a bid to protect themselves from physical harm, corrections staff more often resort to violence against inmates while some have resolved to accede to sub-cultures of number gangs. Corrections violence could be direct, structural, or cultural; manifesting as physical, emotional, or sexual; all forms were pinned on inadequacies of corrections legal and policy framework.

10.4.5 Intersecting masculinities and violence in correctional settings.
This study unraveled that violence is the most common denominator of masculinity. Violence, therefore, remains a common ingredient of corrections culture and traditions. This study explored corrections masculinities and violence at MCCI, the largest and referral correctional
facility in Lesotho. The focus of exploration was on the nature of masculinities and violence and their relationship in correctional settings.

It was revealed from primary data ‘interviews and focus groups’ and secondary data ‘reviewed literature’ that violence is one of the core occupants of hyper-masculinity, which is the most prevalent form of masculinity in correctional settings. The study established that corrections population make-up is largely male, making correctional settings predominantly male-dominated spaces. Thus, it suffices to claim that much of the violence therein is committed by male persons, thus, corrections violence remains a masculine phenomenon. It is further noted in this study violence is a prominent feature of masculinity. However, it was also noted with heed that it is not universal that masculinity is violent as there are transformative and caring masculinities; and subordinated masculinities such as “boy wives” in case of correctional settings and high rising gay communities in our general public.

Masculinities are more often seen as violent when in a bid to protect basically, the patriarchal power and dominance on women and other subordinate masculinities. This is evidenced by largely sexual and gender-based violence characterized by corrections rape and sexual assaults; sexual harassment at the workplace, inmates' torture, physical assaults, and other dehumanizing and degrading treatments. Sasha Gear and Heather Barclay in a resource for South African corrections staff titled "Let's end it now, stopping sexual violence in correctional centers" has a clear picture of sexual violence in South African correctional institutions (Gear and Barclay 2010:9-64 and Modvig 2014:20-21).

10.4.6 Understanding the concepts of power and authority.
Power and authority among the Basotho are patriarchally embraced phenomena appreciative of dominant masculinities. The dictionary definition of power is the possession of controlling influence, while authority is the power or right to give orders or make decisions. Patriarchy is the dominance of men over women. Most known societies of the world are patriarchal nature. There are variations in the degree and nature of the power exercised by men, as compared with women among the societies. Thus, one of the prime objectives of feminist movements in modern societies is to combat existing patriarchal institutions.

10.4.7 Understanding the notions of peace and peacebuilding.
Peace is not simply the absence of war. It is also the presence of justice and equality that ensures the necessities of life are met. It involves the elimination of violence, oppression, greed, and environmental destruction by the constructive mediation of conflicts. At this time in history, we live in a rather violent culture. However, we can imagine a peaceful world and work towards building a global community with a culture of peace. Although studying peace involves values and may seem idealistic, resolving conflict is a very practical matter. Individuals who
effectively deal with conflict are in high demand in business, government, and nongovernmental organizations.

10.4.8 Appreciate introduction of the AVP in corrections.
AVP was introduced to the participant as a movement committed to peacebuilding and conflict transformation pivoting on affirmation; respect for all including self; a sense of community; cooperation and trust. It is operating in communities, schools, and correctional settings providing training on peaceful social environments. AVP was found in a correctional setting and is anchored on the inmate’s practical life experiences of inmates. It encourages and energises "transforming power" the inner power within one to transform.

10.4.9 Understand and discuss the notion of transforming power.
Transforming Power is a pivotal AVP principle. AVP basic manual labelled this principle as the bedrock upon which AVP rests" (AVP Basic Manual, 2002, p.A-6). As mentioned in 8.4.9 above, transforming power is that innate distinctive power within that helps us to transform from violence to nonviolence.

10.4.10 Understanding conflict transformation and peacebuilding
According to Frazer and Ghettas (2013: 6), as cited under 1.17.4, conflict transformation is a theory seeking to engage methods and techniques to transform how people deal with conflict, whether in the family, community, and social institutions. Conflict Transformation as mentioned under 6.6.10 is a long-term process that engages society on multiple levels to develop the knowledge, understanding, and skills that empower people to coexist peacefully. Peacebuilding is an undertaking performed overtime to bring about lasting peace looking into causes and stakeholders in a conflict situation.

10.5 Findings from pre-intervention exploration
It was discovered from the collected data that:

- Corrections environment is harsh and not conducive for human habitation. These conditions are moulding and perpetuating violent masculinities for self-defence therein while other inmates’ resort to adopt submissive and/or gay masculinities as a "protection fee".
- There are mainly three classes of masculinities in correctional settings being: the domineering masculinities; the dominated masculinities and the middling masculinities bringing along varying implications therein.
- Prisonisation inculcates a culture of violence in the psyche of inmates. Inmates are indoctrinated into believing that machismo is the way of life therein and that to be a proper man fitting the corrections environment is about being violent as to be able to protect oneself and to take control of others.
• Inmates are brainwashed and trained to be emotionally tough to bear painful situations, to be inconsiderate and careless.

• Inmates incarcerated at Maseru Central Correctional Institution were daily experiencing direct violence in a form of physical, psychological, and emotional abuse instigated by some corrections officials and privileged inmates.

• Less privileged inmates, largely characterised by marginalised and subordinated masculinities who are incarcerated at Maseru Central Correctional Institution are victimised by other inmates with hegemonic and dominant forms of masculinities.

• Some of the officials stationed at Maseru Central Correctional Institution, largely females, the young in age and smaller in size and weaker, are abused by mainly senior officials in various forms.

• Sexual and gender-based violence is rampant at Maseru Central Correctional Institution amongst both inmates and staff.

• Corrections masculinities are largely caused by prisonization, which is an effort to adapt to corrections culture which is usually violent. This posture does not in any manner demean the fact that some of the masculinities therein are borrowed from early life experiences and imported to correctional settings.

• Emotional pain and suffering emanating from a series of deprivations and imported experiences of both inmates and staff were largely attributed to the moulding of violent and dominant masculinities in correctional settings.

• General conditions at Maseru Central Correctional Institution are inhumane, thus, exacerbates the pains of incarceration, which is tantamount to structural violence, thereby causing conflict breeding violence.

• It became evident that a significant number of incidents of mainly direct and indirect violence were attributable to gender relations and the hierarchical order of masculinities at Maseru Central Correctional Institution.

10.6 The intervention

The intervention workshop covered three main themes:

• Theme one, a theory of masculinity; this introduced participants to the theory of masculinities and its concepts like gender and sex, masculinity and masculinities, Sesotho masculinities and corrections masculinities, and transformative masculinities.

• Theme two contains theories and concepts of peace such as conflict, violence, peace, conflict transformation, and peacebuilding.

• Theme three as the last portion of the intervention introduced participants to the Alternatives to Violence Project as a tool for conflict transformation and peacebuilding guided by AVP principles.

• AVP introduced participants to the art and science of nonviolence, peacebuilding, and conflict transformation skills.

• AVP emphasises respect for self and others, workplace discipline, interpersonal skills; knowing thyself, and concern for the environment.

• AVP equipped participants with new ways of dealing with life challenges and conflicting situations in a nonviolent manner.
AVP also introduced participants to the notion of transforming power as induced by its principles: expecting the best; thinking before reacting; asking for a nonviolent path; respect for self and caring for others.

10.7 Conclusions

It has been taken into consideration that the construction of Sesotho masculinity is, like in other parts of the world, embedded into Basotho culture and traditions because of what the society considers appropriate behaviour and conduct for a man or woman, a boy or a girl. The literature reviewed flagged that historical experiences of Basotho beginning from the pre-colonial era, during the colonial era, and post-colonial era till date had a creator influence on Basotho traditions and cultural practices, has seen some whirlwinds in the positioning and posture of Sesotho masculinity. Basotho history indicates that the society has traversed through rapid and sharp deviations in religious, educational, socio-economic developments, health, and social welfare systems. Sesotho masculinity currently remains at the crossroads as it is dangling between hardliners' masculinity which is anchored on strict rules and traditions, and modern masculinity influenced by globalization on the one hand.

Basotho leadership and founding principles laid by Chief Moshoeshoe I inculcated a culture of peace and had creator influence on Basotho values and principles which I am opined that in no doubt that his legacy translated into one version of Sesotho masculinity characterised by calmness and peacefulness. This culture of peace was augmented by the teachings of Christian Missionaries upon request of the then leader Chief Moshoeshoe I. This contention does not in any manner seek to refuse to acknowledge that Sesotho masculinity is largely influenced Basotho learning and teachings from birth through to death, and probably beyond the grave as Basotho believe and are content with. Amongst the issues influencing Sesotho masculinity are gender performances and considerations rooted in a hardliner patriarchal system that is dominating and governing religious practices, socio-economic activities, chieftainship, and political leadership.

It was revealed from exploration in this project that some Sesotho cultural and traditional practices are being eroded rapidly and are at the brim of extinction, hence argued that Sesotho masculinity is at crossroads. This is attributable to globalization syndrome that has seen the introduction of westernized practices such as political systems that brought along: introduction of political parties and democratic elections of rulers triggering elections violence; essential services polarization and political extremism; introduction of a criminal justice system that brought along human incarceration and modern correctional system; new socio-economic order and technological advancements bringing along widespread formal and informal, print
and electronic media platforms; rapid migration in search for greener pastures for a decent living; dual citizenship system and inter-marriages with non-Basotho.

Gangsterism, criminality, and juvenile delinquency have on the other hand struck the society introducing serious crimes against persons and the economy such as human trafficking for body parts harvesting, sex slavery and prostitution; ritual murders and other forms of manslaughter; forced disappearances for political eliminations; and forced same-sex marriages in correctional settings and beyond. Some of the examples of social and economic upheavals cropping from the above assertions are rampant sexual and gender-based violence, grave moral fiber decay; ferocious killings among the "piano-accordion" famo music genre singers and supporters, and prison number gangs which are all indicative of violent masculinities amongst the Basotho, most of which impact negatively on a long-standing societal peace architecture. This leaves Basotho with wounded masculinity. Wounded in the sense that psycho-socially, economically, and spiritually Basotho have been deeply affected and left with an emotional scar, hence wounded masculinity.

10.8 Recommendations

Based on findings of the pre-intervention exploration and issues that transpired when evaluating the intervention, the recommendations made here cover ways and means of curbing corrections violence and transforming undesired masculinities in correctional settings. I, therefore, recommend that:

- The government through The Ministry of Justice and Correctional Service should formulate a clear policy and legal framework on combating violence in correctional settings. Such frameworks should take heed of factors responsible for violence therein such as toxic masculinities. This should be taking into account the early experiences of inmates and staff as well as general conditions of corrections.

- Borrowing from evidenced-based interventions such as the Alternatives to Violence Project, The Ministry of Justice and Correctional Service should establish broad-based deliberate learning and teaching programs aimed to cultivate a culture of peace in correctional settings. This should form part and parcel of continuous corrections staff training curriculum and inmate's orientation, rehabilitation, and social reintegration programs.

- It is also recommended that peace education be included in the Lesotho curriculum from pre-school education up to tertiary levels including non-formal education programs for out-of-school youths and adults who are not incarcerated as to level the field for smooth reintegration of corrections graduates to avoid recidivism and to cut off the cycle of violence.

- It is further recommended that government, churches, and non-state actors join forces to transform toxic masculinities and femininities that promote toxicity of masculinities to create a culture of nonviolence in and out of correctional settings.
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Appendix one:

Pre-intervention knowledge assessment

PRE- INTERVENTION KNOWLEDGE ASSESSMENT

"ADDRESSING MASCULINITIES AND VIOLENCE IN CORRECTIONAL SETTINGS"

You are humbly invited to participate in this assessment regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings as part of action research conducted by Akim Matingoep Phamotse, a bonafide student of Durban University of Technology. This is only intent to shed light and give an idea of level of knowledge and / or awareness of issues regarding masculinities and violence in correctional institutions with particular reference to Maseru Central Correctional Institution. You will also be humbly requested to participate in a similar exercise at the end of the workshop as to determine level of success and challenges. All information provided on this questionnaire will be anonymized and your identity will not be revealed at any time.

PART ONE

i. I have read and understood the above-mentioned information. I am eighteen (18) years old or above, YES......... or NO.............

ii. And, I hereby give consent for voluntary participation in this workshop and the assessment and for the data to be used only for pre-evaluation and post-evaluation of this training.

YES ..........., I consent to participate.

NO ..........., I do not consent to participate.

iii. If your response to consenting is no, please do not fill this form further. If you consent, please append your signature here:

PART TWO

Please answer the following questions:

1. Which segment of the corrections population do you represent?
   Corrections staff: .................
   Corrections inmates: .................

2. Your area of work specialization, duty or work party
A. I am not working

B. Work party (explain)

C. Custodial services (explain)

D. Rehabilitation services (explain)

E. Other (explain)

3. Have you attended any training on masculinities before?
   YES : ........................................
   NO : .........................................
   NOT SURE : ...................................

4. Have you attended any training on violence before?
   YES : ........................................
   NO : .........................................
   NOT SURE : ...................................

PART THREE

1. In your opinion, what are the most common issues regarding masculinities in correctional settings?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
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2. Did you ever notice or discover any acts of violence in correctional settings?
   YES ............... or NO................. If yes, please explain.
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3. What are the most felt challenges regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings?

4. Did you ever think of nonviolent solutions to corrections violence? YES ...... or NO......
   If yes, which were they?

PART FOUR
Please rate with a tick your level of confidence regarding the following important issues relating to masculinities, violence and peacebuilding in correctional settings. (1) Not confident; (2) Doubtfully confident; (3) Unsure; (4) Partly confident; (5) Confident

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7. Have you attended any training on masculinities before?
   YES : ........................................
   NO : ........................................
   NOT SURE : ........................................

8. Have you attended any training on violence before?
   YES : ........................................
   NO : ........................................
   NOT SURE : ........................................

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PART THREE

5. In your opinion, what are the most common issues regarding masculinities in correctional settings?
   ........................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................
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6. Did you ever notice or discover any acts of violence in correctional settings?
   YES ............. or NO............. If yes, please explain.
   ........................................................................................................
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7. What are the most felt challenges regarding masculinities and violence in correctional settings?

PART FOUR

Please rate with a tick your level of confidence regarding the following important issues relating to masculinities, violence and peacebuilding in correctional settings. (1) Not confident; (2) Doubtfully confident; (3) Unsure; (4) Partly confident; (5) Confident

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PART FIVE

1. Can you recommend AVP to become one of the programs in correctional settings?
   - YES: ...........................................
   - NO: ............................................
   - NOT SURE: ......................................

2. Would you recommend that corrections staff participate in AVP activities?
   - YES: ...........................................
   - NO: ............................................
   - NOT SURE: ......................................

3. Things I do not like about AVP
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................

4. Things I like about AVP
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................

5. Topics and issues which were relevant or important to corrections work
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................

6. Topics which needs modification in this training workshop / what can be improved
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................

7. Topics and / or issues which should be removed from this training workshop
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................
   - ................................................................

PART SIX

General comments about the entire workshop
Deputy Commissioner M. Phamotse
Correctional Headquarters
P.O. Box 41
Maseru

Dear Deputy Commissioner Phamotse,

**RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT A STUDY IN CORRECTIONAL SETTING**

The above subject matter refers.

I am pleased to inform you that your application to conduct a study in correctional settings has been approved.

With the copy of this letter you will therefore consult District Commanders of the Correctional Institutions you wish to carry out your research with

Hope you find this in order.

Yours Sincerely,

M. A. MAKHALEMELE (MRS)
COMMISSIONER (a,i)