

**GENDER STEREOTYPES AND EDUCATION IN
LESOTHO**

PALESA MOSETSE

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GENDER STEROTYPES AND EDUCATION IN LESOTHO

by

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DECLARATION

I sincerely and solemnly declare that this thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree

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is my original, entirely independent work and has never been submitted to any other university or faculty for degree purposes.

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PALESA MOSETSE

Bloemfontein

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION, STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AIM, METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Women in Lesotho constitute more than 50% of the entire population of the country and yet they are a marginalised group since their knowledge and expertise is often ignored by policy-makers (Khabo, 1995: 1). In the field of education, tremendous progress in the provision of education for women has been made in this country since Lesotho occupies a unique position in sub-Saharan Africa by being the only country where women are more educated than men (International Labour Organization (ILO), 1994: 41). However, despite their achievements, women in Lesotho occupy limited employment participation in top positions in the public service and high decision-making organs in the country (cf. Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4).

Table 1: Participation in parliament and highest levels of government in Lesotho: 1993-1994

Position	Women	Men	Women/Men %	Gender gap
Assembly	3	62	5:95	90
Members of the Senate	7	25	22:78	56
Cabinet Ministers	1	12	8:92	84
Deputy-Ministers	0	2	0:100	100
Principal Secretary	2	14	13:87	74
Deputy-Principal Secretary	7	14	33:67	34
Judges	1	5	17:83	66
Ambassador	3	9	25:75	50

Source: Letuka, Matashane and Morolong (1997: 24).

Table 2: Distribution of civil servants by rank and gender in Lesotho: 1991

Rank	Women: Number	Men: Number	Women: Men %
Senior	29	140	17:83
Upper middle	204	241	46:54
Lower middle	1,264	1,103	53:47
Lower	2,567	1,603	61:39
Total	4,064	3,087	57:43

Source: Letuka, Matashane and Morolong (1997: 24).

Table 3: Distribution of chiefs by gender and rank in Lesotho: 1992

Rank	Women %	Men %	Gender Gap
Principal Chiefs	27	73	46
Area Chiefs I (Senior)	100	0	-100
Area Chiefs I (Upper middle)	36	64	28
Area Chiefs II (Upper middle)	38	62	24
Chiefs (Lower middle)	31	69	38
Headmen	36	64	28

Source: Letuka Matashane and Morolong (1997: 23).

Table 4: Selected statistics in Lesotho

Adult literacy rate (1998)	Female 92.9% / Male 71.0%
Combined primary/ secondary/ tertiary enrolment (1998)	Female 61% / Male 53%
Real GDP per capita (1998) in \$	Female 982 / Male 2, 291
Women in parliament (% - 2000)	10.3%
Women in Cabinet (% - 2000)	8.3%
Women Deputy Ministers (% - 2000)	0%

Source: SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (2000).

From the information in Table 1 it is clear that in the period 1993 – 1994 the ratio of women: men in parliament and higher government levels favour men in all

counts. It is significant that only a marginal number of women serve in the high ranking positions.

Close scrutiny of Table 2 reveals that women in the civil service during 1991 were outnumbered in senior positions, while the position is reversed in the lower middle, and especially in the lower ranks.

Table 3 indicates that in 1992 women were also outnumbered by men as chiefs, with the largest gender gap occurring in the case of Principal Chiefs where only 27% are women, while 73% are men. Interesting is the phenomenon, however, that all Senior Area Chief positions are taken up by women.

The statistics in Table 4 also provide an interesting, more recent picture. The table reveals that although more female adults (92,9%) in Lesotho are literate than men (71%), and female enrolment in 1998 exceeded that of men, women still only represented 10,3% of members of parliament during 2000, and only 8,3% in the Cabinet. Interesting is also that there were no female deputy-ministers during this period.

The phenomenon illustrated by the above tables is possibly due to the fact that culturally, women are confined to the home as household managers, consistent with their cultural position of being on the margins of decision-making structures (Letuka, Matashane and Morolong, 1997: 22), and the misconception that femininity is equal to inferiority and masculinity is equal to superiority (Goduka, 1999: 123).

The misconception exists that women in Lesotho lack reasoning power, and are therefore unable to possess sufficient mental powers to make logical decisions, while men do. Such ideas are largely based upon traditional beliefs, and determined by gender roles which rest upon assumptions, and not fact, since both men and women possess equal cognitive abilities (Basow, 1992: 38; *cf.* also

Mosetse, 1998: 18). Women's subordination, despite their academic achievements implies the loss of an important resource for efficiency, productivity and the welfare of the Lesotho population.

Due to their access to education, women in Lesotho are sufficiently competent to compete with their male counterparts in leadership positions, however, their legal status which relegates them to the position of "legal minors" has not changed in accordance with their achievements in education and other fields (Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 55). For example, in institutions of education access to scholarships and other programs requires the consent of the father of the unmarried woman, and that of the husband in the case of a married woman.

In addition, the impact of informal education reinforcing stereotypical gender roles on women's access to higher education cannot be overlooked. For example, participation of women in vocational training is confined to traditional female occupations such as home economics, dressmaking, tailoring and commercial subjects (ILO, 1994: 42), thus steering women towards traditional female occupations.

In line with this, traditional Basotho education encourages women to excel in domestic and agricultural roles. For example, traditional/informal education required boys and girls to acquire different skills reflecting the specific roles they would play as adults. For girls, skills included house cleaning and plastering, drawing water, collecting vegetables, baby care, food preparation, cooking and feeding of the family (Ministry of Education, 1982: 1), while boys' skills included metalwork, craftwork, herding cattle, breeding animals and many other so-called "male" skills.

It seems that in Lesotho, gender roles and gender stereotypes are facilitated by the system of patriarchy, which is an ideology based on the supremacy of the fathers and which supports and justifies the subordination of women, by men,

regulates relations between them, and allows men to control women through economic dependence and the threat of violence (cf. Goduka, 1999: 22; Letuka *et al.* 1998: 38; and Mosetse, 1998: 12). Patriarchy is particularly apparent in a Sesotho customary marriage, which is patrilineal, thus based on the belief in the male heir succession in the family, as well as patrilocal, which refers to the belief that women should move in with her in-laws after marriage (cf. Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* 2000: 63). It can be argued that patriarchy is primarily responsible for the neglect of women's education in Lesotho since they are expected to grow up and be wives, hence the focus on their nurturing abilities rather than on their capabilities (Goduka, 1999: 12). This belief is based on the myth of the motherhood mandate, the maternal instinct and children needing their biological mother, as well as the myth of males being breadwinners (cf. Goduka, 1999: 129; also Lindsey, 1997: 27).

The lack of visibility of women in the public sphere can further be attributed to practices in the legal system, which is biased against women. The legal system of Lesotho operates under different sets of law. These are *Common law*, which refers mainly to the *Roman-Dutch Law*, *Customary Law* focusing on the cultural values, practices and traditions of the Basotho society, and *Statutory Law*, which consists of all the laws enacted by government (Letuka, Matashane and Morolong, 1997: 20). Under *Customary Law*, a woman is under the guardianship of the father. Upon marriage she transfers to the guardianship of her husband, and upon his death, whoever is her husband's heir becomes her guardian (cf. Khabo, 1995: 2). The result of this is that women in Lesotho have no *locus standi in judicio*, meaning that they cannot sue or be sued in their own names, they are represented in court by their fathers, husbands or guardians and they cannot enter into a binding contract.

The legal position of a woman differs slightly under *Common law* whereby she is regarded a major upon the age of twenty-one. This situation, however changes if a woman is married in community of property since this means she has the same

status as the woman under *Customary Law*. This further implies that the husband becomes the administrator of the joint estate (Maqutu, 1992: 209). He can donate, alienate or pledge their joint property without his wife's consent. It should be noted however, that it is difficult to decide which law a person is operating under since the Basotho lives under a mixture of both tradition and modernity.

The Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993, which is the basis of all laws, guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms. The same constitution, however, fails to contravene some laws and practices that discriminate against women. For example, the *Land Act no. 14 of 1979* provides that all Basotho nationals can acquire land without discrimination. However, section 8(2) provides that upon the death of an allottee, the land should pass to the customary male heir, while subsection (3) provides that the widow will only have the rights of use of the soil until she dies or remarries (ILO, 1994: 46). This implies that she is never given full title over the land. Furthermore, the *Land Act no. 14 of 1979* requires every allottee to obtain a lease which can be attained by registering the title deed under the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967*, which will then be converted into a lease. Section 14 of the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* consequently does not allow women to register land. All property rights are registered under the husband's name who is the sole administrator of the joint estate.

In the employment sector, although the *1992 Labour Code* has created many changes in the provision of equal pay for the same job, the practice is that many women still occupy lower positions which are un-pensionable despite their competitive qualifications. Equality of remuneration, in the opinion of Letuka *et al.* (1994: 20), is of little benefit to the majority of women, who, if they lose their jobs will still be doomed to a life of destitution and dependency while most of their male counterparts will be pensionable. There is provision also, in the *1992 Labour Code* for female employees to be granted six weeks paid maternity leave of absence before the date of confinement if employed under contract, and six

weeks after confinement. A woman doing the same job, but employed on a daily basis can take twelve weeks unpaid maternity leave. Employers are however hesitant to employ women on a permanent basis since they are seen as a liability because they are likely to be away from work more than men.

The Social Sciences, especially History has generally made women invisible. Goduka (1999: 123) believes that there is an extensive and deep-seated belief that women have made no contribution to history. In Lesotho, little attention has been paid to women's political participation, educational achievements and leadership roles except when being presented as naturally domestic, conservative and religious (Epprecht, 1992: 10). Any political success of women is explained as being the result of men's absence. Epprecht (1992: 10) is of the opinion that history does affect women's scholarship negatively. The historiographical treatment of Paramount Chiefteness Mant'sebo illustrates this point. Although she ruled as regent for nineteen years and is remembered with respect among the Basotho, her role in constitutional development is rarely mentioned. It can be argued that women's absence from history can partly be blamed on missionary education, which was introduced in Lesotho in 1833. It is important to note that most of the history of the Basotho was written by missionaries.

Lesotho is a predominantly Christian country with the Catholic Church claiming more than 60% membership (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 1999: 27). Despite the fact that women make up a higher number of practicing Christians, they are confined to peripheral roles in the church since they are not allowed to assume leadership roles in the church. For example, there are no women priests in the Catholic Church. Women assume leadership roles only in groups that are exclusively female; and managers of schools are usually parish priests. *Canon 236* of the *Code of Canon Law* indicates that priests should be young men, or men of more mature years who believe that they are called to the sacred ministries (Canon Law Society, 1983: 39). It seems that the Catholic Church's justification of women's subordination is based on the assumption that

priests must exercise authority, and that women are unable to exercise authority since according to the book of Genesis, women are in a “state of subjection” to man (Mackie, 1983: 201).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

From the above paragraphs, it seems that the plight of women in Lesotho stem from their cultural position and thus also from the legal system of the country. Women’s legal status simultaneously leads them into inferior echelons in the world of work, especially in the field of education. As already indicated, Lesotho boasts one of the highest literacy rates in Africa, and the highest among women (Mohapeloa, cited in Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 50), and yet their academic achievements do not put them in a better position to attain equality. The implication of this is that the better-educated part of the population is the most marginalised. It is important however to note that many factors besides the legal system contribute to this problem. The education system of Lesotho for example, seems to contribute to the promotion of gender inequalities by auto-steering women toward traditional female specialisations such as teaching, home economics and commercial studies. Men however, tend to follow technical and prestigious vocations such as architecture and engineering (Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 28). In secondary schools for example, girls are seldom encouraged in mathematics and science, which might help widen their skills and horizons. This is due to the fact that society regards a woman’s role to be primarily that of a mother and a wife, therefore, their jobs should reflect the traditional caring role (Trustcott, 1994: 20).

Furthermore, the education system of Lesotho does not protect young girls since a great number of them drop out of school to become mothers. Teenage pregnancy presents a major problem in the country, since there is no law in Lesotho that prevents schools from expelling pregnant teenagers from school, or provisions to safeguard the right of teenage mothers to continue their education,

and yet this is never a problem with teenage boys who impregnate girls. This problem further extends to the teaching service where a pregnant unmarried woman is expelled from work unless she produces a marriage certificate. This situation however changes if a woman is employed in the civil service. This problem may be attributed to the fact that the church owns most schools in the country and being pregnant outside wedlock is against the moral values of the church.

It seems that discriminatory treatment towards women is more pronounced in the field of education, especially in the teaching service because there are few promotion posts, which seem to be reserved for men. This is because society expects men to carry responsibility and act in positions of authority (Trustcott, 1994: 20; *cf.* also Khabo, 1995: 2). Consequently, men mostly occupy the positions of school principals and managers.

Furthermore, due to stereotypic gender roles, women are expected to conform to certain “informal rules” in the teaching service. Failure to conform to these rules results in one’s credibility being questioned, which often has nothing to do with the teacher’s competence. For example, female teachers are not allowed to wear long pants, short skirts and short-sleeved garments. This dress code however does not apply to women working in the civil service.

Finally, the legal framework in Lesotho seems to encourage women’s discrimination in education because women lack contractual capacity. This implies that when a woman wishes to further her education in higher institutions of learning, she needs the consent of her father if unmarried and that of a husband if married. Female students who apply for government loans, thus would need the male guardian’s assistance for contractual purposes. This is usually a problem since most men do not approve of women leaving the confinement of the home to pursue further studies. It is important not to overlook opportunities provided by non-formal education to women who cannot afford full-

time education. Extension programs and services in non-formal education in Lesotho are, however, not designed to meet the demanding family responsibilities of women. Furthermore, extension programmes seem to emphasise specific female topics such as nutrition and homemaking. These programmes are designed to make women no more than good housewives and good homemakers and do not empower women to participate in activities outside the home.

In an attempt to redress the problem of gender inequalities, the Lesotho government drafted a *Gender Policy* in 2003. Although it is still a draft policy, it seems not to be widely known by the majority of the Lesotho population.

Much work has been done to investigate gender inequalities in Lesotho, but little research has been undertaken in Lesotho to focus on gender inequalities in the field of education. The following questions thus come to the fore:

- What are gender stereotypes and how do they develop?
- How does patriarchy as an ideology influence gender stereotypes in general?
- What are the causes of gender disparities in education in Lesotho?
- What is the nature of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*, and to what extent has it been implemented in Lesotho schools?
- How do traditional and cultural values, together with the minority legal status of women in Lesotho affect their potential to participate in the education system and in decision-making structures in general?
- What can be done to empower women and encourage their participation in decision-making structures in education in Lesotho?

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The broad aim of this study is to determine the effect of gender stereotypes in education in Lesotho, with special reference to education and decision-making structures. To accomplish this aim, the following objectives can be identified:

- To investigate the phenomenon of gender stereotypes in general.
- To determine the origin of, and the way in which the ideology of patriarchy influences gender disparities and to provide a theoretical starting-point against the background of which gender inequalities in Lesotho can be investigated.
- To determine the causes of gender disparities in education in Lesotho.
- To determine the nature of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* and the extent to which it has been implemented in Lesotho schools.
- To determine the ways in which legal, traditional and cultural values cause stereotypes and affect women's potential to participate in the education system and decision-making structures in Lesotho.
- To recommend ways in which women in education in Lesotho can be empowered in order to participate equally in society.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to realise the above objectives, the following methods will be used to gather information (a detailed exposition of the methodology will follow in Chapter 4):

- A literature study of appropriate primary and secondary sources, consisting of legal documents, books, journals, newspapers, electronic media and research reports will be conducted to gather relevant information on gender stereotypes in general and in particular in Lesotho. A literature review is appropriate for this study since it serves as a point of departure in an attempt to understand the phenomena being investigated.

For example, in order to understand what gender stereotypes are, one has to understand how they are developed and have insight into the factors that play a role in the perpetuation thereof.

- The research will also involve a quantitative approach. Standardised questionnaires will be administered to different sections of women in Lesotho to determine the extent to which women in education are marginalised through the ideology of patriarchy. The study will be targeted to ten percent of the female population (teachers and learners) at each of the selected schools. This method was chosen because the research population of interest to this study is indefinite and the individuals are widely scattered throughout rural mountainous, urban and peri-urban areas. It is the assumption that women in Lesotho experience gender inequalities differently due to their geographic location as well as cultural and socio-economic positions. Questions will be largely based on personal experiences of gender inequalities, especially in the sphere of education.
- A qualitative research methodology will also be followed to gather relevant information in Lesotho in particular and to “validate” the results of the quantitative investigation. Krathwohl (1998: 228) posits that qualitative measures keep the researchers close to the situations and help them learn what lies behind numbers, views and the subject being investigated. This allows the researcher to apply the “phenomenological approach” (Garbers, 1996: 283) whereby the researcher will attempt to understand the meaning of interactions and events with specific people within a specified time-frame. This method was therefore selected in an attempt to interpret meanings that people bring to phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 1), and thus probing human behaviour. In addition, a qualitative research methodology enables researchers to learn information at first-hand about the world they are investigating by means of involvement and

participation in that world (Sherman and Webb, 1988: 7). A qualitative investigation is also especially suitable for researching the perceptions of the role-players in a country such as Lesotho where the subordination of women has a profound influence on the education system. Interviews and open-ended questions in structured questionnaires will be used as the qualitative instrument of this investigation.

1.5 DEMARCATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

The participants of the research will primarily be women in the education sector in the areas of Maseru (urban area and the capital city of the country), and Mokhotlong (rural district). These research sites were selected in order to represent both the rural and urban areas in the country.

1.5.1 Geographical demarcation

As mentioned previously, this study seeks to highlight the influence of gender stereotypes in the education system of Lesotho, through *inter alia* a qualitative and quantitative investigation. As a qualitative instrument, interviews will be conducted with 13 principals randomly selected in the urban area, and purposive selection because of the inaccessibility of the rural schools, will be applied to identify 3 principals (male and female) in the rural area (cf. Chapter 4).

For the quantitative investigation, questionnaires will be distributed to 30 teachers in Mokhotlong and 70 in Maseru. Questionnaires will also be administered to 120 female students in the 25 schools in Maseru, while 30 questionnaires will be distributed to female students in Mokhotlong, as well as 30 parents of selected students in Maseru and 10 in Mokhotlong. In addition, 17 principals in Maseru and 3 principals in Mokhotlong (male and female) will also be targeted to complete questionnaires. The sample size will thus be as follows:

Rural area (Questionnaires)

- 30 female students.

- 30 female teachers.
- 10 parents (male and female); and
- 3 principals (male and female)

Urban area (questionnaires)

- 120 female students.
- 70 female teachers.
- 30 parents (male and female); and
- 17 principals (male and female).

Interviews

- 3 principals in Mokhotlong (male and female); and
- 13 principals in Maseru (male and female).

The research will be aimed at both government and church schools because most private schools in the country are not properly registered with the Ministry of Education.

1.5.2 Scientific demarcation

Lastly, this study is conducted within Philosophy and Policy Studies in Education as a sub-discipline of the science, Education. Grounded in this discipline, the research will *inter alia* explore the philosophical foundations of gender stereotypes and the occurrence thereof, but will also focus upon policies and procedures that have been introduced to alleviate the position of women in Lesotho.

1.6 DIVISION OF CHAPTERS

In order to realise the stated objectives of the study, the research will be structured as follows:

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 of this study focused on the statement of the problem under investigation, as well as the aim, objectives and a brief outline of the methodology and demarcation of the research.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 will attempt a theoretical framework against the background of which the study will be conducted. This will include an exposition of prevalent theories on gender stereotypes, ideology as well as an investigation into determinants of this phenomenon in general.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 will give an exposition of the way in which tradition and culture influence the status of women in Lesotho in general, as well as education in particular. The nature and context of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* will also be analysed in this section.

Chapter 4

This chapter will focus on the research methodology that will be applied in an attempt to investigate the perpetuation of gender stereotypes as exposed in the previous chapter, particularly in the institutions of education in the selected urban and rural areas in Lesotho.

Chapter 5

This part of the study will comprise a presentation and analysis of the results of the investigation amongst teachers and principals. The results of the

questionnaires will be presented in table-form, while the findings of the interviews will be summarised in the form of a report.

Chapter 6

This chapter will be a continuation of the analysis of the data, comprising the results of the survey amongst students and parents.

Chapter 7

This chapter will offer a synopsis of the investigation and will attempt to make recommendations for the empowerment of women against the background of the findings of the research on the perpetuation of the subordination of women in education in Lesotho. The chapter will be concluded with recommendations for further research.

1.7 SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with an exposition of the research problem. This was done through a brief exploration of the present legal, social, economic and cultural status of women in Lesotho, and education in the country in particular. On the basis of the research problem, aims and objectives were developed as well as methods to be adopted in achieving the set goals.

The next chapter will focus on the theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER STEREOTYPING AND ROLES: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite calls for equality world-wide, and despite Lesotho's democracy, it seems that women remain marginalised in decision-making structures in this country (cf. *supra*: Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4). Women in Lesotho still constitute only 30% of the paid labour force, they are still overburdened with domestic and reproductive roles expected of them by society (Lephoto, 1995: 4), and it appears that they are still underrepresented in the management of the education sector. This is regardless of the fact that Lesotho boasts one of the highest literacy rates among women, with trends showing that women constitute more than 51% of the total Basotho students studying at the National University of Lesotho (Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 51). To add to this picture, women in Lesotho are still legal minors. The most prevalent lament about women's issues in Lesotho and the rest of the globe is that the law is not self-implementing (Stewart and Armstrong, 1990: xii). This can be attributed to the fact that women are reluctant to use legal facilities to improve their status. The implication of this is that by acknowledging sex roles, society tends to facilitate the subordination of women. It appears also that sex roles are determined by traditional beliefs based on particular assumptions.

The aim of this chapter is in the first instance to investigate, through a literature study, the origin of gender stereotypes and roles. This will be followed by theories of socialisation and an exposition of patriarchy as a decisive ideology in the occurrence of gender stereotypes. A subsequent section will focus on

feminist theories, and the chapter will conclude with a comparison of patriarchy and feminist ideologies.

2.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Before exploring the factors that influence gender role development, it is necessary to focus briefly on the terminology related to gender stereotypes and roles. According to Kruger (1997: 11) each culture creates its own meanings for the terms *male* and *female*. These meanings will also “involve a series of expectations” of the way in which each gender behaves (Kruger, 1997: 11). It is therefore essential to differentiate between the concepts associated with gender stereotypes and roles:

- Sex is defined by many scholars as the visible external sex organs that describe a person’s biological maleness and femaleness (Kruger, 1997: 3; Nanda, 1994: 92; *cf.* also Basow, 1992: 2).
- Various definitions of the concept *gender* can be found in literature. For example, Kruger (1997: 11) describes gender as an individual’s personal and psychological experience of being male or female. For this study, however, gender will be taken to mean the hierarchical division between men and women embedded in social relationships and structured according to traditions and cultural notions of maleness and femaleness (Scott and Jackson, 2002: 1; *cf.* also Brannon, 1995: 11; Nanda, 1994: 92). This definition is supported by feminist sociologists since they associate gender with sociological pressures.
- *Gender identity* refers to people’s *perceptions* of themselves as males or females (*cf.* Wharton, 2005: 36). Wharton (2005: 36) further posits that in psychological terms gender identity is described as the “fundamental,

existential sense of one's maleness or femaleness". For the purposes of this study, Wharton's definition will thus be adopted.

- *Role* is described as culturally defined rights and duties which define behaviour considered to be "appropriate" (cf. Haralambos, 1985: 7; and Zanden, 1990: 43). The implication here is that an individual's role is the way in which an individual is expected to act.
- *Gender roles* are defined as prescribed cultural roles that an individual has to play in a society, based on sexual differences (Haralambos, 1994: 531; and Brannon, 1995: 168). For example, Morahanye (2004: 11) maintains that if roles were assigned due to sexual differences, they would be the same worldwide, but since such roles are determined cultural prescriptions this is not the case, although in some cases biological roles cannot be changed. This definition seems to be in line with Palm-Forster's (2000: 15) view, which associates gender roles with socially created expectations based on cultural beliefs about feminine and masculine behaviours.
- *Patriarchy* is a system of male domination and male power facilitated through education, class, race, economic, and political circumstances (O'Connell, 1994: 74 cf. also *infra*: 2.5).
- Ferree, Lorber and Hess (1999: 379) trace the *origins of gender stereotypes* back to gender-based division of labour together with "differential status" assigned to male and female roles and are facilitated by role and power differences. *Gender stereotyping*, therefore, refers to *beliefs and attitudes* about masculinity and femininity (cf. Brannon, 1995: 68).

- *Sexism* is defined as a belief-system that is based on the intellectual and biological superiority of males over females and consists of prejudices and discriminatory practices against women (cf. Ritzer, 1996: 451).

2.3 GENDER ROLE DEVELOPMENT: SOCIAL AND BIOLOGICAL FACTORS

This section of the study is aimed at investigating factors that influence gender role development, thus facilitating stereotypes about women. It seems that the development of gender stereotypes and roles are influenced by two major factors, being biological, and socio-cultural. Socio-cultural factors entail: language, the school, the family/parents, and media, whilst biological factors include hormones, genes, brain organisation, genitalia and the intellect.

2.3.1 Biological factors that influence gender role development

The fundamental assumption underlying biological theories of gender role development is that the physiological make-up of the human body is the foundation of social relations of gender (cf. Mannathoko, 1995: 3). In line with this belief it is maintained that biology determines gender and society reflects what nature determines. For example, it is argued that hormonal differences between men and women account for differences in social behaviour, which gives men an aggressive advantage over women, thus accounting for sexual division of labour and the patriarchal power structure. Women, it seems are at the mercy of problematic biology, as they continue to be controlled by their 'raging' hormones through processes such as menstruation (Campbell, 1992: 64; cf. also Manicom, 2001: 134).

Biology has thus been used to justify inequalities between the sexes that rather seem to be the result of socialisation. For centuries, biological differences have been the starting-point and justification for the creation of different social roles for

men and women (cf. Freedman, 2001: 12). Furthermore, the argument that men and women are believed to be motivated differently in their reproductive strategies is said to account for their different placement in the division of labour and in the social hierarchy. In the opinion of Palm-Forster (2000: 28), sex-typing points to dissimilar treatment of people according to their biological sex. It includes behaviours such as pregnancy, lactation, menstruation, erection and many others (cf. also Campbell, 1992: 64). Conservative biological explanations of gender differences thus attribute different personality structures of men and women to their different physical bodies and different cognitive and affective processes (cf. Mannathoko, 1995: 3). In this way males are socialised to believe that they are genetically superior to females. Biological determinants that have an impact on gender roles are tabled below:

Table 5: Biological sex/gender determinants

Biological determinants	Male	Female
Chromosomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23 pairs • XY = sex chromosomes • Y present – testes formed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23 pairs • XX = sex chromosomes • Y absent – ovaries formed
Hormones	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Androgen oestrogen • Progesterone production increases at puberty • Constant androgen production after puberty • Research of effects on moods/behaviours neglected – resulting in stereotyping 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oestrogen androgen • Oestrogen production increases at puberty • Alternating secretion of oestrogen and progesterone – part of menstrual cycle • Ongoing research of effects on moods and behaviour resulting in stereotyping
Anatomy - genitalia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Penis, external vagina • Influences sex-gender role expectations of parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clitoris, internal vagina • Influences sex-gender role expectations of parents and society
Brain organisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Right brain hemisphere more developed (visual-spatial) • Sexual dimorphism (able to endure in different forms) • Stereotypical expectations of boy's academic abilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Left brain hemisphere more developed (verbal language) • Sexual dimorphism (able to endure in different forms) • Stereotypical expectations of girl's academic abilities
Intellect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small differences, many 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small differences, many

	similarities • Differences exaggerated, resulting in gender stereotyping	similarities • Differences exaggerated, resulting in gender stereotyping
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Source: Palm-Forster (2000: 29)

Against the background of the biological determinants presented in Table 5, it seems that most of the biological sex determinants are exaggerated, thereby resulting in gender stereotyping (cf. brain organisation and intellect).

According to Freedman (2001: 12) women's biological capacity for childbirth and breast-feeding, and their generally lesser physical strength is seen as a factor determining their social role in the home, occupying themselves with child-rearing and domestic chores. It is also claimed that the biological differences between the sexes make women unfit to participate in the public sphere.

Although sex and gender differences seem to be influenced by several factors, justification is based only on biology. Basow (1992: 38), however, believes that human behaviour is overwhelmingly affected by cultural, not biological factors, since human behaviour is immensely flexible. The assumption that hormonal differences between men and women account for differences in social behaviour (which give men an aggressive advantage over women) also determines women's subordinate position in society since they are assumed to be "dragged down" by their hormones. This theory is, however, still subject to investigation since the assumed hormonal differences are still questionable in relation to human behaviour.

Patriarchy also seems to conveniently equate biological sex differences with innateness, and innateness with predetermination (cf. Gunew, 1991: 238). This happens when in some cases gender role development is associated with chromosomes (cf. Lips, 1988: 106). Furthermore, the difference in intellectual achievement between men and women – no less than that between different men - according to Gunew, (1991: 238), must arise not from men being more rational

than women, but, solely from the fact that our thoughts pass through diverse channels. Palm-Forster (2000: 29) argues that the only fact of sex difference is that women menstruate, gestate, and lactate, whilst men can impregnate and females cannot.

2.3.2 Socio-cultural factors that influence gender role development

It appears that socialisation takes place within a particular culture. Sociologists define socialisation as a process through which individuals learn their culture, develop their human potential, and become functioning members of society (cf. Booyesen and De Witt, 1995: 2; Lindsey, 1997: 53; Popenoe *et al.*, 1998: 80; Haralambos, 1985: 4). It is also argued that the process of socialisation is a lifelong process and that individuals are expected to assimilate knowledge of the rules, attitudes, customs, values, role requirements and norms that are acceptable in his/her social environment (cf. Haralambos, 1985: 2). This implies that society prescribes the content that individuals are expected to conform to, in order for them to be accepted as full members of that society. It is through socialisation that people learn the ways of a society or a group, and this seems to be the point where gender roles are facilitated.

Gender stereotypes are therefore also embedded within social structures and are transmitted to each succeeding generation through its socialisation (cf. Basow, 1992: 118). Davidson and Gordon (1979: 2) are of the opinion that some societies are characterised by strong distinctions between traits linked to gender, whilst other societies make fewer and less strong distinctions.

The major socialising agents in our society seem to be the social institutions of the 'family' and 'education', where the appropriate behaviours, attitudes, and motivations of one's own role and the roles of others are formed. Social scientists consequently believe that the environment shapes the gender differences of children. According to Basow (1992: 121) the process of

socialisation begins at birth, with childhood being the most intensive period of socialisation. However, we continue to be socialised throughout our lives, learning more specific versions of gender role requirements and responsibilities as we change social positions. In addition, we learn to recognise pressures to conform even when we don't accept the role definitions others have for us. This process is facilitated *inter alia* by language, (which is an essential part of culture), the school, parents, the media and the church (cf. Popenoe *et al.*, 1998: 255; also Palm-Forster, 2000: 113). The above socialising agents convey powerful ideas about gender relations in their own way. The influence of a number of these socialisation agents will subsequently be addressed.

2.3.2.1 The role of language in gender role development

Some researchers regard language as a force of deception and repression, restriction and exclusion since it is used to dominate women (cf. Popenoe *et al.*, 1998: 255; Kruger, 1997: 17; Basow, 1992: 141; Lips, 1988: 236; Deats and Lenker, 1994: 46; Marland, 1983: 104; and Weir, 1996: 128). For example, the use of male pronouns to designate a person who may either be male or female or to refer to the human species as a (male) whole may be indicated as an indicator of domination of females by males (cf. Davidson and Gordon, 1979: 159). Moreover, the way in which the limits of language and its dissolution are constantly thought of in terms of sexual difference, the way that culture defines and secures their parameters by neglecting women to their outer edge, seem to be the construction of a patriarchal culture. This is achieved through the use of a sacrificial logic which designates femininity as 'otherness,' 'non-identity' and 'negativity' (Weir, 1996: 139).

Furthermore, girls and women are forced to adopt language that keeps them from acting as independent or non-subordinate agents (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 89). The implication is that male speech is associated with superiority and female speech with inferiority. Men further control conversation not only by veto but also

by lack of interest (cf. Nye, 1988: 173). This control is not a peculiarity of male/female relations but of power relations. This idea is supported by Lindsey (1997: 91) who indicates that words assert position and power since sexist language is primary and produces sexist thought, in this way bolstering the notion of female inferiority in the world of male superiority. For example, the female is seen as childlike, powerless, and unable to take care of herself.

Stereotypes are also reflected in the usage of *inter alia* the English and Sesotho languages whereby a person is presumed to be male unless otherwise specified. Traditionally, English ignored the useful existence of women through the use of sexist language such as 'chairman' (Basow, 1992: 141; cf. also Kruger, 1997: 18; Moseitse, 1998: 46). This dominance is also conveyed by the degree to which one controls a conversation: how successful one can interrupt another speaker and how much attention and response one is able to draw from others (cf. Ferree *et al.*, 1999: 250; Lips, 1988: 288). The Sesotho language on the other hand, tends to ignore women's efforts and achievements especially in linguistic terms. For example, a vast collection of Basotho praise poetry is only about men and yet powerful Basotho women who helped in building up the nation are completely ignored. This phenomenon is reflected in Mangoaela's collection of praise poetry, *Lithoko tsa Marena a Basotho* (Mangoaela: 2001), which is a prescribed textbook at secondary schools and at tertiary institutions. Out of a collection of 80 poems, none is about women and yet the men reflected in these collections are supposedly the Basotho warriors. The implication of this is that strong women never existed and therefore are academically ignored.

Lips (1988: 288), further indicates that researchers have found that men talk more than women and that they seem to maintain this state by interrupting women and by not listening or by not responding. This again shows a masculinist mindset embedded in language, indicating that gender identity is learned through the dynamics of identification and language (cf. Gunew, 1991: 212). Language therefore, reflects social definitions of reality because language

itself is an element of culture, which seems to facilitate stereotypes (cf. Davidson and Gordon, 1979: 159).

2.3.2.2 The role of the school in gender role development

Gender stereotypes can also be transmitted in the school when boys and girls are treated differently (cf. Marland, 1983: 2; Popenoe *et al.*, 1998: 251; also Gerlovich, Martin and Sexton, 2002: 150; Palm-Forster, 2000: 55). This allows the school to act as an amplifier for society's stereotypes, although education policies usually dictate equal treatment for both boys and girls. It nevertheless seems that teachers give children the impression that sex is a relevant basis for classifying people. This usually happens when children in the school are assigned 'appropriate' gender roles, such as girls sweeping the classroom while boys do 'masculine' chores such as moving furniture. It is also believed that boys are more likely to receive attention in the classroom by being allowed to talk more, and interrupt more than girls because unlike girls, boys are assumed to be more independent (cf. Francis and Skeleton, 2001: 30-4; Lips, 1988: 238; Davidson and Gordon; 1979: 22; Gerlovich *et al.*, 2002: 152-53). Boys thus tend to gain more confidence, whilst girls develop feelings of helplessness. As a result girls tend to develop a low self-esteem, although it would be incorrect to assume that all girls develop a low self-esteem, because they experience sexism differently.

Another factor that facilitates female role development in the school is instructional materials such as textbooks which portray women are less visible than men. Boys in these texts are portrayed as villains, whereas in the few texts where women feature, they are portrayed as manipulative, tricky and witch-like using guile in the absence of direct power (cf. Lips, 1988: 238).

The school also facilitates gender stereotypes through the curriculum. This can be attributed to the fact that curricula are often gendered (cf. Coffey and

Delamont, 2000: 31). For example, in Lesotho, the gender role of a girl is blamed for her poor performance in Mathematics. For instance, among secondary school students, boys tend to choose Mathematics as a subject, because it is considered as “difficult”, and therefore a “male” subject. The stigma attached to Mathematics performance is a result of the environment or cultural conditioning (cf. Nenty, 2000: 109). This stigma attached to Mathematics is based on the general belief to label any difficult, dangerous and challenging task to masculinity and those that are humane, caring and easy to femininity. This perception, according to Nenty (2000: 109) conditions and influences the learner’s thinking about different subjects. Thus Mathematics, which is branded as difficult will be associated with boys, while “easy” subjects will be perceived suitable for females.

Furthermore, gender stereotypes in the school seem to be facilitated by teachers through the hidden curriculum. For example, children come to school with little or no knowledge and teachers, as agents trusted to install knowledge in these children, meet them with “strong” views of what constitute “girlishness” or “boyishness” (Marland, 1983: 1). These stereotypic attitudes are installed in children through the hidden and unintentional curriculum. The hidden curriculum operates through the behaviour and mannerisms of the teacher and is often unintentional, which means that teachers may not be aware of stereotypes they convey to the children (cf. Moseitse, 1998: 48). This happens because in most cases children regard their teachers as role models and often copy whatever they do.

Teachers also contribute to the establishment of sex roles through their attitudes. Children are expected to conform to teachers’ expectations. For example, teachers perceive girls to be submissive, calm and co-operative and are likely to conform to “girlish” expectations and roles. This is highlighted by the fact that children observe women teachers occupying roles in the “subservience positions” (Basow, 1992: 152), while male teachers occupy leadership positions, such as sports coaches, principals, heads of departments and co-ordinators (cf. Moseitse,

1998: 45). In addition, almost all the stakeholders in education appear to discourage women from pursuing scientific careers (Gerlovish *et al.*, 2002: 150). Gerlovich *et al.*, (2002: 150) are also of the opinion that most elementary school teachers are often women who lack confidence or little background on science subjects and therefore carry their fears and uncertainties over to their students, thus reinforcing their stereotypic beliefs that women are not destined to pursue science. This may be attributed to the perception that women tend to blame their failures in life to a lack of intellectual ability. The implication of the above assumptions is that girls lack “appropriate” role models, which results in male domination in the field of science (cf. also Nenty, 2000: 109). From the above arguments, it seems evident that the school as a socialising factor operates under traditional stereotypic gendered beliefs and ill-functions as sexist amplifiers which treat children as boys and girls and not as individuals.

2.3.2.3 The role of the family/parents in gender role development

Parents are the primary educators and as such they hold the responsibility for teaching children who they are, what they are, what they should expect in life and how to behave towards other people. The family can thus be viewed as an agent of social organisation and regulation as it sets out to be the basis for society's definition and expectations about the behaviour of its members (cf. Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2000: 52). This socialisation process begins from the moment that parents learn the sex of their children and continues throughout the children's lives.

Children in the family set-up are socialised differently, and this usually results in parents steering their offspring towards 'appropriate' gender roles (cf. *supra*: 2.3.2.2). Basow (1992: 130) identifies this as differential treatment. For example, boys are discouraged to cry, and have to control their emotions when they experience painful situations, hence the expression 'tigers don't cry', while this is not the case with girls, since girls are believed to be weak. By so doing,

boys are reared to be more competitive and success-oriented than girls (cf. Booyesen and De Witt, 1994: 81). Differential treatment can also be attributed to the way in which parents were socialised, which means that their beliefs and values will affect their parenting skills. For example, if parents were socialised to believe in gender roles, either male or female, it is more likely that these roles will be passed on to their children either consciously or unconsciously.

Another example can be drawn from Basow (1992: 130) who reported that the strongest evidence of differential parental treatment appears in parents' reaction to their children's behaviour. As such parents will react negatively when girls show behaviour that is "normally" associated with boys and vice versa. This also becomes prominent in toy selection where certain toys will be bought for girls and others for boys. Parents also assign household chores that are associated with women to girls, while boys would be assigned to "manly" chores.

2.3.2.4 The role of the media in gender role development

The media, either visual or auditive is another structure that socialises gender roles. It imposes ideological views of gender roles directly or indirectly (cf. Davidson and Gordon, 1979: 167). In television, for example, men appear more than women do and if women by any chance acquire a role, it is shown in a narrow setting and activity. Women are thus restricted to activities stereotyped as uniquely feminine and do little that is not sex-typed (cf. Kruger, 1997: 21). Men are however, portrayed in television as powerful and violent, doing heroic things outside the home. If women are shown working outside the home, it is almost always traditional female occupations such as in nursing, teaching and secretarial occupations (cf. Popenoe, 1998: 170; Davidson and Gordon, 1979: 167). Villains in television are rarely women and if they land the role of a villain, it is through indirect, manipulative, witch-like control of others, rather than through the exercise of power or force.

In the printed media, from elementary school textbooks to newspapers, female stereotypes about women are also promoted. For example, images of women in magazines, reinforced through advertisements, testify to the glory of shining kitchen floors, soft toilet tissue and washing powders, because stereotypes place women as homemakers. Davidson and Gordon (1979: 166) are of the opinion that men, portrayed as powerful in a menacing or destructive way, is a dominant theme in the media. This implies that the media is a strong socialisation agent and provides images that both reflect and reinforce gender roles.

In addition, women are still judged mainly on their physical attributes, for example, beautiful actresses are still used on television to portray what is called “sex appeal” to the audience and similarly, the advertising world still use women to sell products (cf. Popenoe, 1998: 170). Beautiful models are used for example, to sell “manly items” by conveying wrong messages about women. In some television and printed advertisements women are not only portrayed to maintain stereotypic images but are also portrayed as sex objects (cf. Furnham, 1993: 297-310; and also Palm-Forster, 2000: 61). For example, car advertisements use female pictures to appeal to men and lure them into buying the cars.

2.3.2 5 The role of the church in gender role development

It appears that the church, as a socialisation force contributes a great deal to the subordination of women. For example, according to the Jewish and Christian religions, God created women as “helpmates” of men (Lindsey, 1997: 300). This idea, together with the story of creation in the Bible that God created Eve (woman), from the ribs of Adam (man), are, in the opinion of Goduka (1999: 128), the rationalisation of patriarchy. This is probably the reason why in most religions, power and prestige have been exclusively reserved for males, and since religion usually encourages the subordination of women to men, the ideal norm for women is regarded as submissive behaviour.

According to some researchers, oppressive functions of religion do not only determine what happens within religion but also supports similar values and norms that exist in other institutions such as education and politics (cf. Popenoe *et al.*, 1998: 327). For example, in Lesotho the population is predominantly Christian with the Catholic Church claiming a membership of more than 60% of the population. Women, however, occupy peripheral roles in the churches despite the fact that they make up the majority of practising Christians (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 27). This phenomenon affects society as a whole since Lesotho is a Christianity-based country and most of the schools are owned by the church. Women are subsequently denied leadership positions in governing bodies of schools apart from the cases where nuns are allowed leadership roles because of their position in the church.

In conclusion, it seems that socialisation processes can be identified as powerful forms of social control since values and norms are imposed on individuals to the extent that people accept given definitions of gender roles in such a way that these definitions police their own behaviour (cf. Davidson and Gordon, 1979: 9).

2.4 THEORIES OF SOCIALISATION

From the preceding paragraphs it appears that socialisation seems to be the basis for different roles that individuals play throughout life. It is through culture and societal knowledge that socialisation becomes directional (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 57). Socialisation is thus described by anthropologists as the process by which individuals learn the culture of their society or group (cf. O'Connell, 1994: 40; also Palm-Forster, 2000: 45). It has been shown (cf. *supra*: 2.3.2.3) that in the process of gender role development, the family is regarded as the primary site where young children learn to become 'social beings' (cf. Popenoe, 1998: 80; also Palm-Forster, 2000: 47-53). Apart from the family, through other socialisation agents, such as *inter alia* the school, children acquire behaviour

patterns and language skills which reflect deeply embedded stereotypes of expected gender roles.

Socialisation is further believed to be instrumental in the survival and development of individuals and the general survival and effective operation of society. It seems that individuals learn the ways of the group as well as acquiring the intellectual, physical and moral tools needed to function in society. Ritzer (1998: 100) is of the opinion that socialisation is also needed for the discipline of individuals to restrain the “passions” that engulf them in an attempt to define their goals and to set their limits. It is important though, to understand that socialisation is a lifelong process which does not only apply to children but to all members of a group or society in the development of gender roles and stereotypes.

2.4.1 The Social Learning Theory

According to behaviourist psychologists learning takes place through three processes, namely classical conditioning, instrumental or operant conditioning and observational learning (cf. Louw *et al.*, 1999: 57). For purposes of this thesis only observational learning will be discussed, since it seems to be the basis of the social learning theory.

According to social learning theorists, behaviour is learnt through observation of other people's behaviour (Louw *et al.*, 1999: 57; Booyesen *et al.*, 1995: 5; Mwamwenda, 1996: 203-204; and Lips, 1988: 43). Children most likely imitate models that are readily available and perceived as powerful, nurturant and similar to themselves (cf. Moseitse, 1998: 38). The same sex parent would thus exert the most effective influence on the child. When children further observe women doing household chores, they begin to associate women with female roles. The same happens when men do ‘manly’ things such as washing the car or working in the garden. In this way children begin to develop their own gender identity (cf. Louw *et al.*, 1998: 291; also Palm-Forster, 2000: 45-55), especially by also

associating themselves with behaviour that is rewarded. When associating themselves with 'manly' or 'womanly' things, children are sometimes rewarded for such "gender appropriate" behaviour, thus reinforcing particular gender roles. Rewarded behaviour will thus become the basis for their gender identity. Furthermore, the child's behaviour is guided in accordance with social values, norms, and beliefs to enable him/her to adjust successfully. For example, if a child is socialised within a domineering structure, she/he will grow up the way she/he was socialised: domineering. The social theory has two distinct products: the formation of gender identity and the learning of gender roles, which include idealised aspects and the common role enactment or behaviour attached to that identity. The core of this theory is especially that behaviour is learnt through imitation, trial and error and peer model observation, and that children learn their roles directly through differential treatment, rewards, punishment and through observational modelling (cf. Halpern, 1986: 10).

Humanistic social learning theorists identified factors that shape behaviour, being the person, the situation and the behaviour resulting from the situation (cf. Booyesen *et al.*, 1995: 5). Children learn gender roles in two distinctive ways according to social learning theorists, namely differential reinforcement, as well as observation and modelling (cf. Louw *et al.*, 1999: 291). Differential reinforcement refers to the encouragement and rewards for gender appropriate behaviour and punishment for gender inappropriate behaviour (cf. Moseitse, 1998: 38). This type of behaviour reinforcement occurs when children learn to anticipate doing "boy" things or "girl" things. Boys thus learn to be masculine and girls learn to be feminine because appropriate gender role behaviour is rewarded, while inappropriate behaviour is ignored or punished.

Differential treatment also becomes apparent when in some cultures (for example, the Basotho culture) pregnancy is gender-labelled as soon as the pregnancy becomes visible. If a pregnant woman's facial appearance changes, for example, the nose and the mouth seem to become bigger, it will supposedly

be due to the fact that she is going to have a boy and if there are no changes, she is going to have a girl. This can be attributed to the perception that men are so powerful that even before birth they change the mother's appearance. According to Louw *et al.*, (1999: 291), this is a result of the fact that parents attribute certain characteristics to their babies whereby girls are seen as smaller, slighter, softer and boys as stronger and "harder" than girls. This becomes the basis for gender identity. It thus emphasises the importance of the environment in the child's gender development (cf. Basow, 1992: 121).

2.4.2 Cognitive Development Theory

The basis of the cognitive development theory is the idea that children need to possess the intellectual capacity to label themselves as female or male (cf. Lips, 1988: 46). According to this theory, once children have categorised themselves as male or female with certainty, they will use this as an organising focus for attaching value to behaviours and thus developing the self-concept of gender (cf. Louw *et al.*, 1999: 293). The implication of this is that they organise their world on the basis of gender. Some psychologists believe gender cannot be learnt until the child reaches a particular stage of intellectual development, which is between the ages of 3-5 (cf. Lips, 1988: 46; also Ferree, 1999: 147). The assumption is thus that the child has to develop cognitive skills in order to develop a gender role (cf. Louw *et al.*, 1999: 293). This means that children should first understand themselves as male or female in order to develop 'appropriate' gender roles.

This theory also portrays children as actively searching for cues as to how to behave competently and correctly rather than being passively shaped by environmental forces (cf. Mwamwenda, 1996: 89). At first, the gender identity is not stable. Children appear to be confused about whether their sex can be changed easily and what characteristics truly determine sex assignment (cf. Cook, 1985: 12). This argument is also supported by Piaget's theory of information processing which is based on the individual's ability to think, reason,

interpret, acquire knowledge, understand, remember and organise information (cf. Mwamwenda, 1996: 89).

The cognitive development theory further links the progressive acquisition of sex-typing to more general maturation in children's thinking processes. They actively create their gender identity and associated stereotypes and values through their efforts to understand the world around them (cf. Louw and Edwards, 1999: 294; Cook, 1985: 11). It can be concluded therefore, that gender roles are dependent on cognitive development. According to Freud (as cited in Mannathoko, 1996: 3), the beginning of children's recognition of their biological differences is the period in which children discover their physiological differences. This idea is supported by Cook (1985: 11), who indicates that qualitative changes in children's thinking processes lead to changes in their perception of themselves and others. Cognitive developmental theorists consequently identified three development stages, namely:

Gender identity, i.e. children's knowledge of themselves as male or female. This develops approximately at the age of three.

Gender stability, i.e. the knowledge that gender identity remains stable over time. This develops after children have established a gender identity at approximately four years of age.

Gender constancy, i.e. the knowledge that a person's gender also remains stable over situations. This develops at ages five to seven. Children now realise that a person's gender is unchangeable. The concept of gender is therefore established (cf. Louw *et al.*, 1999: 294).

The cognitive development theory is, however, criticised for the assumption that gender constancy should be attained before children seek information regarding gender-appropriate behaviour from role models of the same sex. The critics maintain that it seems, according to cognitive development theorists that children already possess certain stereotypes regarding gender-appropriate behaviour

long before the age of five. This implies that children only need basic knowledge of gender to acquire gender preferences and stereotypes (cf. Louw *et. al.*, 1999: 294), and that they are passive recipients although they are actively involved in their socialisation.

2.4.3 Psychoanalysis Theory

The main idea behind the psychoanalysis theory, which is the brainchild of behaviourist Sigmund Freud, is that the child's personality is shaped by childhood experiences. For example, the influences of the same sex parent's gender perspectives are likely to impact on the child's gender role development (cf. Basow, 1992: 121). The theory further explains that acquisition of gender identity is a total psychological process in which children are born psychosexually neutral, later learning gender identity from the same sex parent. Pioneers of this theory regard gender differences as hereditary due to a belief that the unconscious sexual drives direct man's (referring to both men and women) conscious life and affect both men and women differently in their daily efforts (cf. Booyesen and De Witt, 1995: 75).

This theory is centred on the idea that the clitoris (a female organ), is regarded as an undeveloped penis. Freud is of the opinion that girls at some stage realise that they are castrated and thus regard themselves as inferior. This happens during the phallic stage when children realise that their sexual organs are different. Freud was of the opinion that between the ages of three to six, children begin to recognise the anatomical distinction separating the sexes, and he calls this the phallic stage (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 44). This creates a feeling of inferiority in women resulting in their personalities becoming labile (cf. Booyesen and De Witt, 1995: 75). Primarily, boys initially identify themselves with their mothers as their love-objects. This leads to a desire for complete union with her. Boys, however, abandon their desire for their mothers out of fear of being castrated by their fathers, should the fathers realise that the boys desire their mothers sexually. This is believed to happen when boys realise that females are castrated and

imagines this to be their fate should they not subordinate their desire for the mothers. The implication is that boys repress their desire for their mothers and come to terms with reality and wait for the day when they will be patriarchs. This means that they eventually thus identify with the fathers. By identifying themselves with the fathers, boys are able to secure their mother's love and care while simultaneously developing masculine values and characteristics (cf. Basow, 1992: 119; Booyesen and De Witt, 1995: 75; and Lips, 1988: 34) and thus securing the symbolic role of manhood. In the case of the boy, the libido is transferred to the mother, with the father becoming an element of jealousy of the mother's love. This is called the Oedepus complex. In his discovery that girls lack a penis, the boy develops what is termed 'castration anxiety' (Lindsey, 1997: 44). It is believed that by identifying with the father in the case of a boy, is a way to allay the fear of penis removal.

Girls, according to Freud, who are similarly attached to their mothers, believe that the male penis is a symbol of power denied to them and thus directs their love towards their fathers. This too happens when they realise that they have been castrated. Lindsey (1997: 44) indicates that this "penis envy" becomes so intense that the girl wishes that she were a boy and regards her mother as inferior since the mother too lacks a penis. This process is called the Electra complex. At this stage the girls' libido is transferred to their fathers, thus making the fathers elements of love in an attempt to seduce them. When the seduction fails, the resolution then comes when the girl's wish for a penis is replaced by her wish to have a child, especially a male child. In this way the girl begins to identify with her mother and identifies herself with the feminine role, thus abandoning clitoral stimulation for vaginal penetration, which is proclaimed as a sign of maturity for women. The identification with the mother also occurs because the girl is afraid to forfeit her mother's love and therefore adopts the mother as an identification model (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 44). This theory, however complicated it may seem, appears to underline the fact that sex role identification is socially and not biologically determined.

2.4.4 Gender Schema Theory

According to this view, sex-typing is derived mainly from gender schematic processing, namely readiness on the part of the child to encode and organise information according to the cultural definition of gender roles (cf. Basow, 1992: 125). Basow (1992: 125), further states that by observing the distinctions made between males and females in their culture, children not only learn specific content of gender roles, but also that gender and gender distinctions are important. The acquired gender schema is thus a cognitive structure that guides the way individuals process information (cf. Lips, 1988: 48).

The gender schema theory is compatible with the cognitive development theory in two ways, namely: the fact that it helps to interpret perceptions of the world, and also that children have to process gender related information appropriately before a schema can be developed (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 44). Furthermore, children must be at the cognitive level to identify gender accurately (Lips, 1988: 48). According to the gender schema theory, once a child learns appropriate cultural definitions of gender, this becomes the key structure around which all other information is organised (cf. Lips, 1988: 48). Gender schema theorists maintain that children adjust their behaviour appropriately, depending on the cultural prescription of appropriate sex roles (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 44) for example the Sesotho culture perceives boys crying as a sign of weakness. It is normal for every human being to feel pain and yet according to the Sesotho culture, boys are expected to suppress their feelings because of cultural and societal prescriptions. This is further facilitated by expressions such as "*monna ke nku ha a lle*", which when translated means that men are sheep and are not supposed to cry, an equivalent to 'tigers don't cry'. Furthermore, as children develop gender schemas, they increasingly use them as key organising perspectives. According to gender schema theorists, a person who has a strong schema for femininity or masculinity would tend to spontaneously organise incoming information about themselves around the notion of gender rather than around other notions, which could lead to stereotypes (cf. Lips, 1988: 44).

2.5 PATRIARCHY AS A DECISIVE FACTOR IN GENDER STEREOTYPING

Against the background of the preceding socialisation theories and the factors that influence gender role development (cf. *supra*: 2.2.1), it seems appropriate to focus on patriarchy since it seems to be one of the most important forces that underlie the development of gender roles and stereotypes.

The term 'patriarchy' can be traced to a time in history when social scientists used the concept to refer to a system of government in which men used their position as heads of households to rule societies (cf. Walby, 1997: 19). The usage of the term has, however, changed and been corrupted to describe the domination of women. Many definitions of patriarchy have been put forward, but for the purpose of this study patriarchy will be understood to mean a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (cf. Lepphoto, 1995: 2). Patriarchy can thus also refer to a system of male domination and male power, which controls women through economic dependence and an ideology that supports and justifies the subordination of women by men and regulates relations between them (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 38). Walby (1997: 5) identifies six structures under which patriarchy operates as the following:

- The mode of production that allocates household duties to women;
- structures within the economic sphere that discriminate against women by giving them less opportunities than men for equal work, or allocating them only low-paying and unattractive work;
- the state as an institution that enforces and maintains patriarchy;
- male violence against women practised at an individual level and reinforced through lack of intervention;
- cultural institutions such as religion, educational institutions and the media that create particular roles for women; and

- sexuality as a form of female control by men (cf. Lepphoto, 1995: 2; and also Walby, 1997: 5).

Through the above structures, patriarchy becomes a social arrangement in which men hold economic and material power (cf. Basow, 1992: 98). It also seems that patriarchy has many faces and women experience it in all sectors of their lives. Examples of domains in which women experience patriarchy are:

- Social - socialisation of boys and girls in the family is different. This means that boys and girls are indoctrinated to respond and behave differently.
- Sexual - men and women are expected by society to behave in 'manly' and 'womanly' manners.
- Religion - religious practices often restrict women to subordinate positions.
- The economy - the allocation of jobs differs on the basis of gender, and so do the wages.
- Politics - women generally occupy subordinate positions in political life.
- Traditional - women have to conform to what their culture and tradition dictate as their role.
- Within the family, especially the extended family in the case of Lesotho dictates what constitutes a wife, a mother, and a woman (cf. Lepphoto, 1995: 3).

It appears thus that patriarchy has embedded itself as a decisive force in the acquisition of gender roles. The force of patriarchy is, however, so strong that it seems to have assumed ideological status. It thus appears appropriate at this stage, to briefly investigate the nature of an ideology, to illustrate that we indeed have a fully-fledged ideology in “the supremacy of the fathers”.

2.5.1 The nature of an ideology

As a concept, ideology is complicated and a single accurate definition seems elusive. For the purpose of this thesis the usage of ideology will be understood to mean the way in which 'relations of domination' between social groups are structured by means of various strategies (cf. Visagie, 1998: 3).

It appears that ideologies develop in good faith as a legitimate ideal and yet at a later stage conformity to the ideal becomes apparent. For example, one may have an honest ideal to balance the relations of power by fighting against women's subordination but when such an idea becomes an obsession, it changes into an ideal resulting in the idea being idolised. The implication of this is that once the idea is idolised, any measure to pursue the goal of that ideal will be taken (cf. Van der Walt, 1994: 337; Schoeman, 2004: 98). Van der Walt (1994: 337) maintains that by so doing, "the idea is now no longer in service of man - man is now in service of the idea". This is referred to as the elevation of a norm into a hypernorm (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 300), thus dominating all other norms. To create a better understanding, the main characteristics of an ideology will be briefly summarised:

- An ideology assumes an almost "religious status", as it serves its idolised norm or idea.
- Reality is viewed by those in the grip of an ideology in a reduced manner - part of reality is seen as the "total reality", ultimately leading to a "tunnel vision", which ignores a certain state of affairs, whilst making use of methods of coercion and oppression.
- It adversely affects every aspect of human existence, every facet of human culture, and every structure of society, which implies that it brings about the domination of some people by others.
- The ideological justification of an idea or objective ignores other valid claims and interests and does not tolerate criticism.

- It uses every means of power (the end justifies the means) in its pursuit of supremacy.
- It adjusts norms to suit its purpose; and
- it uses certain strategies to sustain its structures of domination (cf. Van der Walt, 1994: 356-362; also Coetzee, 2001: 301; Schoeman, 2004: 98).

The idea of patriarchy may have developed as the result of the elevation of the perception that originates from the original Latin meaning of the term patriarchy, "father right" (Mackenzie, 1992: 22), which gave men a position of leadership as fathers of society. It appears that this perception was, however, promoted and absolutised to the position of a hypernorm thus subordinating other forms of social intercourse. A hypernorm is formed when a norm is regarded as more important than any other norm, and dictates behaviour. The "leadership norm" of the fathers, according to Coetzee (2001: 301), was thus extended to other spheres of societal interaction thereby putting women in a subordinate position and thus changing and affecting the relationship between men and women. This implies that as men assumed leadership roles, they also assumed the task of being protectors of the family thus giving men an advantageous position over women, resulting in women occupying an inferior position in society. In what follows, patriarchy will be investigated against the background of the most important characteristics of an ideology

2.5.1.1 Patriarchy assumes religious status

It appears that ideology provides its own system of values in an attempt to justify its objectives. These values consequently regulate human behaviour and function as a pseudo-religion (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 301; Goudzwaard, 1984: 75). This means that the final ideological destination is perceived to be "in line with the will of God" (Schoeman, 1993: 59; cf. also Coetzee, 2001: 301). This occurs for example, when the scriptures are interpreted by ideologues to suit their image of man as superior to the female species. Patriarchy for example, is sometimes

explained in terms of the Biblical creation of man and woman, whereby it is stated that a woman (Eve) was created from one of the ribs of man (Adam) (Genesis 2: 21-22). Patriarchal adherents use this part of scripture to justify the subordinate position of women. By so doing, scripture is also interpreted in a manner that suits the justification, thereby ignoring 'all other valid claims'. Van der Walt (1994: 160-161) indicates that these interpretations are not based on explication, but on *eisegesis* (reading into) of scripture of which the foundation cannot be substantiated. Van Der Walt (1994: 160-61; cf. also Coetzee, 2001: 301) further indicates that the idolised nature of the ideal of patriarchy literally implies "that the rule of the fathers" is made into an idol, thus a supposed god. This results in all behaviour and attitudes being directed towards serving the supposed god. Patriarchy ideologues therefore, believe and honour their man-made god, created in the image of man.

2.5.1.2 Patriarchy views reality in a reductionist way

When the ideology of the "supremacy of the fathers" elevates the ideal of the father as the head of the family to a position of paramount importance, it engulfs all other relationships and all other aspects of reality, and part of reality is thus regarded as a total reality. According to Schoeman (1993: 12), this phenomenon represents a "warped" perspective of reality. For example, women are indoctrinated to believe that this distorted interpretation of reality is guided by genuine, honest beliefs, whereas these interpretations are merely used to justify why men reign supreme. This state of affairs is facilitated through theories such as the biological difference theory, which uses explanations such as the human anatomy to justify women's inferiority, and devised to convince women to accept the order of things as 'natural' and not to question it (Mackenzie, 1992: 24). Coetzee (2001: 301) indicates that to regard women as inferior profits the interest of the ideology, and also women appear to have accepted their subordinate status.

2.5.1.3 Ideology affects every aspect of society

It has also come into view that patriarchy affects every aspect of women's lives, which includes their access to economic resources. For example, due to colonisation, Basotho women were faced with the dilemma of the exodus of men who are traditionally heads of households to the mines of South Africa and thus leaving women as *de facto* heads of families (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 24). The implication is that women were left with an economic burden that forced them to move to the urban areas, where they were met with “severe discrimination in the men’s world”, such as low-paying jobs.

In addition, the state of patriarchy affecting all aspects of life becomes prominent for example, when women still do not enjoy the freedom of thought and action conducive to personal growth because patriarchy makes women believe that they are inferior and keeps them from attempting to liberate themselves (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 301; also Ramphele, 1995: 39). Furthermore, there are still economic, legal, political, social and cultural barriers that hinder their participation as full members of society. This happens it appears, through institutions such as the school and the church. In the field of education, women are marginalised because the delivery of education is constructed in such a manner that stereotyped roles of men and women play a great part. For example, the submissive role played by women is emphasised and the supposedly leadership roles of men are emphasised. Traditionally women are also less frequently appointed in leadership roles, especially in the governing of schools. It appears that women are discriminated against by adherents of the ideology, thereby mobilising every means to attain the goal of supremacy. Lastly, it appears that seven years after the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, women are still confronted with unequal power relations, lack of decision-making participation, inequality with regard to family responsibilities, and they still constitute 70% of the world’s poor (Beijing Declaration Platform of Action, 1995: 2) and yet according to I (1994: 3) they represent over 50% of the world’s population.

2.5.1.4 Ideology ignores all other valid claims and does not tolerate criticism

Ideology can also be defined in terms of its absolutist nature (Schoeman, 2004: 14), because it accommodates “unassailable ideas, judgements, perceptions and principles”, which results in illusory suppositions that become prerequisites to fanaticism, intolerance and rejection of opposing viewpoints.

To justify the “supremacy of the fathers” for example, intelligent arguments are used and valid claims that women are not inferior to men are ignored (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 301). Theories such as the Oedepus complex are used as tools to justify women's inferior status and physical differences are used to facilitate these ideological beliefs. These differences are not looked upon as merely biological differences, but as reasons for women's inferiority. In the field of education, stereotypes formed by patriarchy deny women managerial positions since their nature is defined to be unsuitable to be “leaders of men”. Under the influence of this ideology girls hesitate to pursue subjects such as Mathematics. Traditionally female-oriented subjects orientate girls and women to study for traditional female jobs such as nursing and teaching (cf. Letuka *et.al.*, 1997: 28). Boys on the other hand, are geared towards “more important” career choices such as medicine, and engineering. Walby (1997: 20) states that women are deemed to be less skilled. If measures such as affirmative action are taken to redress the problem and women are placed in managerial positions, such measures are belittled and doubted (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 301). If for example, valid claims that dispute stereotypes are put forward, often supported by research, such claims are ignored (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 301; also Basow, 1992: 38; Brannon, 1995: 77; Feree *et al.*, 1999: 373; Lemmer, 1993: 21; Kaplan, 1994: 786-799; and Louw *et al.*, 1999: 11).

2.5.1.5 Ideology misuses power on the road to supremacy

One of the characteristics of an ideology is that all the means of power are used in order to pursue supremacy of the elevated ideal.

Under the influence of patriarchy, and in pursuit of power, men limit women's access to economic and political power (cf. Popenoe *et al.*, 1998: 252). This situation is especially prominent in the education system, which is 'female dominated', and yet women continue to occupy low echelons, and in most cases this happens despite their academic and service achievements (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 47). Unequal relations of power in the education sector can thus be attributed to the ideology which also monopolises status positions in important social, economic, legal and religious institutions (Feree *et al.*, 1997: 373). This probably occurs because the ideology of patriarchy socialises women to believe that they are incapable intellectually, and therefore unable to handle managerial status. It seems thus that some men, especially driven by cultural practices, and regardless of their patriarchal hierarchical status, are able to control women (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 301), and are united in their pursuit of power. The problem, according to Abrahams (2001: 75) is a patriarchal culture, which normalises rape, and a gendered structure of economic inequality which often renders women economically dependent on their abusers”.

2.5.1.6 Patriarchy and strategies to sustain structures of domination

True to its characteristics, in an effort to secure and establish power, an ideology uses certain strategies, such as manipulation of language and symbols to sustain its power structures (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 303). In the classroom situation, for example, certain structures of the English language may be used to sustain male supremacy. These include the use of gendered language that automatically and unconsciously brainwash children and influence their gender relations (cf. *supra*: 2.3.2). According to Coetzee (2001: 303) language mechanisms such as the

above are primarily subtle and their application is a result of 'ideological convictions'. In service of the ideological conviction, strategies such as legitimisation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and eternalisation are used, thus guaranteeing the conviction of such beliefs. In the following paragraphs the above strategies will be briefly discussed:

Legitimation

Women's domination, in this case, is perpetuated and portrayed as legitimate, based on rational, traditional and charismatic grounds (cf. Mosetse, 1998: 90; also Coetzee, 2001: 303). An example of this is when a leader (in this case a man) is believed to possess exceptional, even God-given abilities (cf. Popenoe, 1998: 350). In this case the ideology of patriarchy is used to make people believe in the legality of men's oppression since they are socialised to believe in the superiority of men. For example, according to the Basotho custom, when a woman gets married, she automatically becomes a minor (cf. Letuka *et. al.*, 1998: 36) and when her husband dies, she becomes the possession of his elder brother. Under the influence of the belief in the "supremacy of the fathers", this practice is legitimate and is not questioned. This situation occurs regardless of whether the marriage is civil or customary.

In addition, the legitimisation of the subordinate status of women often rests on the assumed Christian norm of 'total commitment', whereby women are encouraged to be submissive to men. Such beliefs are rationalised and justified through the use of social relations or institutions. For example, women in Lesotho are deliberately excluded in leadership positions such as managing schools because it is assumed that they may fall pregnant, which will cause them to be absent from work. Women consequently do not question their exclusion from such positions since the practice is legitimised and they are implicitly coerced into believing that they are not sufficiently competent. Social institutions are sometimes also used to serve only the interests of the dominant group. For example, the separation of boys from girls in some schools leads to boys doing

different subjects to girls. Usually boys would be taking courses that are perceived as 'marketable' in their world of work. Assumed gender roles are used in this case to deny girls the opportunity to compete with boys.

Dissimulation

This occurs when domineering strategies are used to deceive, conceal, and obscure the truth. Such strategies include displacement, which occurs for example, when women are portrayed by instructional materials as mere possessions of men who never have to work (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 303). For example, textbooks portray women as mothers, nannies, queens, fairies and witches. This brainwashes children to believe that women are incapable to participate in other spheres of life. In this way, the traditional female-oriented jobs in which women are found in the economic system are not portrayed, thus displacing the idea that women contribute significantly to the economy.

Another strategy used is 'euphemisation.' It occurs when the meaning of social relations is altered and redefined to brainwash and reassure those that are dominated (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 303). For example, in the Basotho culture women are supposedly bearers of hardship, hence the expression *mangoana u ts'oara thipa ka bohale*, when the intention of such thoughts is only meant to maintain and make women accept their submissive roles. Furthermore, the idea that women are perceived as the best teachers because of their nurturing abilities is used to make women accept the role of an ordinary teacher, and not a leader of society (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 302; also Gender Equity Task Team, 1997: 11).

Unification

The exclusion of women is sometimes achieved through the use of a collective identity. In Lesotho for example, there are men-only church denominations whose aims seem to be the promotion of male values and 'unification of the male' sex, thus guaranteeing the subordinate position of women. This results in men occupying leadership positions in the church. This collective identity strategy is

also used in the justice system where only men attend the traditional '*khotla*' where they assemble to discuss family matters and social issues or settle disputes. In the same vein, leadership positions in education in Lesotho have also assumed a collective male identity, to the exclusion of women.

Fragmentation

Sometimes fragmentation is also used to perpetuate relations of power in society. An example is the use of negative expressions to describe groups that 'effectively' strive for women's equality, hence the use of the name 'Beijing' (after the Beijing conference on women held in China in 1995). The name is used negatively in Lesotho to describe any individual or organisation involved in women's matters. Furthermore, it is used to refer to groups that appear to effectively challenge unequal power relations (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 304), by pinpointing the differences, distinctions, and divisions amongst feminist discourse. This is done as an attempt to "dis-unite" feminists thus preventing any threat of challenging the existing power relations (Coetzee, 2001: 302).

Eternalisation

Eternalisation occurs when power relations are portrayed and kept intact through the use of customs, traditions and history to guarantee rigidity that is unlikely to be disrupted. For example, God is portrayed as a man rather than as a woman. In Lesotho for example, there is a strong perception that women should not wear pants when attending church services. This is applicable to the Catholic church, and since the church predominantly owns most of Lesotho schools, this rule also applies to women in the teaching service. However, the reason cited for this is that the Sesotho culture does not allow women to wear pants. There are no valid arguments given to justify this belief. The implication of this is that supposed Basotho customs are used to suit patriarchal beliefs. They are also used to exercise male power over women. In the Catholic Church in Lesotho the Parish Council, which is responsible for the governing of the church and which is

dominated by men is responsible for such rules, thus guaranteeing rigidity that is unlikely to be disrupted.

2.5.1.7 An ideology adjusts its norms to suit its purpose

This happens when an ideal is elevated above other norms and values to assume the status of a "hypernorm", and all other legitimate values are devalued and reduced to a subordinate position (cf. Coetzee, 2001: 302; and Schoeman, 1993: 3; Goudzwaard, 1984: 23). In the case of patriarchy, the superior status of men, it appears, seems to have been elevated to the position of a 'hypernorm' in such a manner that behaviour is being regulated by the ideological ideas, thus subjugating other values and standards. Furthermore, negative connotations are attached to the attempts of the dominated group (women) in their quest for equality. This is done deliberately to 'suit the purpose' of the ideal of patriarchy. The following exposition shows how patriarchy adjusts specific norms and principles to perpetuate women's subordination.

Patriarchy observes the norms of fairness, impartiality, tolerance and absence of prejudice according to its own perception thereof. Through the use of selective legislation and administration of justice, women are subordinated, and this is justified as being in accordance with the patriarchal perception of fairness and tolerance. The subordination of women thus occurs when attitudes, legal acts, and customs are used to legitimate the inferior status of women (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 70). Current provision and rights in constitutions granted to women in the name of the principle of equality do not change women's position, since in most cases these rights exist on paper and are not applied consistently. In the teaching service in Lesotho, powerful women are mostly only appointed in semi-leadership posts such as deputy-principals. In the eyes of adherents of patriarchy, it seems fair and just to appoint women in such positions, for in semi-leadership posts they would still be under the supervision of a man – to be protected and shown the way! Furthermore according to the Basotho custom an

heir in the family is the eldest male. This custom has, however, found its way through legislation in the country such that the *King's Office Order* requires the succession of kingship in the country to be according to the male-line. In this case customs are manipulated to suit the needs of patriarchy adherents.

Boudon, cited in Schoeman (2004: 10) further explains the concept ideology in terms of the following features which seem to be common in all ideologies:

- The explicit nature of their formulation.
- Their wish to rally people to a particular positive or normative belief.
- Their desire to be distinct from other belief systems past or present.
- Their rejection of innovation.
- The intolerant nature of their precepts.
- The affective way they are promulgated.
- The adherence they demand.
- Their association with institutions responsible for reinforcing and putting into effect the belief system in question.

Having focussed on patriarchy as a determinant in the submissive position of women, it seems inevitable to investigate the feminist reaction to the ideology of patriarchy.

2.6 FEMINISM AS A REACTION TO THE IDEOLOGY OF PATRIARCHY

Farganis (1994: 15) describes feminism as an

[i]deology' or 'belief system', an integrated set of theoretical assumptions that, taken together, structure a worldview that its adherents take to be true.

This section is aimed at investigating and evaluating feminism, since it appears to have evolved as a movement geared towards challenging the ideology of patriarchy and yet it appears that the characteristics of an ideology are also

present in some forms of feminism. This is supported by Lindsey (1997: 13) and Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* (2000: 16), when indicating that feminism seems to be an action-oriented ideology which seeks to advocate equality of opportunities between men and women.

Before the concept 'feminism' can be defined, a brief description of the term 'feminist' will be made. Freedman (2001: 2) describes a 'feminist' as one who is interested in studying and understanding gender as a system of cultural signs or meanings assigned to sexually-dimorphic bodies. Feminism, however, refers to the belief that women and men are equal and should be equally valued, as well as having equal rights (cf. Basow, 1992: 329). Feminism is further described as a movement that creates an awareness of the fact that women are oppressed or dominated by men and that the structural arrangement that initiate, support, and legitimate that systematic oppression, constitute patriarchy (cf. Adamson, Briskin and McPhail, 1988: 9). The objective of feminism is consequently to constitute itself as a social and political movement to undo the domination of patriarchy.

The domination of women by men is held historically and long-standing, and patriarchy seems to be a power play in which an inferiorised psychology of femininity is produced and the social and economic exploitation of women is legitimised (cf. Nye, 1988: 116). Farganis (1994: 16) indicates that

[f]eminism has also advanced as a potent epistemological and discursive challenge by placing gender front and centre, integrating women into the discourses of social and political theory and bringing women's needs into the public policy sphere.

It is against this background that three major feminist theories have been identified and will be discussed to examine their view on gender relations. These are the liberal feminist theory, radical feminist theory and socialist feminist theory. These theories can be viewed in relation with two distinct theories that have

made an impact on gender studies, namely the theory of difference and the social and political theory. The theory of difference raises the issue of difference that people have, asking if men and women are alike or dissimilar and whether they have characteristics in common. The social and political theory on the other hand, enquires the way in which the rights people hold as individuals in society are bounded by obligations and commitments to others, to the group and to the community or society (cf. Adamson *et al.*, 1995: 9). The latter theory also identifies the need to explain and overcome the evil of women's oppression.

At the core of all kinds of feminisms are certain commonalities in political perspective because all believe in equal rights and opportunities for women, all recognise that women are oppressed and exploited, and all feminists organise themselves to bring about a change (cf. Adamson *et al.*, 1995: 9). Adamson *et al.* (1995: 9) further indicate that within these broad parameters of commonality extensive differences exist. These differences relate to political strategy, in visions about what constitutes women's liberation, in attitudes to men, in understanding the root of women's oppression, in priorities, and in identifying constituencies and allies (cf. also Arndt, 2002: 31-44).

2.6.1 Liberal feminism

The central theme of liberal feminism is equality of opportunity (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 14). This means that each individual in society should have an equal chance to compete for the resources of that society in order to rise within it as far as their talents permit, unhindered by law and custom (Adamson *et al.*, 1995: 10). Wealth, position and power should not be distributed on the basis of qualities such as sex and race. Liberal feminists propose several strategies, for example, equal economic opportunities, mobilisation to take advantage of prevailing political and legal channels for change, changes in family, school, and mass media messages so as to break rigid and hierarchical sex roles and the struggle by individuals to fight sexism (cf. Mannathoko, 1995: 9). Furthermore,

Mannathoko (1995: 9) argues that for liberal feminists, "...the ideal gender pattern is one in which each individual chooses and the choice is accepted and respected, be it being housewife or househusband, career woman and so on".

Rather than restructuring the economic and social order, liberal feminists' vision includes a redistribution of opportunity in order to give women access to the power and traditional opportunities of men. For liberal feminists what is regarded as barriers to competition must be removed in order to even up chances for women. Their strategy concentrates on improving opportunities for women in order to give them tools to compete, on changing socialisation patterns that shape a feminine personality uncomfortable with competing, and so on, thus removing legislation that actively discriminates against women (cf. Adamson *et al.*, 1995: 10).

Liberal feminists also believe in the enlightenment tenets of faith in rationality, a belief that women and men have the same rational faculties, a belief in education as a means to change and transform society, and a belief in the doctrine of natural rights (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 14; and Farganis, 1994: 27). Lindsey (1997: 14) indicates that it is not necessary to have a complete restructuring of society but merely to alter it enough to incorporate women into other meaningful and equitable roles. Liberal feminists explain inequality by:

...pinpointing sexual division of labour, the prevalence of separate private and public spheres of social activity, women's primary location in the former and men's in the latter, and systematic socialisation of children to prepare them for adult roles and work in the spheres appropriate for their sex (Mannathoko, 1995: 8).

Liberal feminists subsequently identify the ideology of sexism as the key force behind gender inequality. They also view sexism as similar to racism because it is composed of prejudices and discriminatory practices against women (cf.

Mannathoko, 1995: 9). The ideology of sexism according to liberal feminists, sustains the taken for granted beliefs about the biological differences between men and women that account for their social positions. Sexism is thus responsible for social restrictions and confining of females from childhood so that they mature into adulthood as helpless, mindless and dependent beings.

2.6.2 Radical feminism

The theoretical viewpoint that distinguishes radical feminism from others is that it is a theory of, by and for women based firmly in the women's own experiences and perceptions (cf. Ritzer, 1996: 461-2). The aim of radical feminism is to consequently identify fundamental emotional, social, and political differences between men and women, unlike liberal feminists who identify the power of men as a goal for women (cf. Adamson *et al.*, 1995: 10). Radical feminists see the oppression of women as the most fundamental and universal form of domination and their aim is to understand and end it (cf. Bryson, 1992: 181). They also identify women's unique capacity to give birth as central to both their experience and the material basis for their oppression. In the same way as liberal feminists, they view sexism as being at the core of patriarchal society with all its social institutions reflecting this reality (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 16; and Gunew, 1991: 273). They validate the differences and argue that there is a need for an anti-militaristic, non-hierarchical co-operative society organised on the female values of life-giving and nurturance.

Like liberal feminists, radical feminists believe that women's oppression stems from male domination as a result of patriarchy (cf. Ritzer, 1996: 450; also Basow, 1992: 332), and therefore, men are identified as the problem. In order to overcome this problem, radical feminists call for a total revolution of social structures. This means institutional change should occur, and in order to change the social order, women should create their own separate institutions and sever their relationships with men through women-centred institutions (cf. Gunew,

1997: 273). For example, their aim is to abolish class and gender inequality and create a new culture based on a more balanced synthesis of male and female power. Additionally, radical feminists also explicitly link knowledge and experience and discard the “straitjacket of the masculine paradigm” (Farganis, 1994: 40). They are concerned with investigating how patriarchy spreads its web in schools, especially focussing on the issue of sexual harassment and they have consequently moved their debates away from matters of status, work and public life (cf. Farganis, 1994: 40).

2.6.3 Socialist feminism

The main theme behind socialist feminism is the belief that there should be a challenge of power relations since equality of opportunity can never be achieved as long as there are fundamental differences in wealth, privilege and power, based on class, gender, sexual orientation and race. Socialist feminists suggest that the inferior status of women can be linked to a class-based capitalistic system and family structure within such a system. They argue that sexism is functional for capitalism. This is because sexism is supported by the unpaid labour of women who also work as a “reserve labour force” to be used only when needed (Lindsey, 1997: 15). Socialist feminists therefore also maintain that, in order to free women, the capitalistic economic system needs to be changed. They believe that sexism and economic oppression is mutually reinforcing, so a socialist revolution is needed to change the social order (cf. Basow, 1992: 331). According to this view, women occupy a position similar to the proletariat. The aim of socialist feminism is thus to unite two broader feminist traditions, Marxist and radical feminism, based on the traditional Marxist view of society with its emphasis on a changing economic system as a precondition for the establishment of gender equality. In the field of education, socialists believe that government policies and laws that put women at a disadvantage should be removed and that new ones which are geared towards equality should be designed.

2.6.4 Commonalities and differences between the three kinds of feminism

The baseline definition of all feminism(s) starts with the assertion that it raises the issue of differences between people. This is done by questioning whether men and women are alike or dissimilar and asking whether they have characteristics in common (cf. Farganis, 1994: 15), thus the theory of difference. Secondly, feminist theorists write about sexual properties and gender relationships that arise from these properties. The common factors in the three feminist theories include the following:

- A concern with women's inferior position in society and with discrimination encountered by women because of their sex (Freedman, 2001: 1).
- Searching to put an end to women's subordination (Basow, 1992: 329).
- A call for changes in the social, economic, political or cultural order, to reduce and eventually overcome this discrimination against women (Freedman, 2001: 329).
- The belief in equal rights and opportunities for women (Adamson *et al.*, 1995: 9).
- The recognition that women are oppressed and exploited by virtue of being women (Adamson *et al.*, 1995: 9).
- Emphasis on the need for equality and liberation from current gender role conceptions (Basow, 1992: 359).
- Confronting the dilemma of universal ideas of women and the historical particularities of specific women (Farganis, 1994: 15).
- Rejection of the sex/gender hierarchy (Scott and Jackson, 2002: 55).

To create an understanding of these theories it is important also to highlight their differences, which include differences in their perception of:

- political strategies;
- visions about what constitutes women's liberation;

- attitudes towards men;
- identifying and understanding the roots of women's oppression;
- setting priorities; and
- identifying constituencies and allies.

As mentioned previously, the core of liberal feminism is equality of opportunity - rather than restructuring the economic and social order. They ask for equality in the sense of sameness and their vision includes redistribution of opportunity in order to give women access to power. Their strategy concentrates on improving educational opportunities for women in order to give them tools to compete and remove legislation that actively discriminate against women. They thus believe that human beings are equal and therefore deserve equal opportunities. With regard to education, liberal feminists encourage women to compensate for earlier academic injustices by devising action programs and by reducing all kinds of segregation. For example, there should be programs in the education sector that encourages previously disadvantaged women to go back to the classroom as a form of empowerment. If a woman was by virtue of sex encouraged to follow the teaching profession as a child, whereas she had aspired to be a mechanic, liberal feminists would encourage such an individual to follow her dream by seeking programs which offer provision of such aspired goals.

The strategies for radical feminists are however more radical than those of liberal feminists since they seek a total revolution of social structures and the creation of separate woman-centred institutions to liberate them from male domination. Their attitudes towards men are thus also more radically negative than the other forms of feminism; since they visualise severing their relationships with men (cf. Gunew, 1997: 273) and creating a new culture where the "straightjacket of the masculine paradigm" (Farganis, 1994: 40) has been rejected. They have strategically been responsible for the development of a women-centred culture that takes the form of alternative businesses: art, music, living arrangements and the establishment of many other women-centred institutions, especially in the

field of education. This has provided a contrast to male-stream institutions, and culture (cf. Farganis, 1994: 15).

Socialist feminists also challenge power relations, but they link the root of women's subordination to the class-based capitalistic system. Sexism to them, serves capitalism. Their argument on this issue rests upon the notion of an expanded mode of production, which recognises that women's domestic labour contributes fundamentally to the accumulation of capital. In the same way, a woman's household labour, childbearing and child-rearing and the sexual and emotional services that she provides to bolster her alienated man's ego, can all be considered productive (cf. Epprecht, 1995: 30). The socialist feminist's strategy, however, has a prominent backlog as it tends to over-emphasise gender, demonise men or posit a male conspiracy against women, idealise women's solidarity, and posit a single "standpoint of women" (Epprecht, 1995: 33). This is regardless of the fact that men, through the process of socialisation, are legitimate subjects of gender research whose lives are shaped and raised, frequently in oppressive ways, by historically constructed notions of masculinity.

To summarise, it appears that sexism surfaces in many, if not all the realms of women's lives. It is found across the board, capitalist, socialist, religious or secular, and it is apparent that no state has ever been able to remove patriarchy from its social fabric. In the education system(s), sexism is reflected according to Stone (1994:115) by mentioning that:

...[t]he experience of women is neither reflected nor interpreted in text and anthologies of the history of educational philosophy, women are given no opportunity to understand and evaluate the range of ideals – from Plato's guardians to Sophie and Getrude...

The implication is that through sexism and patriarchy, women and men have been denied the insight that women contributed systematically and seriously to education in the past. This has led to women being devalued and made invisible.

Furthermore, activities and experiences of females are being excluded from the educational realm, and yet those of males provide women's norms. Some authors have suggested that in order to solve the male domination problem, it is important to acknowledge the fact that gender is a 'difference that makes a difference' in women's lives (cf. Stone, 1994: 116), unlike some education philosophers who assume that gender is a difference that makes no difference. Some researchers, such as Furnhum (1993: 3-4), however, have suggested that the critical issue should not be the difference but the difference that difference makes. This is due to the fact that difference leads to disadvantage on the part of women. Many feminist writers have pursued the difference dilemma and yet it does not seem to have been resolved. This study is guided by the notion that difference either social or biological is not the problem. The problem is the domination of women. Liberal feminists, for example, cite equality of opportunities in education as a strategy to fight sexism, whilst radical feminists call for a revolution to solve the problem. Radical feminists further suggest that the establishment of women-centred institutions is one way of addressing the problem of inequality and that a new culture should be created which is supposedly a balanced synthesis of male and female power. Whatever the solution to the inequality problem may be, it is important for feminists to acknowledge the existence of sex roles before they strive to abolish the gender difference. Scott and Jackson (2002: 55) posit this idea as wanting to abolish the contents (sex roles) but not the container (gender difference). This is because gender difference is merely a social construct and can be removed at any time.

2.7 The ideology of patriarchy versus the ideology of feminism

It seems that both patriarchy and feminism are based on a one-sided anthropological view. Patriarchy on the one hand appears to be based on the assumption that men are biologically and intellectually superior to women, which appears to have no basis at all (cf. *supra*: 2.2.1). Feminism on the other hand, absolutises gender equality and opportunities for women. Both the ideologies of patriarchy and feminism may have evolved based on “honourable, praiseworthy, and legitimate ideas” and yet due to the fact that only the position of either men or women is over-emphasised, it becomes one-sided and therefore unacceptable.

2.8 Principles at the basis of this research

Against the background of the foregoing, it is clear that the starting-point for this study cannot be radical feminism, since as patriarchy it represents a distorted view of reality elevating either man or woman to a position of paramount importance. It will rather be grounded in a viewpoint that is not characterised by difference and the inequality of either of the sexes. At this point the ideas of Cock and Bernstein (2002: 183) seem to be relevant. They contend that every person must first be equal under the law before difference can be acknowledged. Merely acknowledging difference is not sufficient. However, Cock and Bernstein (cited in Gouws, 2004: 71) argue that equality means considering difference and not imposing neutrality because ignorance of difference will perpetuate inequality. Laws thus have to, in the first instance focus on “sameness” while managing difference and not engaging in it. Difference and equality are thus not opposites.

A starting-point for this study will consequently be the principles of equality, equity, justice, and fundamental human rights in recognition of dignity to all the members of the human race as the foundation of freedom and peace. Robinson, (UN Commissioner for Human Rights), (1998: 7; also Ghali, 1995: 69-214)

maintains that the question of peace and the question of human rights are closely related as non-recognition of human rights will create a situation of no peace hence the fundamental purposes of the UN Charter which calls for equal rights for everyone. Achiampong (2000: 167) indicates that it is necessary to create measures to protect women's rights since 'humanity' alone has not been able to guarantee women the protection of their rights, hence the establishment of the UN Commission on the Status of Women in 1946 and other bodies that guard the rights of women worldwide.

- **Equality and equity**

To redress the problem of women's subordinate position, feminist scholars have suggested that equality of opportunities should be applied to counter the ideology of patriarchy. It is therefore vital that the concepts equality and equity are defined.

Equality, on the one hand, is described by some scholars in terms of "sameness in measurable terms" (Ramphela 1995: 33-34). This implies that equality is associated with sameness with regard to quality, quantity, level, degree and size. This means that everyone should be regarded as equal before the law and in all aspects of reality with an attempt to attain parity.

Equality is further defined in terms of modern society's version, which comprises respect of political and civil rights together with provisions adequate for living conditions for all (cf. Ncholo, 1994: 16). Ncholo, (1994: 20) further views equality to be an idea of the modern doctrine of "individualism" thus; equal respect for human dignity and realisation of their autonomy, protection and privacy for self-development (cf. also Moseitse, 1998: 62). This is in line with the views of Cock and Bernstein (2002), Arndt (2002: 281), and Phillips (1979: 65-68) where equality is described in recognition of the differences people have in age, sex, health, bodily strength, intelligence and other natural endowments. Freedman

(2001: 20) however warns that these differences should not be viewed in connection with women's moral stance in society as a result of a social construct and not innate. For example, some feminist scholars, according to Freedman (2001: 21), reject mothering as innate in women but rather a choice which women made. The difference but equal aspect surfaces at this (when women decide to be mothers) time when roles are split between men and women due to the way they were socialised (cf. *infra*: 2.3.2). Freedman (2001: 22), however, acknowledges that this choice (mothering) cannot be taken to be a conscious decision. Phillips' (1979: 65) definition of equality will thus be used for the purpose of this study where equality is referred to as an assumption or belief that all people are equal but different and thus should be given equal treatment before the law.

Against the background of this definition, Cock and Bernstein (2002: 183) argues that people should first be regarded as equal before the law before their difference could be acknowledged and that the two (equality and difference) should not be viewed in parity as by so doing, a state of inequality would thus be created.

Equity on the other hand is described as the desired state in which citizens receive a fair and just share of national resources in accordance with their needs and responsibilities (cf. Ramphela, 1995: 34; Schaffer and Lamb, 1981: 2). For example, due to their social responsibility as child-bearers and mothers, women need to be given maternity leave at work because of their bodies' demands. This should be done in an attempt to allow them to cope with pregnancy and nursing and thus creating a fair "share of resources in accordance to their needs". Against the background of this definition, an equitable state can thus be described as one that manages to allocate its resources equally to its members without prejudices with regard to class, gender, race, power, strength or status (cf. Mcord and Mcord, 1977: 296).

In the field of education, equity can be used to redress not in a punitive manner, the past deficiencies in education (in the case of this study, gender stereotyping in the education system of Lesotho) but in an attempt to create equal opportunity and an environment to bring out the best in all the citizens (cf. Ramphele, 1995: 3).

It is important to note that seeking for gender equality and equity does not imply that men and women are the same. This study does acknowledge the different vocations that each one performs in society, but also the fact that the provision of rights and dignity does not depend on one being male or female. This means that gender equality is aimed at the right of women to enjoy the same rights as men. The implication here is that women should be entitled to the resources of the country on an equal footing with men. This is because women's views, interests, and needs shape community decisions as much as men's do.

For the purpose of this research the principle of equality will be used with the belief that women should be visible in decision-making situations in all the spheres where education is concerned. This can be done by creating an enabling environment in which all women can participate fully and equally. One way of doing this is through the transformation of all structures and laws, which undermine the position of women. Equity is thus needed to redress previously disadvantaged people (cf. Norris, 2001: 221), and this includes women in the sphere of education.

- **Human Rights**

This study cannot be complete without analysing the position of women in African customary law with particular reference to Lesotho with regard to human rights (cf. *infra*: 3.3.6, 3.4, 3.4.2, 3.4.3, 3.4.4 and 3.4.5). It is argued by some scholars that human rights is a foreign concept to Africa and is supposedly "western-inspired" (Bazilli, 1991: 115). Bazilli (1991: 115) however rejects this argument

by indicating that the belief that the human rights issue is foreign to Africa is based on “cultural relativism” and objects to the imposition of western “ideological and cultural values on third world societies”. Bazilli (1991: 115) further indicates that traditional African culture has always recognised various human rights and norms, some of which are still recognised in the modern and internationalised ones. Furthermore, one’s belonging to a particular society cannot be a morally significant issue, while human rights can be said to be a moral activity. This study will therefore attempt to place the position of women within the paradigm of human rights, with particular reference to Basotho women.

Studies show that women world-wide are confronted with inequalities. Governments throughout the years have adopted several Conventions and Declarations to redress this problem and yet patriarchy is still a global phenomenon. There are various definitions of human rights. Some scholars equate human rights to the fact that people differ in age, sex, health, bodily strength, intelligence and other natural endowments and yet they should be regarded as equal before the law (Phillips, 1979: 65). Others define human rights as rights belonging to a person by nature and because he/she is human, not by virtue of citizenship or membership in a particular religious or ethnic group (cf. Wikipedia, 2003: 1; also Bazilli, 1991: 115).

For the purpose of this study human rights will be understood to mean rights that are concerned with fundamental principles of justice together with human conditions in general, (cf. Crawshaw, 1999: 37), which are the same universally and are adopted by the United Nations Charter. Crawshaw’s (1999: 37) definition will therefore be used to place women within the context of human rights. For example, Article 8 of the UN Charter forbids any restrictions on the eligibility and participation of women and men *in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs*. As already indicated, in Lesotho, both law and custom severely limit the rights of women, although Lesotho is signatory to the UN Charter. There are other declarations and

conventions also signed and others ratified by the country although practice of these conventions and declarations seems not viable. Examples of such declarations and conventions that have attempted to eradicate women's subordinate position in society are:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has a right to participate in the Government of their country.
- The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979; guarantees equal rights with men in all spheres of life, including education, health care, the vote, nationality, and marriage.
- The World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 affirmed that women's rights were a fundamental part of human rights and had to be protected in public and in the home.
- The International Conference on population and Development, 1994, emphasised that women's status had to be improved first in order to develop effective development programmes.
- The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women 1995 recognises that "all governments, irrespective of their political, economic, and cultural systems, are responsible for the promotion and protection of women's rights" (United Nations Population Fund, 1998: 2).
- **Justice**

Various facets of the principle of justice have been offered by several scholars but for the purpose of this study, justice will be explained in terms of "moral rightness". Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* (2000: 26) define justice in relation to "corrective and distributive" situations. Corrective justice, according to Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* (2000:26) occurs where action to correct a situation resulting from a wrong that has been done, is made. It is mostly used to redress inter-individual relationships especially in the legal fraternity, while distributive justice

comprises allocation of resources together with how these resources are distributed.

In the quest to redress past injustices (corrective justice), however, one form of discrimination should not be substituted with another. For example if affirmative action was to be used to redress the gender stereotyping problem, it would have to be used for a certain period of time (distributive justice) and would have to disappear immediately when the goal of balancing power relations has been achieved. It would have to be used only to balance structures of power and should only be given to remedy the past injustices.

2.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Gender stereotyping has been given many qualifications over the years. Several theories have surfaced that attempted to describe this phenomenon. This chapter wanted to question the degree to which sexism is embedded in society as well as mechanisms used to perpetuate it. These mechanisms include the theories associated with gender role development, namely, the social learning theory, the cognitive development theory, the gender schema theory, and the psychoanalysis theory.

Science has also not treated gender issues equitably. An exposition of the supposed gender differences was made in the preceding paragraphs. This has been achieved through an investigation of 'biological determinants' traditionally applied to justify the subordination of women. It also appears that some of the assumed biological differences between men and women, which render women to be inferior to men, do not really exist.

An investigation of the ideology of patriarchy, which appears to be the umbrella tool used to subordinate women to lower echelons, was made. Counter to the

ideology of patriarchy is feminism, which appears to exhibit some characteristics of an ideology although it evolved as a movement to strive for gender equality.

This section also attempted a discussion of both patriarchy and feminism as ideologies. Feminist scholarship has opted for feminism as a solution to the problem of patriarchy (counter patriarchy). What transpired from this is the correction that an ideology does not provide a solution to the inequality of women. Although the liberal feminist tradition offers the solution of equal opportunities, it also seems to be firmly based on the theory of difference (cf. Farnganis, 1994: 15). This is because in ideological activities, certain values tend to dominate our experiences (cf. Visagie, 1998: 3) and thereby creating a distorted view of reality.

The last focus of the chapter was subsequently an exploration of democratic principles which would guide the research, thus moving away from the principle of difference towards a more holistic way of thinking about women's subordination.

The next chapter will deal with the effects of culture on women and education in Lesotho and will also give with an exposition of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*.

CHAPTER 3

THE INFLUENCE OF TRADITION AND CULTURE ON THE STATUS OF BASOTHO WOMEN IN EDUCATION IN LESOTHO AND THE *DRAFT LESOTHO GENDER POLICY OF 2003*

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As a theoretical background to the empirical investigation of the study, an exposition of the role and influence of tradition and culture on women in education in Lesotho will be given in this chapter.

The history of women in Lesotho has not sufficiently been documented. Women were almost ignored by social scientists (cf. Epprecht, 1992: 10), probably deliberately and yet they contributed significantly to the economic and political activities of the country. Epprecht (1992: 10) maintains that Basotho women were portrayed as “weak vessels physically, emotionally and politically”. The reality is that Basotho women are intelligent and powerful and yet they seem to be the most disadvantaged among the Basotho. Academically, Basotho women represent more than half of the population’s literacy (cf. Table 6) and they rank amongst the highest in Africa (cf. Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 51).

Table 6: Enrolment at the National University of Lesotho (NUL)

Faculty	Certificates & Diplomas		First Degree		Postgraduate courses		All courses		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Education	20	18	151	335	9	11	180	364	544
Social Sciences	22	10	271	321	2	-	295	331	626
Humanities	6	20	96	158	-	1	102	179	281
Law	-	-	104	105	-	-	104	105	209
Science	-	-	174	113	-	-	173	113	286
Agriculture	-	-	37	28	1	1	38	29	67
Total	48	48	833	1,060	12	13	892	1,121	2,013

Adapted from 1997 Education Statistics of the National University of Lesotho (1997)

The information in Table 6 portrays the 1997 enrolment statistics at the NUL to be in favour of women, especially with regard to first degrees and postgraduate degrees. The table shows that the total enrolment of female students is considerably higher than the male enrolment. The Law in Lesotho, however, either *Customary* or Civil seem to be used as an instrument to subordinate women to the lower echelons despite their academic aspirations and achievements.

The disadvantages faced by women in Lesotho thus appear to revolve around the fact that they are considered by law as legal minors. The disadvantages also appear to be closely tied to their social, legal, cultural, economic and political position. Many anti-discriminatory laws seem to have been adopted by the government of Lesotho and yet little effort is being made to enact the particular laws. In most cases customs are used as the basis for the lack of implementation of the particular laws. This chapter will consequently investigate cultural issues and legislation that appear to subordinate women and hinder their progress in the field of education.

3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO WOMEN'S POSITION IN LESOTHO

Opinions differ on Lesotho's pre-colonialist education system. Some scholars believe that learning in Lesotho was informal and oriented towards practical activities in the home and in the fields (cf. Ministry of Education, 1982: 1). Others believe that an education pattern which was both formal and non-formal was firmly established before colonialism, which Matšela (1979: 149) calls "*indigenous education*". Matšela (1979: 188) observed formal education to mean any "institutionalised" education, which took place in initiation academies and specialised professional training. Non-formal education on the other hand is described as a variety of forms of training and education taking place anywhere and anytime, other than in initiation academies, and specialised professional training (Matšela, 1979: 188). Many scholars, however, agree on the

participants, learners and educators, the content, techniques of instruction and the learning and administration of pre-colonial education. It is on the basis of this that indigenous Basotho education is investigated in an attempt to highlight its influence on gender stereotyping.

3.2.1 Indigenous Basotho Education

Education of a Mosotho child according to Matšela (1979: 153) began informally with the mother singing to the child and speaking to it, thus allowing the infant to recognise her different moods, for example, when the mother is sad or happy. Learning at this stage was thus facilitated by the mother, as well as the other members of the family (Laydevant of the Oblate of Mary the Immaculate Conception, 1959: 50). The mother was, however, the most important socialising agent.

During infancy, the education of boys and girls was different (cf. Matšela, 1979: 155), although they all taught cultural values, philosophy, personal and family responsibilities and duties to the clan and the people (Ministry of Education, 1982: 2). At this stage children also began to imitate adult roles (cf. Ashton, 1967: 43; also *supra*: 2.4.1). Boys would collect knuckle bones, representing herds and this supposedly representing herding of cattle, while girls would imitate women's tasks by playing house and using dolls as babies, while imitating their mothers. Girls were also called upon to observe and participate in formal housekeeping activities and drawing of water as a form of socialisation. Girls' tasks also included the ability to:

- draw water from the fountain/well;
- clean the house and its courtyard;
- plaster the house and walls with mud and special soils;
- recognise and collect vegetables from the fields;
- care for babies and infants;
- grind sorghum or corn;
- cook bread and beverages;

- collect fuel wood and dry dung;
- use utensils and other house objects carefully;
- brew Sesotho beer;
- feed family members and dogs;
- use ointments and decorations for beauty;
- hoe and harvest crops; and
- dress, sit and bend one's body decently (cf. Matšela, 1979: 172-173).

The tasks of that boys were taught at this stage, included the ability to

- separate calves from cows;
- herd cattle, donkeys and horses effectively;
- go until evening without food;
- milk appropriately;
- detect discomfort and sickness in an animal;
- tell when a cow needed a bull, was pregnant or was about to calf;
- make ropes, clubs, and horn objects;
- play an instrument (*Lesiba* or '*Mamokhorong*: a one string guitar);
- defend oneself and to protect one's animals and kin;
- plough, sow seed and harvest crops; and
- be interested in a specialised trade (cf. Matšela, 1979: 172 - 73).

Within the non-formal system of "indigenous education" the mother, sisters, female cousins and grandmothers were the crucial instructors from babyhood to infancy (cf. Ashton, 1967: 37; and Matšela, 1979: 178). Matšela (1979: 178) observed that when infants developed into childhood, instruction changed with girls continuing as direct students of their mothers and boys moving under the supervision of their fathers. Instruction was through the use of observation and imitation of adults (Ashton, 1967: 43). Children were also assigned to certain responsibilities such as keeping the courtyard clean for girls and minding the calves for boys (cf. Matšela, 1979: 180). This "teaching technique" appears to

have also facilitated expected gender roles (cf. *supra*: 2.4.1: Social Learning Theory). Failure or success of the child to acquire these roles was blamed on the immediate and extended family (cf. Matšela, 1979: 180), especially the mother, hence the expression *ngoana e mong le e mong ke seipone sa lelapa labo*, meaning every child is a reflection of his/her family.

Another aspect of Lesotho's pre-colonial education system was initiation schooling, which Matšela (1979: 181), classifies as the *formal climax* of indigenous education. It appears that the main goal of the initiation school of the Basotho was to reinforce socio-cultural ideas among the youth and to serve as the rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood (cf. Ashton, 1967: 46; Matšela, 1979: 181; and Moitse, 1994: 46). Sex Education appears to have also been an important aspect of being initiated into adulthood. Teaching, as part of the initiation took about 2-3 months for women and 6 months for men (cf. Ashton, 1967: 52). The objective of the initiation academies amongst the Basotho was mainly centred on:

- the roles of men/women in terms of natural sex differences, while their appropriate social functions were exposed and described;
- the principles of dedication to the welfare of the family, charity to the needy and to helpless foreigners, of thrift and readiness to sacrifice for one's economic independence, of attachment to truth and social justice, patriotism, and respect for established authority;
- foundations for practical co-operation and service to society;
- punishment of errors amongst the youth without fear of repercussions (cf. also Matšela, 1979: 184); and
- to teach the Sesotho custom in completeness in relation to womanhood and manhood especially the core of customary law (cf. Moitse, 1994: 4; also 2.4.4: Gender Schema Theory).

It appears thus that even as far back as pre-colonial education in Lesotho, teaching was focussed on the development and establishment of gender roles. This perception appears to be the basis of formal education in Lesotho because girls and women are still encouraged to pursue “female oriented” subjects at schools even though women’s academic achievements seem remarkable since their literacy rate is much higher than that of their male counterparts (cf. Letuka, Matashane, and Morolong, 1997: 27; Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 51).

It appears from the foregoing that gender stereotypes during this phase developed in line with both the Social Learning Theory (cf. *supra*: 2.4.1) and the Gender Schema Theory (cf. *supra*: 2.4.4).

3.2.2 Missionary Education during Pre-colonialism, Colonialism and Post-colonialism

Missionary education in Lesotho began with the arrival of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in 1833, followed by the Roman Catholic Missionaries in 1852 and the Holy Family Sisters in 1865 (cf. Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 50; Thelejani, 1990: 1; Rose, 1970: 203). It is important to note that the Holy Family sisters came to Lesotho as a result of a request of King Moshoeshoe I to the Catholic priests to teach Basotho women to make clothes (cf. Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 50). This was probably because the primary focus of the first schools appears to have been the acquisition of literacy, the study of the Bible, the spiritual teachings of the church and participation in the Christian community (cf. Muzvidwa, 2002: 3/10; Ministry of Education, 1982: 1-2). Some of the earliest reports showed a total enrolment of 1,685 in 40 mission schools, of which 727 (43.1%) were boys and 958 (56.9%) were girls (Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 50).

Furthermore, amidst the general African cultural bias against educating girls, it appears that both missionary education and indigenous Basotho education involved girls and boys although it was not provided on an equal footing. According to Ntimo-Makara (1990: 53) the education of girls intensified around

the 1900s when the Anglican Church joined in the establishment of schools such as St. Catherine's Industrial School where girls were taught traditional female subjects such as sewing, cooking and laundry. It seems therefore, that the education of girls at this time was focussed mainly on housekeeping-related activities.

Changes, however, appeared in the curriculum in 1962 when the Holy Family High School became the first school to offer secretarial and commercial training to girls in order to prepare them for work in the civil service (cf. Ntimo-Makara, 1990: 53). A number of years prior to that Basotho women were admitted to the university for the first time, then Pius X11 College, even though matriculation was offered (to girls) as early as 1946 at St. Mary's High School. The establishment of education institutions by missionaries are reported on in Table 7, specifically indicating whether these institutions were meant for boys or girls.

Table 7: Missionary Initiative in Formal Education in Lesotho: 1833-1966 - Focus on Girls' Education

Mission	Year of school establishment	Type of school initiated	Education for boys	Education for girls
The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS)	1869	Normal school for teachers	Boys	-
	1870	Technical school at Thabana-Morena	Boys	-
	1871	Normal school	-	Girls
	1880	Bible school	Boys	-
	1903	Infant's Teachers Course at Thabana-Morena	-	Girls

	1907	Thabana Morena changed the curriculum to include handicrafts, sewing, weaving, health education and knitting		Girls
	1925	Industrial school at Cana was established with 27 students enrolling in handicrafts while 11 trained to be teachers	-	Girls
	Around 1929	Juniour Certificate course started at Morija	Boys	-
	1939	Introduction of Primary Higher Teachers Course at Morija	Boys	-
	1951	Morija Bible school transferred to LPTC		Allowed 90 girls to enrol
The Roman Catholic Mission (RCM)	1865	Spinning school at Roma Trade school at Roma	- Boys	Girls -
	1891	School for girls who wished to be Nuns	-	Girls
	1877	St Monica's school started	-	Girls
	1914	Std IV at Roma	-	Girls
	1915	Std V	-	Girls
	1916	Std VI	-	Girls

	1918	Introduction of Basutoland Std VI exam at St Mary's Roma	-	Girls
	1927	Teacher Training College at Roma Industrial School at St Mary's	Boys -	- Girls
	1934	First Primary course at Mazenod	-	Girls
	1936	Secondary course leading to JC at St Josephs' Intoduction of Basutoland Infants. Teacher Training course at St Mary's	Boys -	- Girls
	1938	Native PTLC	-	Girls
	1942	Cape JC at St Mary's	-	Girls
	1945	Cape Native Primary Higher Teachers Course Pius XII College started at Roma	- Boys	Girls -
	1946	Joint Matriculation Board at St Mary's Mazenod started training teachers	- -	Girls Girls
	1952	First Basotho girls admitted at Pius XII College	Boys	Boys

	1960	Mazenod introduced general Lower Primary Teachers Course	-	Girls
	1962	Holy Family High School started	-	Girls
Anglican Church of Lesotho	1905	St Catherine's Industrial School established	-	Girls
	1927	Training College at Masite. Industrial School at Masite and St Mary's Leribe	Boys -	- Girls
	1940	Teachers' Course	-	
	1945	BPTC Course	-	Girls
	1962	PHTC was introduced	-	

Source: Ntimo-Makara, 1982: 124-26

The information in Table 7 indicate that even though missionaries tried to establish schools for both boys and girls, subjects were still gender stereotyped because girls' courses were still focussed on the home. Out of approximately forty schools established during the thirty-three years' missionary administered education, twenty-eight of them were meant for girls while the remaining eight were for boys. Four of the 28 schools offered teaching courses, while the rest were either industrial schools or at least provided education for house-keeping only. For Basotho boys on the one hand, education was mainly aimed at teaching courses and Bible studies. This was due to the fact that initially, The PEMS was only interested in teaching the Basotho people to read the Bible and to write (cf. Ntimo-Makara, 1982: 130). Muzvidwa (2002: 4/10), indicated that schools were "designed to propagate Christian values and develop Christian

characters capable of reading the Bible”. Ntimo-Makara (1982: 130) argues that for girls on the other hand, education was meant to train them to become “suitable wives” for the newly converted Catechists. For example, they would be able to “cook” and keep the home in case white ministers visited their homes.

In comparison, there are similarities between the indigenous Basotho education and missionary education because both seemed to have been directed towards keeping the home for girls. It also appears that the main difference between missionary education and indigenous Basotho education is the fact that the one was introduced formally whereas the other was non-formal. Whatever the differences might be, both systems contributed to the development of gender stereotypes. It is clear that also missionary-driven education played a role in the development of gender stereotypes in line with the Social Learning Theory and the Gender Schema Theory (cf. *supra*: 2.4.1 and 2.4.4).

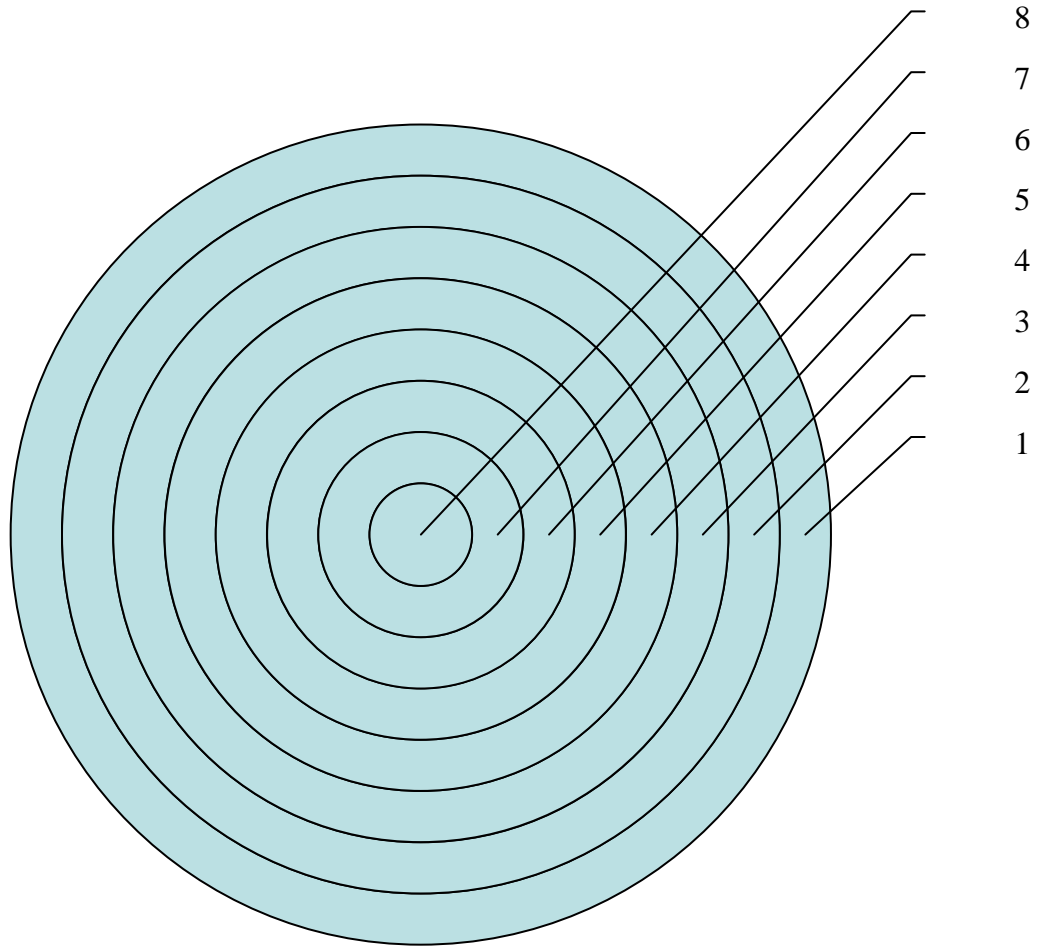
3.3 THE MEANING OF CULTURE, TRADITION AND CUSTOMS

Before giving an exposition of cultural constraints on women in Lesotho, the concept culture will first have to be explored. Many explanations of the concept culture have emerged in literature, and anthropologists appear to agree that all human groupings possess their own and unique culture. Sociologists describe culture as behaviour exhibited by human beings in conformity with family, playground, social class, church and all other human groups (cf. Schoefield, 1982: 108).

In addition, culture is also described in terms of language, knowledge, skills, religion and customs (cf. Booysen and De Witt, 1995: 37). This perception is in line with the idea of Nanda (1994: 49), who posits that culture is the differences among human societies, which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of a society. Culture exhibits what Matšela (1982: 24) calls *enculturation*, meaning the *in-built*

ability to allow it to be passed on from one generation to another. In line with this idea, some scholars hold a view that a people's existence becomes meaningful through its culture (cf. Van Der Walt, 1994: 7; Matšela, 1979: 26).

Culture has also been perceived to mean a whole way of life of a people transmitted from one generation to another (cf. Lindsey, 1997: 53; Matšela, 1979: 24; Popenoe *et. al.*, 1998: 24). This implies that culture encompasses all that has been developed and acquired by human beings. For educationists such as Bohannan (1995: 8), culture is regarded as tools and meanings that expand behaviour, extended learning and channel choice. This implies that since the environment shapes behaviour, culture can be viewed as the way in which people manipulate the environment in a quest for survival, which places man, and environment as inseparable. This, according to Bude (1992: 9) means that innovations for the survival of man have always been part of the spiritual life interpretation together with a specific societal organisation. This definition is in line with Van der Walt's (1994: 6; cf. also Schoeman, 1993: 133) definition, which summarises culture in terms of the way human beings "shape their natural environment". This is simplistically represented in terms of 8 cultural layers, namely habits, behaviour, customs, material and other products, institutions, norms and values, worldviews, and religious convictions (cf. Diagram 1):



1. Habits
2. Behaviour
3. Customs
4. Material and spiritual creations, such as buildings, language and arts
5. Institutions such as marriage and the state
6. Values and norms
7. Specific world view
8. The religious convictions of a group of people

Diagram 1: Cultural layers (Van der Walt, 1994: 6).

This exposition is also supported by Haralambos (1985: 373) who posits that human behaviour is largely determined and directed by culture. With regard to gender inequalities this implies that that cultural norms and values support stereotypes and is justified by the cultural convictions of society, which “states that gender roles are normal, natural, right and proper” (Haralambos, 1985: 373). Van der Walt (1994: 7) maintains that some of the cultural “layers” such as a worldview and religious convictions are difficult to change since they are less visible than e.g. habits. This means that the deeper one gets to the core of cultural activities, the less visible some cultural convictions become. The implication here is that the outside cultural layers can change easily since they are visible, for example, while it may be easy to change the way we dress, it may not be as easy to change our worldview. This further means that culture can be looked upon as the way in which human beings control and manipulate reality or their existence.

Tlali (2000: 13) describes culture in a comparative manner, namely *whatever owes its existence to human formation in contrast to whatever develops in nature*. As already indicated gender appears to be a cultural construct rather than a biological construct (cf. *supra*: 2.1.3) and therefore gender inequalities appear also as a result of cultural activities. This view is in line with Haralambos’ (1985: 373) idea that sexual division of labour is a result of a belief and value system. The assumption here is that when gender roles and stereotypes become so deeply embedded that it becomes part of a group’s worldview and thus cultural values, it is not easily changeable and permeates all other convictions and activities. The implication here is thus that gender stereotypes that are based upon cultural values paint a grave picture for the liberation of women from their subordinate position.

In tradition, one finds the embodiment of a cultural communal heritage acquired through generations and inextricably intertwined with the values of a society. The implication here is also that tradition does not change easily. Tradition and

culture can however not be seen as a norm or a standard, simply because it contains both positive and negative aspects and is in itself subject to principles and norms (cf. Coetzee, 2004: 3-4).

It seems thus that cultural practices too have to answer to principles such as equality, equity and justice (cf. *supra*: 2.8). If a particular cultural practice is found to be unjust and causes inequality, it cannot be said to be “correct” merely because it has been part of the culture or tradition of a particular group.

It is against this background that this part of the study will investigate the influence of tradition and culture on the subordination of women in Lesotho.

3.3.1 The influence of customs, tradition and culture on the role of women in Lesotho

Some Basotho customs seem to contribute a great deal to the domination of women in Lesotho. An example is the custom of mourning that appears to subordinate women. According to the Basotho culture, mourning differs between the sexes. Some scholars posit that this is an indication that the death of a man is of more importance than that of a woman (cf. Letuka, Matashane, Mamashela, Mbatha, and Mohale, 1994: 119). Other scholars believe that this is a result of the belief that men were created to forge a link between the ancestors and the living (cf. Paulter *et al.*, 1981: 18). This is also underlined by the restrictions imposed upon a widow. Upon the death of a husband, the wife is immediately confined to the house where she has to lie down on a mat or mattress until the day of the burial. During this period, she is expected to be sad the whole time as a sign of the great loss that she is suffering. Failure to perform this supposedly indicates that she is happy that her spouse has died, or even the belief that the woman has killed the husband may start circulating. When the wife dies, the husband is however not restricted in this way.

3.3.2 Death, ancestral beliefs, religious convictions and the Basotho woman

Due to the belief in ancestral spirits, when a woman lost a husband she customarily had to wear woven grass around her neck. This custom has changed as a result of westernisation, and a woman now has to wear black. The black attire (*thapo*) is worn for a period ranging from two months to two years. The black clothing serves as a warning sign that one is mourning (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1994: 114). This means that a woman cannot come home after sunset, she has to wear the same garment for the whole mourning period, and she is allowed to wash the garment only during the night. The widow is also expected to abstain from sexual activities, she is not allowed to visit people and has to stop shouting. It should be noted however, that the same widow is expected to provide for her family despite the restrictions.

Traditional Sesotho culture regards spirits and ancestors (*Balimo*) as vitally important (Ashton, 1967: 112; Matšela, 1979: 122; and Turaki, 1991: 135). According to Ellenberger (1937: 238), the Basotho attributes to the ancestors a divine power for good and evil and dignity similar to that which they enjoyed while on earth. Women “Balimo” however still hold inferior positions after death because the Basotho believes that their ancestors hold the same positions of power which they held while they were alive (cf. Rakotsoane, 2001: 129; Paulter *et al.*, 1981: 18).

It is further believed that the ancestral spirit world is better and closer to the origin and it is therefore more important than the present and the future (cf. Turaki, 1991: 13). The implication here is that anything handed down by ancestors including culture, education and religion must be maintained, preserved and protected and passed on to the next generation (cf. Van der Walt, 1994: 9). The assumption therefore is that failure to perform certain rituals could bring mayhem to the community because the ancestors would be displeased. The violation of

laws and customs of a particular society meant that the ancestors would be afflicted and the result of this could be illness and misfortune to those who disobeyed the *Balimo*.

Since the arrival of the Christian missionaries in Lesotho, however, the religious perceptions amongst the Basotho have changed. Before the missionaries, the beginning and the end of everything lay between God and the ancestors (*Balimo*), which Matšela (1979: 135) describes as the Catholic Church's equivalent of Saints. The ancestral obedience was reflected at births, marriage, songs, funerals and other ceremonies (cf. Matšela, 1979: 135). The *Balimo* was perceived as either male or female and they were equally respected. However, the coming of Christianity to Lesotho did not eradicate the ancestral tradition in Lesotho in which women played an inferior role. The inferior status of women was merely perpetuated, and now fed by a misappropriation of the Christian worldview.

Today Lesotho is predominantly a Christian country with the Catholic Church claiming the majority of more than 60 percent of the population (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 27). Gill *et al.* (1995:11) observe that during the early colonial period, there was a rapid growth of the Protestant Church of Lesotho with the main focus being the building of schools and the provision of formal education for local leadership within the church, which meant ordination of Basotho priests with expatriate missionaries as the highest decision-makers.

In the church women are confined to peripheral roles even though they make up the larger number of practising Christians in the mainstream churches, excluding the Evangelical and Anglican churches, which has a minority of women priests (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 27). It appears that the Western type of religion has also brought oppression and injustice against women in Lesotho and is used to maintain patriarchy.

However, the major churches in Lesotho declared their glorification of women as mothers and as home-makers (cf. Epprecht, 1992: 124; also Epprecht, 2000: 169), during the colonial era. Women, according to Epprecht (1992: 124), were perceived by the three mainstream churches as “the queens of home and educators of children”. As a result of the glorification of women’s roles as home-makers many girls’ schools were established with the sole aim of improving domestic skills. The three major churches, however, had different opinions on the role and behaviour of women and this is probably why women’s status differs within these denominations. Epprecht (1992: 122) is of the opinion that the churches’ differing interpretation of the Bible, visions of development and different cultural and class backgrounds probably prompted this. For example, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society was in favour of divorce rights for women and appropriate channels were thus availed by the colonial administration for women to exercise these rights. It was not surprising, however, that only a handful of such cases were brought to the book in the first fifty years of colonial rule. The reason was probably because the RCM, which held a membership of 72% of the total population, then considered divorce as a “cardinal sin” (Epprecht, 1992: 122). It is important to note that most of the Catholic education provisions were initiated by the nuns and that the majority of these nuns came from Quebec in Canada where women were more restricted than in the rest of the country legally, socially, and economically. This is probably why the first convent headed by a Mosotho woman was established in 1939 (cf. Epprecht, 1992: 114).

The subordination of women was further facilitated by the teachings of the priests, especially the Oblates who believed that women were not only prolific breeders but also competent mothers. Reverend Granger (Epprecht, 1992: 130) is believed to have held the opinion that “the wife’s obligatory conjugal debt...was to fear the husband as well as to hide feelings of repugnance against him...” This probably explains why Epprecht (1992: 131) is of the opinion that the sisters in

charge of educating Basotho girls did not seek to create an elite Basotho womanhood, but rather train competent housewives and mothers.

3.3.3 Marriage and the family

The Basotho people have strong familial relationships (cf. Matšela, 1979: 95), and the strength of the family is measured by the behaviour of their children. The Sesotho family may, however, refer to any of the following:

- I. the household which constitutes the basic unit of co-residence and consumption;
- II. the physical space, the homestead or 'yard' which the household occupies;
- III. the 'house' of the house-property complex, the basic property-holding unit in customary law, whose focal point is a married woman; and
- IV. the wider agnatic family or lineage which incorporates many such houses (cf. Murray, 1981: 113).

According to Ashton (1967: 17), the Basotho family consists of no particular or limited group but shies away from the nucleus of parents and children to indefinite and obscure individual kinsmen. The basic family, however, is the biological family of parents and children, parent's parents and children's children, brothers and sisters of all these individuals and their wives and children (cf. Ashton, 1967: 17). For the purpose of this study, family will be taken to mean a combination of iii and iv as noted by Murray (1981: 113). It should be noted, however, that studies have shown that the Sesotho family seems to be changing (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 32). This is due to the fact that family, like culture, is believed to be dynamic and constantly changing in response to societal changes (Women and Law Southern Africa Research Trust, 1998: 5).

The family unit in Lesotho follows a patrilineal and patrilocal system consisting of parents, paternal uncles and their wives and children and paternal grandparents

(cf. Ashton, 1967: 17; Matšela, 1979: 99). It is important to note, however, that the connection of family changes in the case of a woman. According to the Basotho culture, men's real purpose in life is to forge a link between his ancestors and his descendants and marriage serves as the factor that increases the members of his lineage (cf. Paulter, *et al.*, 1981: 18). Paulter *et al.* (1981: 17), trace the need to have children to two distinct factors: the political and economic situation during the middle of the nineteenth century. The Basotho was engaged in fighting with other nations and most men were lost in the battles and had to be replaced, therefore, they needed children in their quest for survival. Children were also needed for economic reasons. For example, girls were needed because they would bring to their families, *bohali* (bride price) when they got married and boys would herd cattle or go to work in the mines of South Africa. It is important to note, however, that the value placed on children was unequal. The birth of a son was and still is of great importance (cf. Paulter *et al.*, 1981: 19) since it appears to supposedly guarantee succession on the part of the father due to the belief in patrilineality.

Due to the patrilineal nature of the Basotho society polygamy is recognised and is regarded as an indication of wealth and prestige. The implication here is that women are regarded as the possessions of their husbands and their husband's wealth is directly correlated to the number of wives he has. For example, in a polygamous marriage, a woman is expected to be faithful to her husband and yet the husband is free to rotate amongst his wives and mistresses as they are considered as the would-be wives, hence the Sesotho expression *monna ke mokopu, u oa nama, mosali ke k'habeche, u oa ipopa*. This expression translated means a man is free to roam about and stretch like a pumpkin while woman is compared to cabbage, which is always intact and stagnant. The implication of this is that the number of wives and mistresses a man possesses is a sign of power and wealth.

It is also taboo according to custom, for a daughter in-law to call her father in-law by his name (cf. Ashton, 1967: 76). This, however, appears to be done as a form of respect (*Hlonepho*). If the father in-law's name were *letsatsi* meaning 'the sun', the daughter in-law would have to create a name like *lebatama* meaning an equivalent of 'the hot one', as a form of respect and avoidance to call him by his name. It should be noted, however, that both these names mean the same thing in the Sesotho language and culture. One is just used as a euphemism of the other. This, however, is not the case with men, since the Basotho custom does not require a man to 'respect' his in-laws by not calling them by their names.

Furthermore, family connections seem to differ in the case of women as it appears to be weakened by marriage. This is due to the fact that patrilocality confines women to join the husband's family and leave her birth village (Ashton, 1967: 17). Patrilocality refers to the practice that once a girl gets married, she is no longer entitled to the privileges from her family since she is no longer regarded as a member of her family. She is now regarded as a member of her husband's family and is now controlled not by her father but by her husband.

Under the dual system of law in Lesotho, which operates in accordance with the *Roman Dutch Law* and the *Customary Law*, two forms of marriage can be recognised. These are the Sesotho customary marriage that operates under *Customary Law* and the Civil marriage that operates under *Common law* (cf. Gill, 1994: 230). The latter kind of marriage, a civil monogamous heterosexual marriage is contracted in accordance with the provision of the *Marriage Act No.10 of 1974* (cf. Letuka *et al.* 1998: 35). This marriage is governed by *Roman Dutch Law* principles and has to be registered by the authorities. Sesotho *customary marriage* is potentially polygamous, demands *bohali* to complete the agreement, and is guided by the customary laws of the country. Under this form of marriage, a woman is a perpetual minor for the rest of her life (cf. Gill, 1994: 5). This means that a wife cannot even attain a passport without the husband's consent.

Under *Common Law*, the civil form of marriage can be contracted in two ways: marriage in community of property and marriage by anti-nuptial contract (cf. Steward and Armstrong, 1990: 54). Under *Customary Law*, however, the husband acquires marital power over the wife of whom the law reduces to a legal minor and the wife is put under the guardianship of the husband. The law vests all marital powers in the man to administer the wife's property. This means that the woman cannot enter into contracts without the husband's consent. For example, if a woman wants to acquire a loan or bursary, to which every Mosotho child is entitled, she has to first acquire permission from the husband, as she cannot enter into any contract without his consent. This sometimes poses a problem because most Basotho men are threatened by women's academic achievements and therefore refuse to sign required contracts, and thus violating their wives' right to education. This also implies that a wife must first obtain consent from her husband when she seeks employment, when she wants to borrow money from a financial institution, and when she engages in some trade or profession (cf. Steward and Armstrong, 1990: 55). This means that due to the marital powers vested in men, the fate of the wife lies entirely in the hands of the husband.

Furthermore, Sesotho marriages place certain responsibilities on married women. These responsibilities include performing reproductive roles, which include child bearing and rearing, as well as productive roles, which comprise contributing to the management and economic welfare of the family (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 153). Ashton (1967: 75) observes that a newly-wed is expected to obey her in-laws, respect them and please them by feeding them properly, should work industriously, must keep the house clean, and always please her husband and always remember that she is married with cattle (*bohali*). Although these roles seem to place women in a position of authority as the "manager" of a household, this "authority" is a subordinate position to that of their husbands. The system of patriarchy thus places women in an inferior position because Basotho marriages, regardless of the form of marriage, relegates women to an

inferior status under their husband's authority since they are regarded as legal minors (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 21; Gay, Gill and Hall, 1995: 182; Gill, 1994: 229).

Basotho marriages are further completed with the provision of *bohali* (bride price) (cf. *supra*: 3.3.4) by the man (Ashton, 1967: 70; Gill, 1992: 5; Matšela, 1979: 108; Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 21; Gay *et al.*, 1995: 182). It is believed by many that the institution of marriage through the *bohali* custom is the source of the marginalisation of women in Lesotho. Steward and Armstrong (1992: 160) observe that *bohali* makes a woman lose her ties with her natal family, and yet she remains an outsider in her husband's family due to the difference in totems.

In addition, the economic and social position of the woman depends completely on the existence of her marriage. For example, the identification of children borne of the married parents is through the father and this occurs regardless of the form of marriage. The children also take the surname of the father, his lineage (*patrilineality*) and he also assumes guardianship over them (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 26). This happens even after the death of the husband or divorce when the mother and the children continue to be the responsibility of the husband's heir in the case of death and the guardianship of the father in the case of divorce. This is due to the fact that the Sesotho culture regards women as incapable of making serious decisions about child-rearing (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 27).

Sesotho marriage further allows the widow to be "inherited" by the husband's most senior brother (cf. Epprecht, 1992: 45; Rugege, 1993: 167). This custom is called *ho kenela* (levirate). This means that a woman is not given a choice to choose a husband after the death of her previous husband. She is required by tradition to automatically commit to a loveless marriage. If it is the wife who dies, custom binds the wife's younger sister to step into the sister's shoes and assume the position of a wife through the custom of *Seantlo*, although *bohali* may have to be supplemented, according to Epprecht (1992: 45). In a case where the man

dies before getting married, the family is allowed by custom to arrange a marriage in order to produce heirs in the family. This is called *ho nyalla lebitla* which means “to marry the grave” (Matšela, 1979: 106). The “subordinate union” implies that the family of the deceased would find a “suitable” male to produce children for the *lebitla* wife. The children born out of this union would be regarded as the dead husband’s legal children (cf. Matšela, 1979: 106), thus being the children of the family.

In the case of divorce, terms differ in accordance with the form of marriage that has been entered into. Civil marriages on the one hand, require the action of the High Court before a marriage can be dissolved. The implication of this is that women often find themselves at a disadvantage because to launch a case with the High Court involves expensive lawyers’ fees and the process is consequently slow. In most cases women find themselves trapped in abusive and loveless marriages and as a result the divorce rate in the country is low (cf. Gill, 1994: 5; Gay *et al.*, 1994: 231). Customary marriage on the other hand means that a woman has to return to her natal family after divorce. In addition it also means the return of the *bohali* – another factor that appears to contribute to the low divorce rate since the return of *bohali* means a loss of valuable assets (*likhomo*) or cattle, which is mostly represented in the form of money to the woman’s family. In most cases the woman’s family is unable to return the *bohali*.

From the above information it appears that marriage in Lesotho under either system means a disadvantage to women. This is due to the fact that women when married are not treated as equals but rather as minors.

3.3.4 Patrilocality and Patrilineality

Patrilocality in Lesotho occurs when a newly-wed woman has to move from her natal home or village to join her husband’s family or village and identify herself with her husband’s peoples (cf. Ashton, 1967: 18; Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*,

1990: 63; Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 25). The implication here is that the strength of the woman's identity now lies with her marital family and not her natal family. For women in Lesotho, this means that they are classified as their fathers' daughters, they are someone's sister, wife, and mother, with little importance as an individual person (cf. also *supra*: 3.3.3). This custom puts women at a disadvantage because she now belongs to the husband's family and also cannot possess land, as stated previously. A married woman, according to the *Deeds Registry Act 1967*, is also not legally allowed to have access to immovable property or have it registered in her name when the marriage fails. In addition she cannot acquire any access to land even within her natal family, as culturally she does not belong with this family anymore (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 176). .

According to the Basotho culture, the basic Basotho family consists of the biological family of parents and family, grandparents and children's children (cf. *supra*: 3.3.3). Letuka *et al.* (1998: 32) also include the following to describe the Basotho family: a husband, a wife and their children, the husband's sister and her children; a husband, a wife, adopted children, adopted son's wife; and a husband, a wife, biological children and adopted children and/or a relative's children. This group is normally referred to as *ba heno* meaning "your people". The patrilineal group, which is composed of one's parents, also including paternal uncles, their wives and children and paternal grandparents (cf. Ashton, 1967: 18) is also included. It is obvious that the maternal relatives such as the mother's sister and the daughter(s) are not acknowledged as *ba heno*. Patrilineal groups descend through the male line and individuals belong to the descent group of the father or his father's father before him (cf. Nanda, 1994: 258-59). The implication here is that in patrilineal societies, inheritance and succession are allocated from father to son, as is succession of office in the case of chieftainship in Lesotho (cf. Letuka *et al.* 1997: 25). In this system, the man gains control of his wife and children because continuity of the family line appears to depend on binding the wife and children to the husband. Patrilineality in Lesotho is facilitated by

customs such as *bohali*, which binds women to move to their husband's family after marriage (cf. *infra*: 3.3.5).

3.3.5 *Bohali*

Bohali, according to the Basotho culture, can be looked upon in two ways. It can be defined as livestock or money given by the boy's father upon marriage (Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 94; and Matšela, 1979: 108), and it can also mean a major matrimonial ceremony between the two families - the bride's family and the groom's (Matšela, 1979: 109). Several scholars indicate the main reasons for *bohali* to be (1) a guarantee of wifely duties, (2) to determine the validity of the marriage, (3) legitimacy of the children, and (4) to compensate the bride's family for their having begotten, reared and trained the bride (Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 150-51; Matšela, 1979: 108; and Mosito, 1997: 370).

The thanksgiving part (brideprice) of *bohali* is applicable because much of the socialisation of children in the *Sesotho* culture is done in the home. The duty of a mother is to rear children, especially girls and to prepare them for wifely duties, hence the *bohali* payment. According to Mosito, (1990: 382) the *bohali* payment is done as an appreciation for the mother's hard work and if the daughter is considered not respectful, the family is blamed since the *Sesotho* perceive every child (in this case the daughter) to be a reflection of his/her family. According to custom, requirements of *bohali* used to be:

- i) 20 herd of cattle;
- ii) 10 sheep or goat known as *setsiba* (loin cloth or trousers);
- iii) 1 horse called *molisana* (herd-boy) for herding cattle;
- iv) 1 cow called *moqhoba* (driver) which is given to the woman who accompany the bride to the husband's home (cf. Stewart and Armstrong, 1990: 51).

Due to the scarcity of livestock in the country, the custom has now changed to an estimated equivalent cash amount. The *bohali* payment is required only in the

case of customary marriage but in practice, both civil and customary marriages are completed by the *bohali* payment (cf. Gill, 1994: 5). Under customary law marriage, *bohali* should be returned to the husband's family in the event of divorce because customarily a woman is not supposed to leave the husband, hence the expression "*mosali u ngalla motseeo*", meaning women are not expected to leave their husbands or home. This, in the view of some researchers, is the reason why most women stay in unhappy marriages lest they have to return the *bohali* if they leave (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 156). Civil marriages are dissolved only in the High Court of Lesotho which means that the proceedings are expensive and most women cannot afford them. The result is that most women remain in abusive marriages.

It appears that some Basotho women are in favour of the custom since they consider the marriage valid when the *bohali* cattle have been fully paid (cf. Epprecht, 1992: 50). The reason for this is probably because *bohali* is a "guarantee" against abuse by the husband because in terms of the custom he could be punished or fined by the wife's male relatives if *bohali* had been paid. This value placed on *Bohali* however resulted in parents favouring their girl-children because they were considered as assets due to the fact that they would bring their families cattle when they got married. This result of this was "arranged" marriages where girls were regarded as commodities that could be transferred from one family to another as long as the required amount of cattle was exchanged. As such, Epprecht (1992: 52) describes girls as "the bank of the nation". Letuka *et al.* (1994: 49) indicate that evidence exists that children were forced to comply with "arranged" marriages against their will. This practice became possible because children were brought up to believe that they were liable to fulfil their fathers' wishes when they had to enter into unwanted marriages.

3.3.6 Women, culture and politics in Lesotho

An investigation into gender disparities in Lesotho is not complete without focusing on the political organisation of Lesotho during the time of Moshoeshe I who founded the Basotho nation. It appears to some scholars that Moshoeshe I had confidence in women and their political decision-making skills. However, because he wanted to guarantee that the chieftainship remains in his bloodline, he declared his grand-daughter, Senate who was an only child in the house of Letsie I, to be a man (cf. Machobane, 2000: 26; Sanders, 1975: 207). Moshoeshe I subsequently paid *bohali* to his nephew Ramanehella for Ramanehella's daughter's hand in marriage to Senate (who was now declared a man). In addition, the marriage between his brother's daughter and Senate was a political strategy to forge peace between him and his brother's family (Makhabane and father of Ramanella) who blamed him for his father's death. It appears that Ramanehella was an unruly and ungovernable subject because he believed that Moshoeshe failed to protect Makhabane, (his father) in a cattle raid in the Cape Colony in 1829 where Makhabane was killed.

Manehella (Senate's "wife") was then placed under Lerotholi (Letsie I's son in the second house) to sire children for Senate and these children would be heirs according to Moshoeshe's plan. It can be concluded therefore that Senate was used as a tool to guarantee Moshoeshe's patriarchal beliefs. Another opinion is that Moshoeshe used Senate as a political strategy to forge links between his brothers Libe and Libenyane who were at loggerheads due to an issue about land.

In line with the belief that Senate was used to facilitate the patriarchal belief of Moshoeshe, Matšela (1979: 128) indicates that the basis of the Sesotho political system was the family because a system of families constituted a clan and the head of the clan was a chief who was a male figure. It is believed that the chief was chosen on the basis of qualities such as physical might, military valour, and

had to be a member of Moshoeshoe's family by birth. Some historians however, mention the decisive roles played by women in the power struggles for chieftainship such as 'Manthatisi and prophetess 'Mantsopa who was, according to Epprecht (1992: 12), a prominent opponent of colonial rule and advisor to Moshoeshoe I. There was also Mofumahali 'Mamohato, Moshoeshoe 1's first wife who was in charge of Thaba Busiu, then Lesotho's capital, while Moshoeshoe travelled.

Although there appears to have been women who opted for the positions of chief, the chieftainship institution, which is perpetuated through the system of patrilineality, has been dominated by men in Lesotho. According to Letuka *et al.* (1997: 23) this male hierarchy appears to have evolved traditionally, and is currently formally enshrined in law under the *Office of King Order*. Governing is still done at a village level whereby a ward chief rules under the responsibility of the principal chief. Most of these posts are passed on through the male line. Table 8 shows the distribution of governing posts by gender (1993).

Table 8: Distribution of governing posts by gender

Districts	Wards and areas	Principal (ward) Chiefs
Maseru	Matsieng	Chief Seeiso Bereng Seeiso
	Thaba-Busiu	Chief Khoabane Letsie Theko
	Kubake and Ramabanta	Chief Seeiso Api
	Roma	Chiefteness Mabela Seeiso Maama
Berea	Teyateyaneng	Chiefteness Masenate Gabasheane Masupha
	Maqhaka	Chiefteness 'Mamolapo Qhobela Majara
	Kueneng	Chiefteness 'Mantoetsi Lesaoana Peete
Leribe	Leribe	Chiefteness 'Mamolapo Mot'soene
	Tsikoane, Peka, and Kolobere	Chief Lechesa Jonathane Mathealira
Mokhotlong	Mokhotlong	Chief Mathealira Seeiso
	Tlokoeng	Chief Hali aloe Sekonyela
Mafeteng	Likhoele	Chief Lerotholi Seeiso
	Matelile	Chief Seeiso Moholobela

	Tajane	Chief Nkhahle Mohale
Mohale's Hoek	Thaba T'soeu	Chief Lebona Lebona
	Likueneng	Chief 'Mualle Moshoeshoe
	Taung	Chief Moletsane
	Phamong	Chiefteness Nthati Bereng
Quthing	Sebapala	Chief Qefate Hlabathe Nkuebe
Qacha's Nek	Qacha's Nek	Chief Makotoko Theko Makhaola
Butha Buthe	Butha Buthe	Chief Kuni Molapo
	Makhoakheng	Chief Thaabe Matela

Source: The Amended Constitution of Lesotho (1993: 152)

The information in Table 8 shows that men in Lesotho are still traditional decision-makers at a village level and in the political and public arena. Gill (1992: 15) observed that out of 22 principal chiefs, only 5 are women. It is important to note that the five women do not hold the chieftainship posts permanently, since they are there as regents for their sons or whoever is next in the line. It should further be noted, however, that women serve in the majority on village committees, such as burial societies and development councils. This implies that women's decision-making powers are recognised only at the lowest echelons and that these abilities are not recognised when it comes to assumed high-powered decision-making levels.

In addition, due to the migrant labour system women are left as *de facto* heads of households. This implies that they are liable decision-makers on a daily basis and yet when it comes to decision-making at a public level, the law does not allow them the opportunity (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 22). For example, they cannot engage in any contract, since they have no legal contractual capacity.

In the civil service, especially at a government level, women hold very limited decision-making positions (cf. Ntimo-Makara, 1982: 51; also Tables 1 and 4).

This is despite widespread movements towards democracy. It is also despite the fact women have demonstrated leadership qualities in the community, in the informal sector and in the government (United Nations, 1995: 110), especially in Lesotho where they are prominent members of village councils, founders of burial societies, and prominent members of Development and Conservation Committees (cf. Gill, 1994: 5). It also appears that women are regarded as harder-working and more sober than their male counterparts (cf. Gill, 1994: 15; and Grdanicki and Hall, 1995: 184).

3.4 WOMEN, CULTURE AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN LESOTHO

Lesotho, as a member of the United Nations, as a party to the *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, (Grdanicki and Hall, 1999: 32), and as a democratic country is liable to comply with the protection of women's rights. In addition, in the *Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993*, (Chapter 2), provision is made for all citizens for civil and political freedoms regardless of race, colour, language, religion, political, and other opinions. Some laws however, still discriminate against women as expressed in Section 18 (4) of the *1993 Amended Constitution*, even after the ratification and abolition of such laws at the Beijing Conference. Even though the *Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993* recognises political and civil freedoms, *Customary Law* still allows the system to discriminate against women on the basis of their sex. This is due to the fact that *Customary Law* regards women as legal minors. *Customary law* in Lesotho was originally administered through a series of traditional chief's courts but now the chieftaincy has arbitration powers only (cf. Gay *et al.*, 1995: 132). Laws in Lesotho enacted under *Customary Law* are called the *Laws of Lerotholi*. This implies that women in Lesotho cannot conclude contracts, cannot mortgage property in their name, or register property in their personal right, nor can they become directors of companies without their fathers' or husbands' consent.

3.4.1 Conventions and other measures to address women's rights

Lesotho appears to have adopted several conventions fighting for women's rights and yet most of these conventions have never been ratified. These conventions include:

1. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (adopted 1979) signed July 17, 1980.
2. Convention on the Political Rights of Women (adopted 1952) and acceded November 4, 1974.
3. Convention on the Consent to Marriage (adopted 1962), neither signed nor ratified.
4. Convention Against Discrimination in Education (adopted 1960), neither signed nor ratified.
5. Convention Concerning Maternity Protection (Adopted in 1952), neither signed nor ratified.
6. Convention for Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Equal Value (adopted 1951), neither signed nor ratified.
7. Convention Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation (adopted 1958), neither signed nor ratified.
8. International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (adopted 1966), neither signed nor ratified.
9. International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (adopted 1966), neither ratified nor signed.
10. The African Charter and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Ratified. (cf. Johal, Kayvashad and Lisker, 1993: 1; 4).

Lesotho's involvement in the listed conventions gives the appearance that the government has committed itself to removing all discriminatory laws, however implementation of the underlying principles have not taken place. In addition

there are no laws enacted towards improving the legal status of women seven years down the line after the Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing in 1995 (cf. Hall and Grdanicki, 1999: 33). It also appears that the Lesotho government has, according to Letuka *et al.* (1998: 150), “chosen to entrench discrimination against women in the Constitution under the guise of culture and custom”. This is due to the fact that wherever women encounter gender discrimination, it is usually explained in terms of their minority status according to custom and anyone who seems to oppose this state of affairs is negatively described as “*Khooana-tsoana*”, or one who perceives herself as better than her custom and people. There is a proposed *Married Persons Equality Bill* in the pipeline which is aimed at abolishing marital power over women (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 42), but until such time that this Bill is turned into Law, women in Lesotho will still face social, economic and legal constraints. The Lesotho government has also formed commissions aimed at reviewing laws affecting women. The proposed *Gender Commission* is specifically aimed at investigating the following:

- Equality of privileges and powers for women in public.
- Equal access to banking loans, mortgages, and general facilitation of women’s roles in business.
- Examination of areas in women’s employment for which there is no stipulated minimum wage, and to bring these, as far as is appropriate, in line with other employment.
- Provision for paid maternity leave, at appropriate intervals and after a certain minimum period of service (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 42).

Some of these concerns have already been turned into law, yet most companies in the private sector seem to ignore them. Although implementation is slow, the following excerpts from the *Amended Constitution of Lesotho (1993)* can be regarded as the government’s initiative geared towards equity:

Equality of Justice

26(i). Lesotho shall adopt policies aimed at promoting a society based on equality for all its citizens...

30. Lesotho shall adopt policies aimed at securing just and favourable conditions of work and particular policies directed to achieving:

- (a) remuneration which provides all workers as minimum with
 - (i) fair wages and equal remuneration of work of equal value without distinction of any kind, and in particular, women being guaranteed conditions of work including pension or retirement benefits, not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay; and
 - (ii) a decent living for themselves and their families;
- (b) equal opportunity for men and women to be promoted in their employment to an appropriate higher level, subject to no considerations other than those of seniority and competence;
- (c) the protection of women who are in employment during a reasonable period before child-birth” (Government of Lesotho, 1993)

3.4.2 Inheritance of property in Lesotho

The power to make political and judicial decisions is vested in men and inheritance is passed through the male line (cf. Paulter *et al.*, 1981: 36), except in a few cases where a will has been made (cf. Table 9).

Table 9: Wills registered in Lesotho 1970-1989

Expatriates & Citizens of Foreign Origin					Citizen of Basotho descent				
Years	Men	Women	Married couples	Total	Men	Women	Married couples	Total	Total wills registered
1970-1974	-	1	-	1	2	7	5	14	15
1975-1979	6	6	-	12	12	17	6	35	47

1980-1984	2	2	1	5	22	41	8	71	76
1985-1989	12	1	1	14	29	54	18	101	115
Total	20	10	2	32	65	119	37	221	253

Source: Adapted from the Law Office Registers, 1990

Table 9 indicates the total number of wills registered in the Deeds Registry. It is an indication of the low numbers of individuals who, contrary to the patrilineal custom, have ventured to oppose the cultural practice.

Most of the Basotho men and women are reluctant to make wills due to the expectations based on the *patriarchal patrilineal* nature of the Basotho culture (cf. Letuka *et al.* 1998: 168), that the eldest son inherits his parent's property in the event of death of the father (cf. Table 9). This means that the widow is not entitled to the property that they have acquired as a couple.

According to *Customary Law*, the heir is defined as the first son of the first wife (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1994: 154). The reason for this was that traditionally the heir was expected to remain in the family to perpetuate the lineage. Due to the polygamous nature of Basotho marriages, this was an honour and allowed the first wife to show her seniority status. According to Rugege (1993: 158) *Customary Law* (a set of laws and principles applied through customary law: *Laws of Lerotholi*) also allows the son to inherit the father's property and the widow is entitled to the property only if they never had a son. In addition, the *Laws of Lerotholi* stipulate that a daughter may not be an heir from a natal family since she is expected to get married and assume a role in her marital family. However, the same law (*Customary Law*) does not allow her to be an heir in her marital family since the first-born son is the legal heir. If the marriage does not produce a son the woman can take control over the estate but it has to be under the supervision of the males in the family and she loses it when she remarries.

3.4.3 Property rights and access to land

Women's access and control over property in Lesotho appears also to be dominated by patriarchy. This is because allocation of land is usually done through *Customary Law*. *Customary Law* in Lesotho was originally administered through traditional chief's courts which now only has arbitration powers and serves as a higher level of central and local courts. These set of laws were largely based on "pre-capitalist" society (Rugege, 1993: 158) and appears to have been formulated to maintain the dominant political and social position of the chiefs (mainly men) over their subjects. Rugege (1993: 158) also mentions that one of the main aspects of *Customary Law* included the duty to take stray stock to the chief who was the sole administrator of land and stock.

According to *Customary Law*, the property rights of the family are vested upon men. This implies that women cannot inherit the property because the law does not allow them to do so (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1997:20 *cf. supra*: 3.4.2). This is reflected in *Law No. 14 and 15, (of Customary Law)*, where the subordination of women is highlighted by the recognition of the eldest male children as heirs to the family estate in the case of death of the father (cf. also *supra*: 3.3.3 and 3.3.4; The Steering Committee of Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations for the Dakar Conference, 1994: 32). This happens despite the fact that women manage approximately 50% of rural households and 38.5% of urban households (cf. Hall and Grdanicki, 1999: 7). *The Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993*, however, provides protection of and the right of every citizen to own property, regardless of their gender. The major flaw of the *Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993* according to Letuka *et al.* (1997: 20) is the fact that all its provisions, particularly those that affect women, are subject to *Customary Law*. This means that the *Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993* is not above *Customary Law* when it comes to the rights of women. These constraints on women are prominent especially with regard to women married under *Customary*

Law. This includes the majority of women, especially in the rural areas of the country.

As mentioned previously, Basotho women who are married can only access land through the consent of their husbands. However, in the case of unmarried women or divorcees allocation of land can be done with the help of the father or the eldest male figure in the family. Although widows are allowed to own land in this way, the *Land Act of 1979* restrains them from being the legal owners of such land. Land in Lesotho is allocated through *Customary Law* and practices but registered under *Civil Law*. This is because civil law requires leases to be registered at the *Deeds Registry* office, which prohibits the registration of immovable property to married women (cf. Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 159). Section 14 of the *Deeds Registry Act (1967)* provides that no land can be registered in the name of a woman married in community of property. This however implies that legally women married either under *Customary Law* or *Civil Law* are denied ownership, access and control of land as an income generating asset (cf. Hall and Grdanicki, 1999: 37). In most cases land leases are used for mortgages. This implies that women cannot borrow money from the bank through the use of their land because legally they do not own such land. The banks usually require the husband's power of attorney before any transaction can be issued. This results in women being in the periphery of the economy thereby committing them to total dependence on men. Interesting is that property rights in the case of women living in the urban areas differ from that of rural women. The *Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993* stipulates that if the woman can prove without a doubt that she has abandoned the customary way of life, then she may acquire the title to the land (cf. Hall and Grdanicki, 1999: 37).

3.4.4 Women's access to credit in Lesotho

Women's access to credit in Lesotho is related to their inferior legal position. According to *Common Law* women lack contractual capacity (cf. Maqutu, 1992:

330; Selebalo, 2002: 3) because they are legal minors. Institutions such as banks allow women to open their own bank accounts and yet the same institutions limit women from obtaining credit without the husband's consent. This occurs regardless of women's ability to produce collateral to pay the loan (cf. Makoae and Matobo, 2000: 145).

A comparative study conducted by Mokhothu (1998), underlines the fact that the Law in Lesotho discriminates against women. The study involved the Housing Loan Schemes of the Central Bank of Lesotho (CBL) and the National University of Lesotho (NUL). The selection criteria for both Housing Loan Schemes clearly indicated that permanent employment was one of the qualifications required irrespective of sex, age, marital status, and salary status (cf. Mokhothu, 1998: 229). There is however a binding clause that appears to be influenced by cultural prescriptions together with the marriage laws of the country, which indicates that women married in community of property needed their husband's consent in order to be considered for the scheme. It is important to mention that it is estimated that 95 percent of common law marriages are in community of property. It should also be noted that, even though the selection criterion allows single females to obtain a loan, the situation changes upon marriage contracted in community of property whereby the husband is expected by law to bind himself as surety for the wife's responsibility according to the terms of agreement. This state of affairs is subject to Clause 13.4(b) of the *NUL Loan Agreement*. Mokhothu (1998: 230) indicates that 41 percent of the CBL employees and 31 percent of the NUL employees, who are beneficiaries of the loan schemes, are married in community of property, and that 52 percent are females.

Most women at the NUL are academically equipped and therefore occupy top positions, including the highest position of the Pro-Vice Chancellorship of the university. The implication of this is that strong women who are willing to change their economic status and develop the country are limited by discriminatory practices and customs, such as obtaining permission from their husbands or

fathers for concluding contacts. Basotho women as a result, have resorted to alternative means to obtain formal credit, which includes group-saving schemes and burial societies (*mpate sheleng*). This has become a disadvantage to some women because obtaining a loan from these schemes requires in most cases, the borrower to be a “paid up member” with known reputation (cf. Makoae and Matobo, 2000: 145). The implication of women’s inability to obtain credit, therefore, relegates them to the status of total dependence on men especially in the rural areas where men are the sole providers of income.

3.4.5 Women’s reproductive rights, health, HIV/AIDS and violence against women

It is believed that Basotho women’s poor health can be attributed to fertility and its management (cf. Letuka, Matashane, and Morolong, 1997: 33). An example can be drawn from the fact that pregnancies are poorly spaced, which automatically leads to their health being compromised. One of the reasons for this state of affairs is the fact that culturally, women are not allowed to make any decisions regarding their fertility (cf. Government of Lesotho, 2003:12; Hall and Grdanicki, 1999: 53). In most cases men are opposed to contraception and therefore often will not allow women to use such facilities. In the case where women decide to take it upon themselves to use birth control, they have been known to be subject to violence and customarily they are regarded to have wronged their spouses as custom makes them their husband’s children, and thus unfit to make such decisions.

The Basotho culture socialises and conditions women to be submissive to men, which according to Hall and Grdanicki (1999: 53) make them powerless when men make sexual demands. The implication of this is that women become victims of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), are subject to unplanned pregnancies and are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. Another factor that adds to the problem is the fact that the Catholic Church, the most prominent in the country,

does not allow family planning on religious grounds (cf. Letuka *et. al.*, 1997: 33), and this means that their hospitals and healthcare centres do not provide such services.

Another factor contributing to women's risk to STDs and HIV/AIDS is the cultural practice of "*ho kenela*" (cf. *supra*: 3.3.3). According to custom, widows have to "inherit" their husband's brothers as their own husbands. This means that any infectious disease can travel the cycle of the late husband, the brother, the widow and several others who may have been involved sexually with any one of the above. Furthermore, Basotho men, especially in the rural areas are opposed to the use of condoms because they are believed to reduce the pleasure of sex (cf. Hall and Grdanicki, 1999: 53) and since men possess an upper hand in controlling the reproductive activity, condoms are hardly ever used, adding to the increase of sexually transmitted diseases.

Large numbers of women in Lesotho are also subject to sexual violence, rape, abduction, assault, and domestic violence. It appears also that some rapists do not regard rape as a crime because women are thought to have called rape unto themselves because of some myths associated with it (Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2002: 11). Myths associated with sexual violence in Lesotho are listed as follows:

- Women are prone to lie.
- Women enjoy being raped.
- Women of "questionable" morality get raped.
- Women walking alone at night or isolated places calls for rape.
- Wearing inappropriate clothes like 'see through' dresses, tight pants, short dresses and tights attracts and calls for rape.
- A woman must have led on a man who raped her.
- Women are sexual teases.
- Women cry rape when they are caught in the act.
- Women use rape to call for attention.

- Women who are drunk call rape unto themselves.
- Accepting a lift from a man justifies rape.
- Agreeing to be bought alcohol by a man calls for rape.

In the opinion of Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* (2002: 12), the above listed myths have affected the way rape has been reported, handled and prosecuted. Furthermore, due to the patriarchal nature of the Basotho society, males are regarded as givers of sexual intercourse while females are regarded as 'passive receivers' who need some measure of protection if penetrated vaginally without their consent outside marital relationships (Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2002: 13). This, according to Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* (2002: 13), is prompted by the cultural philosophical belief that nature has ordained men to be initiators of sexual activities. This is probably why rape is not thought to occur between husband and wife.

In addition, Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* (2002: 20) are of the opinion that this idea is facilitated by the way in which boys are socialised in the Basotho culture, since sexual violence resembles the qualities of dominance, aggressiveness, toughness and forcefulness installed in Basotho boys at a very young age. In addition, there is a stereotypic belief that women may suggest an element of resistance in physical aggression while in fact, they are enjoying it, hence a common Basotho women's belief that their spouses beat them because they love them.

Furthermore, domestic violence and wife beating is frequent and yet there is no written statistics for such occurrences. This occurs regardless of the fact that under *Customary Law*, a woman is allowed to "*ngala*" or return to her maiden home should the husband physically abuse her. Under *Common Law*, wife beating is a criminal offence and is defined as assault. These criminal offences go unpunished mainly because Basotho women are shadowed by their customs in such a way that they are ignorant of their legal rights.

In Lesotho, in theory, rape is regarded as a capital offence, second to murder and yet in practice, rape is betrayed by the legal system punishable to the discretion of the magistrate dealing with the case. In the opinion of Fryer (cited in Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2002: 31) failure to link theory and practice can be attributed to numerous stereotypic beliefs which can be summarised as follows:

- A pervasive belief that masochism is an element of femininity.
- The probability that a woman may lie about rape because a woman's behaviour may not always resemble her true feelings.
- A woman's history of sexual behaviour is believed to sometimes trigger the chain of events leading to rape. For example, wearing revealing attire. This makes the woman to be subject to interrogation about her past sexual encounters and moral encounters.
- Rape victims being subjected to negative attitudes and indifference due to the stigma attached to rape (cf. Chaka-Makhooane, 2002: 32).

3.5 THE DRAFT LESOTHO GENDER POLICY of 2003

The *draft Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* is supposedly based on the "realisation of human rights for all", "equal participation principles in development", and "non-discrimination and empowerment of the marginalised..." (Government of Lesotho, 2003). It further draws a mandate from Chapter II of the *Amended Lesotho Constitution of 1993*, which endows every citizen with fundamental human rights. The *draft Gender Policy of 2003* has also identified twelve areas defined in the *Beijing Platform for Action* as identical and relevant to the Lesotho situation and these areas are thus considered to be "critical" for the advancement of gender equality in Lesotho (Government of Lesotho, 2003: 1). These areas are listed as follows:

- Unequal power relations between women and men, girls and boys.
- Married women's legal minority status.

- Unequal control over land, property and productive resources among couples married in community of property.
- Cultural and traditional practices and beliefs, that are discriminatory in nature and stance.
- Stereotypes in subject choices at various levels of education.
- Gender-insensitive sections of the statutory and customary laws.
- Increased gender-based violence.
- Increased spread of HIV/AIDS.
- Lower enrolment rate of boys in educational institutions.

The policy draws its guidance from the following United Nations Conventions:

- The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).
- International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD).
- The Fourth World Conference on Women (WCW).
- The African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR).
- The Southern Africa Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development (SADC) (1997).
- The *Amended Constitution of Lesotho of 1993* and the government's principles on democracy and rule of law.
- Vision 2020.
- New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Government of Lesotho, 2003: 2).

The Lesotho government declared its support for various United Nations conventions that relate to the betterment of the position of women in the country. As such the decisions of the conventions have been instrumental in the design of the Lesotho Gender Policy. For the sake of clarity, a number of the United Nations and other declarations will be briefly discussed here.

3.5.1 THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS GUIDING THE *DRAFT GENDER POLICY OF LESOTHO (2003)*

The Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women 1989 (CEDAW)

The CEDAW convention was adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly as a finale of more than thirty years of work done by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women which was established in 1946. The commission was established to monitor and to promote women's rights and this became CEDAW'S central concern. Article 15 (1) of the convention states that member states shall accord women equality with men before the law, which appears to be applicable to Lesotho because women are legal minors. Subsection 2 indicates that in civil matters, women will be given a legal capacity similar to that of men. The areas of priority are listed as the right to conclude contracts, administer property and equal treatment in all stages and procedures in courts and tribunals. Although Lesotho is signatory to the conventions, women still lack contractual capacity. Subsection 4 of article 15 of the convention states that signatory states shall accord to men and women, equal rights and freedom of movement to choose their residence and domicile. This is again contrary to Lesotho laws because due to their lack of contractual capacity and their legal minority status, women cannot acquire passports without the consent of their fathers if single, or their husbands if they are married.

The Fourth Conference on Women 1995 (WCW)

The mission statement of the Platform of Action identifies women's empowerment as its agenda, especially with regard to removing all obstacles to women's participation in public and private structures. In the view of Ghali (cited in the Platform of Action, 1995: 1), the Beijing declaration set out to:

- Protect and promote the rights of women and the girl child as an integral part of the universal human rights.
- Eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women.
- Eliminate all of forms of violence against women.
- Ensure equal access for girl children and women to education and health services.
- Promote economic autonomy for women, and ensure their access to productive resources.
- Encourage an equitable sharing of family responsibilities.

The Southern Africa Development Commission (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development (1997)

According to the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, the Heads of Southern African States resolved a common vision that:

- i. Gender equality is a fundamental human right.
- ii. Gender is an area in which considerable agreement already exists and there are substantial benefits to be gained from closer regional co-operation and collective action.
- iii. The integration and mainstreaming of gender issues into the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative is the key to the sustainable development of the SADC region.

To ensure implementation of the declaration's goals the SADC leaders committed themselves to:

- i. Placing gender firmly on the agenda of the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative.
- ii. Ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision-making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least a 30 percent target of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005.

- iii. Promoting women's full access to, and control over productive resources such as land, livestock, markets, credit, modern technology, formal employment.
- iv. Repealing and reforming all laws, amending constitutions and changing social practices which still subject women to discrimination, and enacting empowering gender sensitive laws.
- v. Enhancing access to quality education by women and men, and removing gender stereotyping in the curriculum, career choices and professions.
- vi. Making quality reproductive and other health services more accessible to men and women.
- vii. Protecting and promoting the human rights of women and children.
- viii. Recognising, protecting and promoting the reproductive and sexual rights of women and the girl child.
- ix. Taking urgent measures to prevent and deal with the increasing levels of violence against women and children.
- x. Encouraging the mass media to disseminate information and materials in respect of the human rights of women and children.

Vision 2020

Vision 2020 is the report on the national dialogue on the development of a national vision for Lesotho which was established in 2001. The overall objectives of the dialogue were formulated, based on the following values: peace, unity, tolerance, sharing, self respect and respect of others, hospitality, humility, generosity, patience, sense of responsibility, obedience, family bonds, Basotho cultural values and norms, belief in the Christian faith and resilience. Although this report is supposedly one of the roots of the *draft Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*, women issues are briefly mentioned under the section on "critical areas of development", but it is not indicated in the report how the issues are going to be approached.

New Partnership for Africa's Development 2001 (NEPAD)

Under the NEPAD declaration, African leaders pledged to eradicate poverty and to place their countries on the path of development and participate actively in the world economy and body politic. Several areas are sidelined by the NEPAD document as problem areas but for the purpose of this study only, Article 49 will be discussed since it specifically focuses upon women. It is designated that one of the objectives is to promote the role of women in social and economic development by "reinforcing their capacity in the domains of education and training" (NEPAD, 2001: 10). This would be achieved through the development of revenue generating activities through facilitating access to credit and assurance of their participation in the economic and political life of African countries.

3.5.2 Objectives of the *draft Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*

In line with the declarations of the UN conventions and other actions discussed in the above paragraphs, the Lesotho Ministry of Gender and Sports drafted its first policy in 2003. The document states the following objectives:

- To ensure equal opportunities and participation by men and women, girls and boys in the development process in order to promote a better standard of living for all.
- To ensure equal access to education, training and health services and control over resources such as land and credit.
- To conserve positive and mitigate negative aspects of the Basotho culture in order to promote equality of men and women, boys and girls and to sustain social stability and peaceful co-existence.
- To ensure that gender sensitive laws exist and are enforced.
- To guide in the allocation of resources and public expenditure so that they are equally beneficial to women and men, boys and girls.

- To set guidelines for public awareness and promotion of understanding of the link between gender equality and development through the media.
- To promote equal opportunities and participation in politics and decision-making.
- To provide direction for development of effective programmes on awareness creation on the causes and consequences of gender-based violence and of mechanisms geared at eradicating such problems.
- To facilitate promotion of the acquisition of life skills in order to overcome gender and development problems.
- To promote equal decision-making in sexuality matters in order to reduce the spread of STIs and HIV/AIDS among women and men, boys and girls.

3.5.3 Strategies for the implementation of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*

The survey conducted as part of this study will subsequently also be aimed at determining whether the envisaged objectives of the policy have been implemented to date although strategies of achieving this objectives are not clearly stated in the policy. For example, one of the strategies to be used is the review of the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* (Government of Lesotho, 2003: 8), to gear it towards gender sensitivity to place it in line with the CEDAW declaration, which clearly stipulates that all discriminatory laws should be eradicated by the year 2005. The *Lesotho Gender Policy* does not however, list specific strategies to be used to implement these ideals. No time frames are indicated for the implementation of the policy.

3.6 SUMMARY

The focus of this chapter has been to trace the history of discrimination experienced by women in Lesotho in general and by implication in the education sector. Much has been written about women and law in Lesotho but there seems

to be limited literature focussing on gender issues in education in particular. In order to shed light on women's predicament in education, the history of women's discrimination in the country was thus investigated.

This chapter also gave an exposition of the influence of culture on the subordination of women because it appears that culture equates femininity with inferiority, while masculinity is equated with power and superiority. Although efforts appear to have been made to steer towards gender equality such as the drafting of a gender policy, cultural practices seem to hinder such efforts. This appears to be due to the fact that *Customary Law* surpasses any *Common Law* stipulations. It seems also that some aspects of culture are deeply embedded in the worldview of the Basotho people, which, as indicated is not easy to change. The implication is that even legal stipulations in Lesotho are deeply influenced by custom and tradition, and as a result women are excluded from decision-making roles in politics, the economy, education, and generally in any other spheres where, driven by patriarchy, men are at the forefront.

Cultural institutions such as marriage, family and politics have been further explored to investigate their contribution to the discrimination of women in education in Lesotho.

The last focus of this chapter was on the context and content of the Lesotho *Gender Policy drafted in 2003*, in an attempt to address gender inequalities in the country.

Against the background of the exploration of Lesotho's history of gender inequalities, the particular situation of women in education in Lesotho necessitates an empirical investigation. Apart from focussing on specific cultural issues in the school, the investigation also aims at determining to what extent the *draft Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* has been implemented in the sphere of

education in Lesotho. The following chapter will subsequently give an exposition of the way in which the empirical investigation will be conducted.

CHAPTER 4

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION INTO GENDER STEREOTYPES IN EDUCATION IN LESOTHO

4.1 DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The preceding two chapters (2 and 3), provided a theoretical and historical perspective on stereotypes in education in Lesotho, from which certain conclusions were drawn. It also became clear from the literature review that women's roles in Lesotho are firmly rooted in the tradition of patriarchy. Although the section on culture and women in Lesotho (Chapter 3) largely confirmed the latter statement, the position of women in education in Lesotho in particular necessitates further examination since very little has been recorded of the effects of patriarchy on the education sector of Lesotho. An empirical investigation of stereotypes and women's roles in this country seemed inevitable.

It has been noted in Chapter 3 that the Ministry of Gender indeed developed a draft *Lesotho Gender Policy* in 2003. The possibility, however, exists that most stakeholders in Lesotho education are not even aware of the existence of such a policy, since preliminary enquiries about the policy revealed that implementation might not have started. The empirical investigation will thus also attempt to determine the impact (if any) of the draft *Gender Policy* on education in the country.

This chapter will offer an exposition of the methods that will be applied in realising the goal of investigating gender stereotyping and the effects of patriarchy on the Basotho women's education. The section will thus also focus on the instruments to be used to gather data for the interpretation, inference,

explanation and predictions of the investigation (cf. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2000: 44; and Wellington, 2001: 22).

4.1.1 Selection of methods for the research

Due to the nature of this study, which is intended at *inter alia* investigating barriers that are experienced by women educators in Lesotho, the choice of methods was made with the hope of gaining insight into the nature and causes of gender stereotypes, especially within the education sector of Lesotho. The research will be done amongst women teachers and students, together with principals and managers at a high school level. To be able to choose appropriate methods for the research, it seems necessary to focus briefly on the objectives of the empirical investigation:

- To determine the effects of cultural and other practices on women's roles in education in Lesotho; to investigate the possible occurrence of, and perceptions on the discrimination of women in schools in Lesotho;
- to investigate the possible occurrence of, and perceptions on the discrimination of women in schools; and
- to determine to what extent the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* has been implemented in High Schools in Lesotho.

In this research a multi-dimensional approach (or triangulation) will be followed since three different methods will be used to investigate the proposed problem. A thorough literature review was done to provide the theoretical basis upon which the research would evolve (cf. Chapters 2 and 3). As noted in Chapter 1, both qualitative and quantitative approaches will subsequently be applied to collect information relevant to the topic under study.

The different methods will be employed co-operatively to enhance, illustrate or clarify and thus give colour, structure, and 'sophisticated rigor' (cf. Krathwol, 1998: 619; and Neumann, 1994: 324) to the study, and therefore ensuring the trustworthiness of data being collected (cf. Bake, 1999: 225). This means that the validity of the study will be enhanced because various sources would have been employed. This is in line with Burgess' (1993: 94) definition of triangulation, which is associated with an exercise of confirming a claim to judgement that is done by drawing on evidence from more than one source. Although the qualitative and quantitative methods may seem fundamentally different, Monnapula-Mapesela (2002: 223) maintains that it is vital that they are not perceived as opposites and hence in this research they will be employed to complement each other.

Wellington (2001: 23) calls this multi-method approach 'methodological pragmatism' and further elaborates that a field researcher is a methodological pragmatist and therefore holds the liberty to view any method of enquiry as a 'system of strategies and operations' to be used as a tool to obtain answers. For example, while interviews can be used to investigate reality by exploring it first-hand, questionnaires can be used to determine the scope of the investigation. In addition, Neumann (1994: 325) indicates that a combination of methods aids the researcher to make praxis thus giving more weight to the research. Jick, (as cited in Delport *et al.*, 2002: 342) summarises the merits of triangulation as follows: Triangulation

- allows researchers to be more confident about the results of their work. It can stimulate the creation of inventive methods and new ways of capturing a problem to balance with conventional data-collection methods;
- can help to uncover the deviant or off-quadrant dimension of a phenomenon because different viewpoints are likely to produce some elements that do not fit the theory or model and thus leading to an enriched explanation of the research problem;

- can lead to synthesis and integration of theories;
- may also serve as the critical test, by virtue of its comprehensiveness for competing theories;
- allows the researcher to strengthen his/her study because methods are allowed to supplement each other and avoid individual flaws or shortcomings (cf. also Maharasoa, 2001: 9; and Krathwohl, 1998: 620). For example, while the qualitative method can be used to explain and define methods, the quantitative method can be used to determine the size of the sample; and
- also adds to the accuracy of an estimated size or sample because a problem is approached from different angles (cf. also Krathwohl, 1998: 620).

For this study, methodological triangulation will consequently be applied and this will be achieved through application of the following:

- A literature review which was used to expose fundamental concepts and contexts related to gender issues and the situation in Lesotho in particular.
- Data collection through the application of the questionnaires as an instrument of the quantitative approach to the research.
- Interviews as a quantitative technique which will be aimed at addressing possible shortcomings in the findings of the qualitative survey, but also aimed at understanding the research problem in its context.

4.1.1.1 Literature review

An extensive literature review was conducted to provide a theoretical basis for the research. This method is generally applied, according to Delport *et al.* (2002: 127) to give a clearer understanding of the nature of the stated problem. This was achieved through the use of primary and secondary sources, research reports, dissertations, presentations at conferences and workshops, professional

articles, journals, and the internet. The literature review was undertaken for the following reasons:

- It has served as a source for focussing on the topic selected and thus avoided the chances of selecting outdated and irrelevant works. This, according to Delpont *et al.* (2002: 128) provides the researcher with better insight into the dimensions and complexity of the problem, thus allowing the researcher to ensure that that no one has ventured on the same topic before. If the topic has been investigated before, the researcher will have the opportunity to identify the loopholes and thus proposing to meet the deficiencies.
- A literature review also helped to identify the “thought leaders” in the proposed field of study, thus allowing the researcher to demonstrate knowledge of the most recent authoritative theories concerned with the study (Mouton, 2001: 87).
- It assisted in conceptualising the problem, refining it, and reducing it to a feasible size and scope.
- The review further helped to determine the major variables of importance in the phenomenon of gender stereotypes in Lesotho; and
- to understand the relationships among variables.
- The review also helped to find ‘handles’ on problems without obvious starting places (Krathrol, 1998: 229 - 30).
- Lastly, the literature review allowed the researcher to conceptualise the problem because it provided the opportunity to identify the area of knowledge that the investigation intended to expand (Newman, as cited in Delpont *et al.*, 2002: 129).

4.1.1.2 Rationale for the use of the quantitative method

According to Wellington (2001: 200) the quantitative methodology involves approaches which deal with numbers and measurable quantities. The implication therefore is that the quantitative method is a numerical method used to describe

observations of materials and characteristics. This method can also involve quasi-experiments, structured observation, codifying phenomena, the use of questionnaires and social surveys or structured interviews (cf. Neuman, 1994: 316). In this study, the quantitative research method, and questionnaires in particular, will be used in an attempt to prove suppositions based on statistics, together with the following advantages:

- It will also allow the researcher to engage in a large scale comparative analysis, testing theories, finalising facts and arriving at predictions (cf. Bhim, 2004: 114; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 8; and Strydom, 1997: 86).
- The quantitative research method is also trusted to avoid distortion and independence of subjective differences between researchers (cf. Niemann, Niemann, Brazelle, Van Staden, Heyns, and De Wet, 2000: 284). This can be attributed to the fact that the results are based solely on numbers. The implication is that the quantitative research method deals with objective reality.

As an instrument of quantitative research, the questionnaire was chosen for the following reasons:

- Respondents remain anonymous and personal contact is minimised, thus increasing objectivity.
- Many people are contacted.
- It is economic.
- Due to standardised instructions, the respondents only answer what is expected of them.
- It facilitates contact with subjects of the study who could not otherwise be reached by personal contact.
- It is useful for large amounts of data.
- It helps the respondents to focus the attention on the specific purpose of the study (cf. Skosana as cited in Adam, 2003: 49).

4.1.1.3 Rationale for the use of the qualitative method

This study intends to gain insight into Lesotho women's experiences, in fulfilling the expected gender roles prescribed by society and the community and facilitated by institutions such as the school. The qualitative research methodology will therefore be used in his investigation. Personal unstructured interviews will be conducted with principals of the selected schools to gain insight into the problem of gender stereotyping. In a qualitative research approach, according to Smaling (1992: 174), the "object of study is the world as defined, experienced, data collection is open, flexible and not strictly regimented". This method will subsequently allow the researcher to:

- humanise problems and data as the researcher becomes part of the research rather than just an instrument of measurement;
- make people, problems, and situations "come alive";
- portray phenomena in context. The researcher will physically undertake the research in the setting under study as recommended by Van Maren (as cited in Kruger, 1997: 137);
- describe complex personal and interpersonal phenomena that would otherwise be impossible;
- provide a holistic view of phenomena by elucidating women's experiences in the education system of Lesotho with regard to discrimination;
- attach emotions and feelings to phenomenon because it will give the researcher and the subject of research a platform to be together at close range and thus providing the researcher with an opportunity to study the subject better;
- will give the researcher the opportunity to understand exact meanings of concepts, events, interactions, and relationships with and amongst people in specific situations and specific contexts (cf. Strydom, 1997: 86); and
- will provide the researcher with an understanding of the world of women through the eyes of women themselves.

Principals will be afforded the opportunity to voice their opinions through unstructured interviews relating to gender stereotypes, especially in the field of education and thus allowing them adequate opportunity to voice and express their diverse beliefs (cf. Imber, 1997: 14; and also Monnapula-Mapesela, 2002: 219). The investigation will hopefully help the researcher to understand how gender stereotyping affects both Lesotho students and teachers in their daily activities and thus allowing them to discuss, rationalise, reflect, criticise and suggest ways that can be used to step out of the unequal situation.

Since qualitative research is used to interpret aspects of reality that cannot be identifiable through quantitative translation only (cf. Krathwohl, 1998: 230; Strauss and Corbin, 1996: 10-11), this approach will be used to supplement the quantitative approach that will be applied in the first part of the study. Interviews were also chosen for their ability to “provide access to what is inside the person’s head”, their potential to furnish room for follow-up to unexpected results and for their capability to supply data that has to follow a certain sequence (cf. Kulundu, 2001: 85; Palm-Forster, 2000: 162; and Creswell, 1994: 15).

As a technique of qualitative research, the unstructured interview was chosen for this study. Reasons for choosing interviews are the following:

- (a) Flexibility. This allows the researcher to rephrase questions to suit the level of the respondents (cf. also Cohen and Manion, 1998: 272; and Krathwohl, 1998: 379).
- (b) Due to the physical presence of the interviewer, interaction is granted which allows the interviewer to understand the situation even better.
- (c) Interviews also guarantee freedom of expression since the respondent can enter into detailed discussions which allows the researcher clearer meaning of the situation.
- (d) Due to the physical presence of the interviewer, greater completion is achieved because respondents are not likely to abandon some questions.

- In this regard it can be viewed as a great time saver (cf. also Cohen and Manion, 1998: 272; Krathwohl, 1998: 379).
- (e) In cases where questions are answered insufficiently, the interviewer can press for more information.
 - (f) Complicated issues which require the respondents' application of analytical thinking can be investigated.
 - (g) Interviews are also believed to be effective in allowing the researcher to make follow-ups to unexpected results by validating the questionnaires and probing (cf. Cohen and Manion, 1998: 269).
 - (h) Weighed against questionnaires, Kulundu (2001: 85) asserts that interviews can be trusted to acquire more information that needs sequence. This, according to Kulundu (2001: 85) is because respondents are unable to read questions ahead whereas in a questionnaire one can read a question beforehand. This implies that interviews allow sequence in questioning to flow accordingly, thus enhancing validity and reliability.
 - (i) Cohen and Manion (1998: 272) further add that interviews offer a great magnitude of data collection due to the process of coding, which is limited.

4.2 SAMPLING

Sampling is explained by Krathwohl (1998: 160) as "ways of selecting a small number of units from a population to enable researchers to make reliable inferences about the nature of that population". In other words, sampling is used to generalise views about the object being studied, which is done through a sample. The object used for sampling, and thus a sample, is therefore a small part of a bigger picture used to represent the whole (cf. Wellington, 2001: 58). For example, testing a bottle of perfume is a sample of a whole bottle. One would use a tester before he/she may purchase the whole bottle. In educational research therefore a sample can be regarded as a 'subset of measurements' accumulated from the population of interest (cf. Delpont *et al.*, 2002: 198). This

implies that in an educational study, a sample is a subset of objects, events, or people who represent a whole subject of investigation or study. For this study the purposive technique will be applied.

Purposive sampling, which is classified under non-probability sampling, is explained as a case whereby a particular sample is chosen because it exhibits features that are being sought after for a particular study (cf. Delport *et al.*, 2002: 334), and this solely depends on the individual researcher's perception of the subject of study. This method of sampling was chosen for this study because of the intention to compare the results of the urban area with the rural area. The hypothesis here is that the experiences of women in the urban areas will differ from that of women residing in the rural areas with regard to the phenomenon of stereotyping. Cultural influences are thus assumed to be different in the rural areas compared to the urban areas.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the study will be centred on schools in Maseru and the Mokhotlong district. This will be useful, since it would be possible to compare the results of the two areas, especially in terms of the influence of culture. Maseru is the capital city of the country and Mokhotlong is located in the highland rural area of the country.

The study will be conducted in public schools since private schools are not prominent in the rural areas. Only a few private schools exist in the rural areas, but most of them are not properly registered with the Ministry of Education. For the sake of comparison, only public (church and government) schools will thus be focused upon.

Mokhotlong has four high schools with an estimated total number of 2155 learners and 97 teachers (Ministry of Education Planning Unit, 1999: 59). The

quantitative survey will involve all three schools in this area with a sample size entailing the following:

Rural schools (Questionnaires)

- 30 female students in three selected schools
- 30 female teachers
- 10 parents (male and female)
- 3 principals (2 male and 1 female)

Interviews

3 principals (2 male and 1 female)

The total sample size in Mokhotlong will therefore be 30 students, 30 teachers, 3 principals and 10 parents.

Although the number of schools in the rural area might seem insufficient for the investigation, it should be noted that Mokhotlong is a mountainous area with a poor infrastructure and scarce population and that rural schools in Lesotho are considerably less than in the urban areas. Accessing some of the schools in Mokhotlong is difficult and in some cases even impossible to reach. Another reason for the inaccessibility of the region is the climatic conditions because it often snows in the mountains, thus limiting access.

Maseru, representing the urban population, has fifty schools with a total number of 18,352 students, and an estimated 900 teachers (Ministry of Education Planning Unit, 1999: 59). The survey in the schools in Maseru will be done by randomly selecting 25 schools and will be done as follows:

Urban schools (questionnaires)

- 120 female students
- 70 female teachers
- 30 parents (male and female)
- 17 principals (male and female)

Interviews

13 principals (male and female)

The students will be girls in Form E, which represents the school-leaving certificate in Lesotho. Form E learners were chosen because they are assumed to be on an intellectual and emotional level where they will have insight into the topic of the research and be able to express their views earnestly and coherently. The total number of questionnaires (urban and rural) will thus be 150 for students, 150 for teachers, 40 for parents and 20 for principals. One on one interviews with 16 principals (male and female) of the selected schools will thus be used as the qualitative instrument for gathering data. This will be done to give principals the opportunity to share their experiences on women's roles in the schools. The interviewees will be able to express their views, to be heard, and to have their perspectives known.

4.3 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE RESEARCH

To clarify reliability, synonyms such as dependability, stability, consistency, predictability, accuracy, reproducibility, repeatability and generalisability are used (cf. Delpont *et al.*, 2002: 168). Delpont *et al.* (2002: 168) advocate that a reliable instrument is one with which similar results can be obtained when it is independently administered or a comparable instrument is used and can produce

similar results constantly. Other scholars explain reliability in terms of consistency of results across various settings and used by various researchers (cf. Bell, 1997: 64; and Wellington 2001: 31). Wellington (2001: 31) further cites Le Compte and Preissle (1984: 332) to sustain the above argument by indicating that reliability is “the extent to which studies can be replicated...a researcher using the same method can obtain the same results as those of a prior study...” This definition is also in line with the views of Delport *et al.* (2002: 168), Kulundu (2001: 104), and Krathwohl (1998: 435).

For this study, reliability was tested through the use of the following:

- A pilot study conducted in one school, randomly selected in the Maseru district, where the questionnaires were administered, whereupon certain shortcomings in the research instrument itself were identified, and the questions were subsequently adjusted.
- Provision of paired questions to work as counter checks to the others.
- The questionnaire as a research instrument was developed through the use of corpuses of existing literature about gender issues in Lesotho.
- The questionnaire was also scrutinized by experts at the Centre for Higher Education at the University of the Free State.
- The actual survey. The researcher personally distributed the questionnaires and gave guidance to the participants in the completion thereof. The conditions were thus controlled.
- Use of the triangulation technique.
- To ensure that an audit can be done, all the completed questionnaires will be kept.

Validity refers to the degree to which a research instrument measures what it is expected to measure (cf. Bell, 1997: 65; Wellington, 2001: 30; Monnapula-

Mapesela, 2002: 30; Kulundu, 2001: 102; Brazelle, 2002: 22). For this study, validity was ensured by an exploration of vast literature existing about sexism, gender equality and patriarchy. This placed the researcher in a better position to understand the situation faced by women. Monnapula-Mapesela (2002: 232) posits that a comprehensive literature review is an opportunity to understand what other scholars have already achieved in the particular subject. This, in the opinion of Monnapula-Mapesela (2002: 232), allows researchers to reflect on their work and familiarise themselves with the new problems. To further ensure validity of the study, the following measures will also be taken:

- The data from the qualitative investigation will be validated by comparing it with the literature (Chapter 5); and
- any contradiction that is found in the data from the questionnaires will be taken up with the interviews.

4.4 STRUCTURE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

A combination of open-ended and closed-form questions will be used in all the questionnaires. The closed-form questions will be asked for its ability to allow the researcher to obtain robust information, that is easy to score and code for analysis (cf. Khumalo, 2000: 102; and Delport *et al.*, 2002: 179). Delport *et al.* (2002: 179) assert that closed-form questions are valuable in a case where the sample is large, since feedback becomes available fairly quickly because the respondents are familiar with the language use and therefore understands questions better. This is an advantage to the researcher because the results of the survey can be compared since questions would have been answered within the same framework. Schuemarn (cited in Delport *et al.*, 2002: 180) however warns that important information may be missed in this form of questioning because it does not allow for differences of responses about the subject of

investigation. According to Delpont *et al.* (2002: 180) closed-form questions should always be supplemented by another form of questioning.

Open-ended questions will therefore be applied to elucidate the information obtained and give details that may not have been able to appear in the closed-form questions, in this way enhancing the responses of the participants (Monnapula-Mapesela, 2002: 230). This is because respondents are free to express their feelings in the open-ended questions. Delpont *et al.* (2002: 178) are of the opinion that open-ended questions are in effect more useful in an investigation of a variable that is “relatively unknown and unexplored to the researcher”. A Likert scale was used in some of the questions because it is a widely used method of gathering data (Monnapula-Mapesela, 2002: 228), but most importantly, specific ratings are to weigh the responses of the participants.

4.4.1 Aims of the questionnaires

Questionnaire A for teachers

This questionnaire consisted of thirty-four questions divided into seven sections (A-G). The sections entailed the following:

- Section A was aimed at determining the relevant biographical details of the teachers and it contained one question. The question was asked to determine whether the respondents lived in the rural or urban area. This question was asked to be able to compare some of the results of the investigation.
- Section B intended to investigate the knowledge of teachers on the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* and its contents, and it comprised of 12 questions. These questions were asked in an attempt to determine whether the policy and its contents is known to the respondents.

- Sections C contained 2 questions which were aimed at investigating the perceptions of female teachers with regard to managerial tasks, and opportunities in the school. These questions were asked in order to determine whether women in the education system of Lesotho are presented with equal opportunities to compete for managerial tasks, and in cases where they are, whether they are given the same treatment as their male counterparts.
- Section D consisted of one question, which intended to investigate stereotypes associated with the decision-making abilities of women teachers.
- Section E contained 10 questions. These questions were aimed at investigating gender stereotypes in the school that appear to be facilitated by cultural practices.
- Section F was aimed at investigating gender stereotypes associated with the curriculum in the school and a total of 3 questions were used.
- Lastly, Section G consisted of 4 open-ended questions which focused on stereotypes in general.

Questionnaire B for principals

The principal's questionnaire consisted of eight sections (A-H) divided into twenty-seven questions.

- Section A: This section was aimed at determining the places of birth of the principals. This was done to allow the researcher to compare the female principals' experiences in the two different geographical locations (urban and rural).
- Section B consisted of 2 questions aimed at investigating gender disparities in the education system of Lesotho amongst principals.
- Section C was aimed at determining the respondent's knowledge on the *Lesotho Gender Policy*. A total of 15 questions were asked in this section.

- Section D involved two questions, and the aim was to investigate the feelings of women in the school environment with regard to gender stereotypes.
- Section E was aimed at determining the existence of stereotypes with regard to female principals' decision-making abilities, and it consisted of one question only.
- Section F was aimed at investigating the principals' opinions on the cultural practices that seem to discriminate against women. This section involved thirteen questions.
- Section G investigated practices that are still present in schools that seem to discriminate against women, and principals in particular. This section contained three questions.
- Section H was aimed at investigating whether the female principals have been the target of gender discrimination, either as principals or deputy-principals.

Questionnaire C for students

This questionnaire consisted of twenty-eight questions divided into five sections (A-E). The structure of the questionnaire entailed the following:

- Section A of the student's questionnaire intended to investigate the geographical location of the respondents. This was asked to be able to compare the responses in the rural and urban areas.
- Section B was aimed at inequalities faced by girls in the education system of Lesotho, and 11 questions were asked.
- Section C, consisting of two questions, was aimed at investigating gender stereotypes associated with discipline in the school. Respondents had to react to a number of statements.
- Section D intended to investigate cultural stereotypes faced by girls in Lesotho schools, and a total of 8 questions were asked.
- Lastly, Section E dealt with girls and sexual violence. In this section 4 open-ended and closed form questions were asked.

Questionnaire D for parents

The parent's questionnaire consisted of thirty-seven questions divided into six sections (A-F).

- Section A of this questionnaire investigated the biographical details of the parents and consisted of 1 question, which dealt with the geographical location of the respondents. This question was asked to be able to compare the urban and rural results.
- Section B investigated cultural aspects that that seem to discriminate against women. This was achieved through 9 questions.
- Section C, consisting of five questions, intended to investigate myths associated with women and their sexuality.
- Section D dealt with discrimination of women in schools.
- Section E was aimed at investigating the implementation of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*.
- The last section (F) focused on inequalities faced by women in general.

4.4.2 Aims of the interviews

This part of the empirical investigation consisted of unstructured questions aimed at principals or deputy-principals of the selected schools. The interviews mainly concentrated on the principals' knowledge of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* and efforts made in the schools to move towards gender equality in education. The questions asked concentrated on information that would add to the data gathered through the questionnaires. The aims of the interviews were *inter alia* to determine:

- whether the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* is known in the country, especially by the stakeholders in the education system;
- whether girls or women who get pregnant are allowed to re-enter the school system after delivering their children;

- whether efforts are being made to ensure that (science) teaching materials are gender sensitive;
- the number of female science teachers in the schools;
- whether boys and girls are given the same opportunities with regard to science subjects; and
- whether women are represented in the management of schools.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with methods to be used in the gathering of data and the rationale behind the choice of the particular methods. This was done through an exploration of the merits of the selected methods. The chapter also dealt with the way in which the sample size was selected. This was done because this study is aimed at comparing the cultural experiences of women in different geographical locations (the highlands and the lowlands) hence the choice of the Maseru and the Mokhotlong districts. The research instruments, questionnaires and interviews were further elaborated on and the aims of the two instruments clarified.

The next chapters (5 and 6) will deal with an analysis of the collected data.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEY: TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to determine the extent to which gender stereotypes influence women's roles in education in Lesotho, relevant data was collected through a survey and interviews. This chapter, therefore, will focus on an analysis of the results of the teachers' and principals' questionnaires and interviews. The analysis of data gathered through the questionnaires will be done through a series of tables with a brief interpretation of each of the tables. The results of the interviews conducted with the principals will be analysed and interpreted in terms of specifically identified themes to supplement the findings of the quantitative survey.

The return of the administered questionnaires was not without difficulty, since a total of 368 were administered, and only 310 (84%) were returned. The return-rate of all the questionnaires (teachers, principals, students and parents) is reflected in the following table:

Table 10: No of distributed and returned questionnaires

Participants	Number distributed	Returned	Total % returned
Teachers	150	100	67
Students	150	150	100
Parents	40	40	100
Principals	28	20	71
Total	368	310	84

As indicated in Table 10, the return-rate of the questionnaires from the teachers was not as expected, since only 100 of the 150 distributed were returned. The intention was to administer 250 questionnaires to teachers, but the teachers complained that they were marking papers and did not have the time. Only 150 questionnaires were subsequently distributed and 100 were returned. In the case of the students, a total of 150 questionnaires were distributed and all (100%) were returned. With regard to the parents' questionnaire, the initial aim was to administer a total of 100. However, Basotho schools are situated in the urban and semi-urban areas of Lesotho and therefore students have to travel from the remote and rural areas to attend schools. This means that most of the students do not live with their parents. Only 40 questionnaires were therefore eventually administered to the parents and all of these were returned (100%). With regard to the principals' questionnaire, the aim was to administer 28 questionnaires, but due to the end of term tests some principals (and vice-principals) were unable to respond. Of the 28 questionnaires distributed, only 20 were returned (84%). The initial aim was also to conduct 28 interviews, but only 16 (76%) were conducted because theoretical saturation was reached since no more new information was added.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES: TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS

5.2.1 QUESTIONNAIRE A: TEACHERS

This questionnaire was aimed at determining whether disparities faced by women teachers in the education system of Lesotho exist. Against the background of the situation of women in general, and in Lesotho in particular, which was primarily focused on in the literature study, it was necessary to determine whether gender stereotypes are perpetuated in the education sector of Lesotho.

5.2.2 SECTION A: GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Question T1 was asked to determine the geographical location of the teachers. This was done because the researcher is of the opinion that there might be a significant difference between the experiences of gender roles and stereotypes in the urban and rural areas of Lesotho. The responses are reflected in Table 11.

Table 11: The respondents' area of residence

	Responses N = 100	%
Rural	30	30
Urban	70	70
Total	100	100

The responses in Table 11 indicate that the majority of the respondents (70%) live in the urban areas, while only 30% reside in the rural areas. An analysis of the results of the survey will consequently include a comparison of the urban responses and the rural participants, specifically to determine whether the experiences of these two groups of teachers differ with regard to cultural practices that perpetuate women's inequality in the school (cf. Section E).

5.2.3 SECTION B: The draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*

Question T2 intended to find out whether the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* is known in the country. The responses are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Knowledge of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*

	Responses N = 100	%
Yes	7	7
No	93	93
Total	100	100

The responses in Table 12 show that the majority of the teachers (93%) are not aware of the existence of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*, while only 7% know of the existence of such a policy. Only the respondents (7) who are aware

of the existence of the policy were required to answer the follow-up questions: T4 – T9. When asked how they had heard about the *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*, the participants responded by indicating the following among the given options:

- Workshop on gender (1 participant).
- Education Department (1 participant).

None of the participants marked the school or District Office, but when asked to indicate other sources, they indicated:

- Newspaper (2 participants).
- Radio (3 participants).

Question T3 was intended to investigate whether the teachers were aware of the contents of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*. Only 2 of the 7 participants (who indicated that they were aware of the policy) responded to this question. The responses are presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Are the teachers aware of the contents of the *Lesotho Gender Policy*?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	2	29
No response	5	71
Total	7	100

The results in Table 13 indicate that the majority of the teachers (71%) are not aware of the contents of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*, while 29% are familiar with the contents. This question was answered only by the 7 respondents who indicated, in response to Question T2, that they knew of the existence of the policy.

Question T4 was asked to find out what the teachers think the objectives of a Gender Policy should be. The following objectives were listed:

- To empower and develop women (3 participants);
- to promote gender equality and equity (2 participants);
- to provide employment opportunities for women (1 participant); and

- equal education (1 participant).

Question T5 was asked to determine whether teachers are aware of the *Gender Mainstreaming Programme* as envisaged in the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*. All the respondents indicated that they knew nothing about this programme.

Question T6 was a follow-up question to Question T5, and since all the respondents indicated that they were not aware of the *Gender Mainstreaming Programme* (cf. Question T4), none of them attempted to answer this question.

Question T7 was aimed at finding out if *The Land Act of 1979* had been removed as promised by the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*. Only the two respondents, who indicated that they were aware of the contents of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy* (cf. Table 11) responded by indicating that the *Land Act of 1979* had not yet been repealed.

Question T8 was aimed at investigating what the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* has achieved to date in the areas where the teachers live. Only the two respondents, who indicated that they were aware of the contents of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*, responded. The responses are recorded in Table 14.

Table 14: Implementation strategies achieved

N = 2	Yes	%	No	%	Total
1. Has a development fund to enhance the opportunities of marginalised men and women been established in the participants' area?	0	0	2	100	100
2. Have legal impediments to women's access to credit been removed?	0	0	2	100	100
3. Are women in the respondents' area still in some cases	0	0	2	100	100

refused employment and dismissed on the grounds of pregnancy or breastfeeding responsibilities?					
4. Have steps been taken to equalise the marital status of women and men with regard to ownership of property?	0	0	2	100	100
5. Have gender and economic empowerment issues been introduced in the curriculum?	0	0	2	100	100
6. Has in-service training on gender issues been offered in the respondents' schools?	0	0	2	100	100
7. Has sexual health education been introduced in the respondents' curriculum?	1	50	1	50	100
8. Has information on gender-based violence issues been introduced in the respondents' school curriculum?	0	0	2	100	100
9. Has a gender-balanced <i>National Youth Council</i> been established in the respondents' area?	0	0	2	100	100
10. Have workshops been held in the respondents' areas to familiarise them with the contents and strategies of the draft <i>Lesotho Gender Policy</i> ?	1	50	1	50	100
11. Do the respondents know of the existence of Gender Focal Points in their area of residence/work?	0	0	2	100	100

The responses in Table 14 indicate that the following strategies of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy* **have not been** introduced in the teachers' schools:

- A development fund to enhance the opportunities for marginalised women and men in the participants' areas.
- Removal of legal impediments to women's access to credit.
- Steps to equalise the marital status of women and men with regard to ownership of property.
- Gender and economic empowerment issues introduced in curricula.
- In-service training on gender issues offered at the schools.
- Information on gender-based violence issues introduced in the curricula.
- Establishment of a gender-balanced National Youth League.

The following strategies **have**, however, **been** introduced in 50% (1) of the participants' schools:

- Sexual health education; and
- workshops have been held to familiarise women with the contents and strategies of the *Lesotho Gender Policy 2003*.

Question T9 was asked to determine the teachers' opinions on the main issues that should be addressed by the *Lesotho Gender Policy 2003*. None of the respondents attempted to answer this question.

Question T10 was an open-ended question intending to find out if the teachers are aware of any provisions made by the Ministry of Gender to empower women in the education sector. All the respondents indicated that they were not aware of any such provisions.

Question T11 was asked to determine which of the laws in the *Lesotho Constitution of 2003* oppress women the most. The teachers listed the following laws:

- The *Land Act of 1979* (5 responses).
- The *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* (2 responses).

Question T12 was intended to find out if the respondents were aware of any progress towards improving the above laws to cater for gender equality. The results are reflected in Table 15.

Table 15: Progress aimed at improving laws to cater for gender equality

Responses	N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

According to Table 15 all the teachers (100%) indicated that they had no knowledge of any progress aimed at improving the laws listed in Question T11, to cater for gender equality.

Question T13 was asked to determine whether the introduction of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy 2003* has made a positive difference to the marginalised roles of female teachers in the respondents' areas. The responses are shown in Table 16.

Table16: Positive impact of the policy on the marginalised roles of female teachers

Responses N = 100	N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

The information in Table 16 clearly indicates that all the teachers (100%) do not think that the introduction of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* has made a positive difference to the marginalised roles of female teachers in their areas. Although the respondents were requested to give reasons for their responses, none offered any.

5.2.4 SECTION C: WOMEN TEACHERS AND THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Women are often not appointed in managerial positions in the school due to stereotypes associated with their capabilities. It seems also that they are often discriminated against in the workplace. This section is therefore aimed at investigating the perpetuation of such stereotypes.

Question T14 was asked to investigate stereotypes associated with female teachers' capabilities. The participants had to respond to 15 statements by using a 5-point scale, in which:

5 = Strongly agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not applicable

The results are indicated in Table 17.

Table 17: Stereotypes associated with female teachers' managerial capabilities

N = 100	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
1. Women's academic achievements do not earn them managerial positions in education.	10	12	3	27	51	1.72
2. Women who are turned down for managerial positions are as well or better educated than men who are currently holding these positions.	32	34	0	21	13	3.51
3. Women must not be appointed in managerial positions due to their biological make-up, which makes them not suitable to be managers.	9	5	8	8	71	1.73
4. Biologically women lack the ability to make efficient managers.	4	2	5	2	85	1.36
5. Work done by women managers is less valuable.	4	2	3	10	91	1.28
6. Women are not as ambitious as men in managerial situations.	2	7	4	10	77	1.47
7. Women are not able to meet work challenges in managerial positions.	7	2	0	7	84	1.41
8. Women are not as likely to make good leaders as men.	0	3	2	14	81	1.59
9. Women managers lack the ability to be objective.	5	3	3	22	66	1.57
10. Female managers tend to give up easily.	7	1	1	22	69	1.55
11. Women are too emotional to be good managers.	13	14	1	3	69	1.99
12. Women managers cannot enforce discipline in the school.	9	2	0	17	72	1.55
13. Female teachers prefer male managers in their schools.	13	30	3	18	36	1.76
14. Women are not capable of holding leadership positions without problems.	8	5	3	13	70	1.91
15. Women in managerial positions are biased against their female colleagues.	10	27	4	23	36	2.52

From the information displayed in Table 17, it is evident that the teachers seem to disagree with almost all of the listed stereotypes associated with women's managerial capabilities (mean scores below 3). The stereotypes that the respondents **disagreed with** are listed below in the order of the participants' level of disagreement:

- They also disagreed that *women are not likely to make such good leaders as men* (mean = 1.27).
- The teachers did not agree that *work done by women managers is less valuable* (mean = 1.28).
- The statement that *biologically, women lack the ability to make efficient managers* was also rejected by the respondents (mean = 1.36).
- They also did not agree that *women are not able to meet the work challenges of managerial positions* (mean = 1.41).
- The teachers disagreed that *women are not as ambitious as men in managerial situations* (mean = 1.47).
- The statement that *women managers cannot enforce discipline in the school* was also rejected by the teachers (mean = 1.55).
- The teachers also indicated that they disagree that *female managers tend to give up easily* (mean = 1.55).
- They also disagreed that *women managers lack the ability to be objective* (mean = 1.57).
- The respondents further indicated that the belief that *women's academic achievements do not earn them managerial positions in education* is not true (mean = 1.72).
- The statement that *women must not be appointed to managerial positions due to their biological make-up, which makes them not suitable to be managers*, was also not accepted by the respondents (mean = 1.73).
- They also rejected the idea that *female teachers prefer male managers in their schools* (mean = 1.76).
- The participants also rejected the statement that *women are not capable of holding leadership positions without problems* (mean = 1.91).

- The participants indicated that they do not believe that *women are too emotional to be good managers* (mean = 1.99).
- The statement that *women in managerial positions are biased against their female colleagues* was also rejected by the teachers (mean = 2.52).

The teachers **agreed** only with the following statement (mean score above 3):

- *Women who are turned down for managerial positions are as well or better qualified than men who are currently holding these positions* (mean = 3.51).

Question T15 was asked to determine whether the teachers think that men and women are not afforded the same opportunities in the school situation. This was attempted through 4 questions, which the participants had to respond to. The responses are shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Opportunities in the school situation

Responses N = 100	Yes	%	No	%	Not sure	%	Total
(i). Are women underrepresented in promotional posts at the respondents' schools?	27	27	54	54	19	19	100
(ii). Do women have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level?	61	61	30	30	9	9	100
(iii). Are women represented in the schools' governing bodies?	27	27	61	61	12	12	100
(iv)...Is membership of departmental committees fairly distributed between men and men?	58	58	28	28	14	14	100

The information in Table 18 indicates the following:

In response to Question (i), the teachers reacted as follows:

- The majority (54%) indicated that women are not underrepresented in promotional posts in their schools;

- 27% were of the opinion that this is the case in their schools; while
- a small percentage of 19% were not sure whether this is the case in their schools.

When asked to respond to Question (ii), which asked whether women have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level, the participants responded as follows:

- The majority of the teachers (61%) indicated that women indeed have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level;
- 30% did not agree with the statement; while
- 9% indicated that they were not sure whether this is the case or not.

Question (iii) intended to investigate whether women are represented on the schools' governing bodies. In response to the statement, the teachers indicated the following:

- The majority of the teachers (61%) indicated that women are not represented on their schools' governing bodies;
- 27% agreed that women are represented on their schools' governing bodies; while
- 12% were not sure.

Question (iv) intended to find out whether membership of departmental committees is fairly distributed between men and women in the participants' schools. In response the participants reacted as follows:

- The majority of the teachers (58%) indicated that membership of departmental committees is fairly distributed between men and women;
- 28% indicated that this is not the case in their schools; while
- 14% were not sure.

5.2.5 SECTION D: DECISION-MAKING SKILLS

Section D intended to investigate stereotypes associated with women and decision-making. This section consisted only of question T16, which requested

the teachers to respond to a number of statements by making use of a 5-point scale, in which:

5 = Strongly agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not applicable

The results are reflected in Table 19.

Table 19: Stereotypes associated with women's decision-making skills

N = 100	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
Decision-making abilities						
1. Women are not able to make meaningful decisions.	8	2	3	16	71	1.60
2. Women's decision-making abilities are negatively influenced by their hormones.	8	8	3	8	73	1.70
3. Women's opinions do not carry the same weight as their male counterparts in staff meetings.	11	2	3	40	44	1.96
4. Women teachers prefer not to make important decisions.	4	12	1	15	68	1.69
5. Women need men's approval to make major money decisions in the home.	11	21	9	16	43	2.41
6. Women are generally not good decision-makers.	8	10	0	13	69	1.75
7. Women's motherhood instincts negatively influence their ability to make decisions in the classroom situation.	12	9	7	20	52	2.09
8. Women are generally bad decision-makers.	5	10	9	7	69	1.75

From the responses presented in Table 19 it is clear that the respondents disagreed with all the statements (mean score below 3). The stereotypes

associated with women's decision-making skills that the teachers **did not agree** with, are listed below, according to their level of disagreement:

- *Women are not able to make meaningful decisions.* This statement also invoked strong disagreement (mean = 1.60).
- *Women teachers prefer not to make important decisions.* The teachers also strongly disagreed that this is the case (mean = 1.69).
- *Women's decision-making abilities are negatively influenced by their hormones.* The respondents strongly disagreed with this statement (mean = 1.70).
- *Women are generally not good decision-makers.* From the responses it is clear that the teachers also do not agree that women are not good decision-makers (mean = 1.75).
- *Women are generally bad decision-makers.* Similar to the previous statement, the women teachers strongly disagreed with this perception (mean = 1.75).
- *Women's opinions do not carry the same weight as their male counterparts in staff meetings.* This statement was also rejected by the teachers (mean = 1.96).
- *Women's motherhood instincts negatively influence their ability to make decisions in the classroom.* The teachers did also not agree with this statement (mean = 2.09).
- *Women need men's approval to make major decisions in the home.* It seems from the teachers reaction, that this practice does not exist in the respondents' schools (mean = 2.41).

5.2.6 SECTION E: CULTURAL PRACTICES THAT PERPETUATE STEREOTYPES

This section was aimed at investigating the perpetuation of stereotypes associated with women in the school, and specifically facilitated by cultural practices. The aim of Question T17 was to evoke the participants' opinions on a

number of cultural practices that appear to discriminate against women in schools. *This section also intended to compare the experiences of the urban teachers with that of the rural teachers.* The teachers were requested to respond to 13 statements using a 5-point scale, in which:

5 = Strongly agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not applicable

The responses to the statements are shown in Table 20.

Table 20: Cultural practices that occur in the teachers' schools and society

Urban responses N = 70							Rural responses N = 30					
	5	4	3	2	1	Mean	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
1. Women are subject to verbal violence at staff meetings.	9	9	5	22	25	2.35	2	5	4	7	12	2.26
2. Women/girls sometimes have to leave school to get married due to economic reasons.	20	30	6	14	0	3.80	12	9	1	3	5	3.66
3. Male teachers still believe that the woman's place is in the home.	10	20	4	20	16	2.82	3	5	1	9	12	2.26
4. Women teachers cover their heads and shoulders at work.	4	5	3	18	40	1.78	2	4	6	2	16	2.13
5. Women do not wear pants and mini dresses at work.	6	13	1	20	30	2.21	7	3	2	4	14	2.50
6. Women should get married to be role models to students.	0	6	4	10	50	1.51	5	6	1	7	11	2.56
7. Women are more suitable to teach Home Economics while men should teach Mathematics.	4	7	4	7	48	1.74	3	2	0	7	18	1.83
8. Women should supervise cleaning of the school premises.	14	10	5	20	21	2.65	5	5	3	7	10	2.60

9. All staff members administer punishment in the school.	10	14	4	6	36	2.37	2	10	4	3	11	2.63
10. The general conviction in your area is that all head teachers should be men.	18	8	3	20	21	2.74	0	10	0	10	10	2.33
11. Women need their husbands' permission to use contraceptives.	10	4	6	20	30	2.20	3	10	3	3	11	2.70
12. Women cannot obtain passports for their children without their husband' /fathers' consent in the case of unmarried mothers.	16	11	7	12	24	2.75	10	6	6	4	4	3.46
13. Women need their fathers'/husbands'' permission to obtain a passport.	10	30	6	11	13	3.18	6	2	4	6	12	2.46

The information in Table 20 reveals that both urban and rural teachers **disagree** with regard to the majority of the listed cultural practices (mean below 2). Both urban and rural teachers **disagreed that the following practices still occur in their schools** (which means that **these practices do not exist in their schools**):

- *Women are suitable to teach Home Economics while men should teach Mathematics.* This is not the perception at the teachers' schools (urban teachers: mean = 1.74; and rural teachers: mean = 1.83).
- *Women should supervise the cleaning of the school premises.* This practice is not enforced at the teachers' schools (urban teachers: mean = 2.65; and rural teachers: mean = 2.60).
- *Women need their husbands' permission to use contraceptives.* This practice does not exist at the participants' schools (urban teachers: mean = 2.20; and rural teachers: mean = 2.70).

- *Women are subject to verbal violence at staff meetings.* This does not happen at the teachers' schools (urban teachers: mean = 2.35; and rural teachers: mean = 2.26).
- *All staff members administer punishment in the school* (urban teachers: mean = 2.37; and rural teachers: mean = 2.63). The implication here is that only certain staff members administer punishment at the respondents' schools.
- *Women should get married to be role models to students.* Both the groups disagreed that this is the perception at their schools (urban teachers: mean = 1.51; and rural teachers: mean = 2.56).
- *Male teachers still believe that the woman's place is in the home.* Both groups thus indicated that this is not the perception in their schools (urban teachers: mean = 2.82; and rural teachers: mean = 2.26).
- *The general conviction in the respondents' area is that all head teachers should be men.* All the participants' disagreed with this statement, which means that they do not believe that all head teachers should be men (urban teachers: mean = 2.74; and rural teachers: mean = 2.33).
- Both groups also disagree that *women teachers cover their shoulders and heads at work* (urban teachers: mean = 1.78; and rural teachers: mean = 2.13).
- *Women do not wear pants and mini dresses to work.* The implication is that women do indeed wear pants and mini dresses at the respondents' schools (urban teachers: mean = 2.21; and rural teachers: mean = 2.50).

The urban and rural teachers **agreed** that the following cultural practice **is still alive in their schools** (mean above 3):

- *Women/girls sometimes have to leave school to get married due to economic reasons* (urban teachers: mean = 3.71; and rural teachers: mean = 3.66).

However, the urban and rural teachers *did not share the same view* with regard to the following cultural practices at their schools:

- In reaction to Statement 12, the rural teachers agree that the practice that women cannot obtain passports for their children without their husbands'/fathers' consent in the case of unmarried mothers is still alive in the rural areas (mean = 3.46), while the urban teachers disagree that this is still the case in their areas (mean = 2.75).
- The two groups also did not share the same view with regard to Statement 13. The rural teachers disagreed that women need their fathers'/husbands' permission to obtain a passport (mean = 2.46), while the urban teachers agreed that this is the case in the urban areas (mean = 3.18).

Question T18 was asked to find out what teachers thought their most important role in life was. The results are presented in Table 21.

Table 21: Teachers' perceptions of their most important role in life

N = 100	Urban responses N = 70	%	Rural responses N = 30	%
1. Continuity of the lineage of the family.	15	21	11	37
2. Getting married and having children	4	6	4	13
3. Achieving personal aspirations and goals.	50	71	15	50
4. Other, please specify.	1	1	0	0
Total	70	100	30	100

From the results in Table 21, it is clear that the majority of the urban teachers (71%) and also 50% of the rural teachers regard achieving personal achievements and goals as their most important role in life. However, a large number of rural teachers (37%) are of the opinion that continuity of the lineage of the family is their most important role in life, while a smaller group of urban teachers (21%) indicated this option. A larger group of rural teachers (13%) than

urban teachers (5%) think that getting married and having children is their most important role in life. One of the urban teachers indicated another option than those listed, but did not specify her choice.

The aim of the open-ended Question T19 was to determine the participants' opinions on a number of cultural practices. In the literature study (cf. *supra*: Chapter 2), it was shown that cultural practices exert a marked influence on the existence of gender stereotypes and their perpetuation. The survey thus wanted to determine whether the stereotypes exist in the school situation in Lesotho, and also to compare the responses of the urban teachers with those of the rural teachers. The teachers had to respond to 5 statements.

The first statement wanted to investigate the teachers' views about marriage being a union between the whole family and the community and not between a husband and a wife. In reaction to the statement, the majority of the urban participants (53%) indicated that they believe marriage is a union between a couple only, while only 30% of the rural participants shared the same view. Only 30% of the urban participants thought that marriage is a union between the whole family (extended), while the majority of the rural teachers (70%) held this view. 17% of the urban participants did however not respond to the statement.

When further asked to give their views on the stereotyped view that a woman's place is in the home, the majority of the urban teachers (85%) indicated that they disagree with the view that a woman's place is in the home, while only 60% of the rural participants disagreed with the view. Only a small minority of the urban respondents (14%) indicated that they share the view that a woman's place is in the home, while a large number of rural participants (40%) indicated their agreement with the statement. The remaining 1% of the urban respondents did not respond to the statement.

In response to the cultural practice that children conceived in a marriage belong to their paternal family, the majority of the urban (56%) participants indicated that they were against this practice, while only 36% of the rural participants disagreed with the statement. It is significant that the majority of the rural participants (54%) were in favour of the practice, while only a minority of the urban teachers (38%) regarded this as a good practice. 6% of the urban participants and 10% of the rural teachers did not respond to the question.

When asked to respond to the cultural practice that only the first born male inherits the estate of the family, the responses of the urban and rural teachers also represent opposite views, since the majority of the urban teachers (67%) think that all the children in the family should be allowed to inherit the family's estate, and the largest group of the rural participants (45%) view the wife as the one who should inherit the estate. Although only 25% of the rural teachers share the same view as the majority of the urban teachers, 20% of them agreed to the practice that the first born male should inherit the estate. Only a small number of urban participants (8%) favour the wife, and 11% of them said that a responsible child should inherit. 14% of the urban participants did not respond to the statement at all.

In reaction to the statement that married women have no say in their maternal families once they get married, the responses differed greatly. The majority of the urban teachers (88%) indicated that this practice is wrong, while the majority of the rural participants (60%) indicated that they did not have any problem with the practice. It is significant that none of the urban teachers agreed with the practice, while none of the rural teachers disagreed, although 35% of the latter had mixed feelings about the practice. 12% of the urban teachers and 5% of the rural respondents did not respond to the question.

The aim of Question T20 was to determine the opinions of the participants with regard to the practice that women are legal minors in Lesotho. In response to

this statement, the urban and rural teachers agreed, since the majority of the urban respondents (64%) indicated that the fact that women are legal minors in Lesotho is unfair, and 52% of the rural participants shared this view. While only 6% of the urban teachers indicated that they did not have a problem with the practice, a considerable number of rural teachers (34%) shared this view. The remaining 30% of the urban participants did not respond to the question and 14% of the rural participants also did not express their views in this regard.

The aim of Question T21 was to explore the participants' opinions regarding the practice that men possess more decision-making powers in their families because customarily they are regarded as the heads of the families. In response to the question, the majority of the urban respondents (60%) indicated that this is an archaic practice, and surprisingly this view is also shared by the majority of the rural respondents (79%). 6% of the urban participants indicated that men are indeed the heads of the families and therefore they are content with the practice and another 6% said that there is nothing wrong with the practice. 24% of the urban participants are of the opinion that the situation is changing, and the remaining 21% of the rural teachers and 4% of the urban did not respond to the question.

Question T22 was also an open-ended question and wanted to know whether, in the instance of the death of a husband, any of the respondents experienced discrimination associated with the cultural practice of *thapo* (black attire worn when mourning) and the restrictions associated with this practice. In response to the question, the majority of both groups of teachers (85% rural and 90% urban) indicated that they have never been discriminated against on the basis of *thapo* or restrictions associated with this cultural practice. Although none of the rural teachers experienced discrimination, 6% of the urban teachers indicated that they were indeed discriminated against. 4% of the urban teachers and 15% of the rural teachers did not respond to the question.

When asked to relate their experiences, the 6% urban teachers who acknowledged being discriminated against when wearing *thapo*, listed the following instances:

- Being asked to quit her job by relatives because she worked far from home, which would mean coming home after sunset, which is not allowed when one is wearing *thapo*.
- Being refused to join a field trip at work because it is supposedly bad luck to travel with a person wearing *thapo*.
- Not being able to punish students because of *thapo*.
- Not being able to respond when being provoked in a staff meeting just because a person wearing *thapo* is not supposed to scream at other people.
- Not being able to see her newly born grandson because she was wearing *thapo*, which supposedly means bad luck for a newborn baby.
- Once being told not to sit on the front seat of a taxi because she would supposedly make the driver feel sleepy.

In responding to the second part of the question, only the 6% of the respondents who had acknowledged being discriminated against indicated that *thapo* is a form of discrimination since widowers are not subjected to this practice.

Where, in response to Question T22, the respondents had to relate their *experiences as the result of a cultural practice*, Question T23 intended to elicit the respondents' *feelings about* several other customary practices:

When asked to give their opinions about *patrilocality* (moving to the husbands' homes after marriage) the majority of both the urban and rural respondents indicated they had no problems with the practice (60% and 70% respectively). A smaller group of urban teachers (30%) and 20% of the rural participants indicated that the practice oppresses women. 5% of the urban teachers suggested that the couple should decide on where to stay after marriage and another 5% did not

respond to the question. The remaining 10% of the rural teachers indicated that they were not decided on the matter.

In responding to the practice of *patrilineality* (male heir succession), 40% of the urban participants indicated that they think that the practice is oppressive to women, while only 16% of the rural participants shared the same view. A small minority (33%) of the urban participants and the majority of the rural teachers (70%) believe that the wife should inherit. Subsequently, 11% of the urban respondents indicated that they did not have any problem with the practice, while 4% of the rural participants seem to share the same view. 2% of the urban teachers are of the opinion that parents should be the ones who make the decisions about who should inherit the family's estate. The remaining 14% of the urban teachers and 10% of the rural teachers did not respond to the question.

Subsequently the teachers had to give their opinions on the *bohali* custom (bride-price). In response to the question, the majority of the urban teachers indicated that *bohali* is a woman's right (69%), a view also shared by 68% of the rural teachers. A small number of both the urban and rural participants (20% and 19%) respectively agreed that they did not have a problem with the practice, while 10% of the urban and 12% of the rural respondents did not respond to the question. The remaining 1% of the urban and another 1% of the rural participants were not decided on the issue.

When asked to give their views on gender-based violence, 48% of the urban teachers indicated that gender-based violence occurs due to the *bohali* custom, and the majority of the rural participants (64%) shared the same view. Subsequently, 8% and 5% of both the urban and rural teachers respectively suggested that the perpetrators of gender-based violence should be given heavy prison sentences. A further 26% of the urban teachers called for equality of the sexes, while 7% of the urban and 8% rural teachers indicated that they were not decided on the issue. Only 1% of the urban teachers indicated that they were in

favour of the practice, while the remaining 23% of the rural and another 10% of the urban teachers did not respond to the question.

When asked to give their opinions on the minority status of women in Lesotho, almost all the participants (80% and 80%) of both urban and rural areas respectively indicated that it is unfair to women, while only 15% and 12% respectively of both the urban and the rural teachers felt that it is fair. The remaining 5% and 8% respectively did not react to the question.

The aim of Question T24 was to determine the teachers' feelings about the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967*, which prohibits women from registering land in their names. In response to this question the majority of both the urban and rural teachers agreed that the practice is unfair (96% and 94% respectively). Only 1% and 2% of both the rural teachers and urban teachers indicated that they did not have any problem with the practice, while the remaining 3% of the urban teachers and 4% of the rural teachers did not respond to the question.

Question T25 was asked to find out how the teachers feel about the fact that they are under the jurisdiction of their fathers when unmarried and under that of their husband when married, which is a result of their legal minority status. In response to the question the majority of the urban teachers (93%) indicated that the practice was unfair and therefore needs to be revised, while 90% of the rural teachers expressed the same view. Only 10% of the rural teachers and 7% of the urban teachers indicated that they did not have any problem with the practice.

Question T26 wanted the teachers to give their opinions on the belief that in Lesotho men are the heads of families. This question was asked once more to test whether the participants' reactions would be consistent. In response, the majority of both the urban and rural teachers (92% and 90% respectively) indicated that this practice is unfair to women because they are also capable,

while only 8% of the urban teachers and 10% of the rural teachers indicated that they did not have any problem with the practice.

The aim of Question T27 was to investigate whether the teachers have ever been discriminated against on the grounds of their gender in terms of cultural beliefs. Apart from answering either “yes” or “no”, the participants had to relate their experiences if possible. The results are presented in Table 22.

Table 22: Discrimination with regard to cultural practices

Urban N = 70								Rural N = 30						
	Yes	%	No	%	No resp.	Tot	%	Yes	%	No	%	No resp.	Tot	%
Marital status	31	44	26	37	13	70	100	0	0	30	100	0	30	100
Pregnancy	10	4	60	86	0	70	100	0	0	30	100	0	30	100
Family responsibilities	6	9	64	91	0	70	100	0	0	30	100	0	30	100
Sexual orientation	5	7	65	93	0	70	100	0	0	30	100	0	30	100

From the responses in Table 22, it is clear that the urban teachers have indeed experienced some degree of discrimination with regard to all of the listed practices. The rural participants, on the other hand, indicated that they experienced no discrimination in any of the instances. The possibility exists that the rural teachers did not understand the question. However, 44% of the urban teachers have been discriminated against on the basis of their marital status because of their gender; 4% have been discriminated against on the basis of pregnancy, 9% on the basis of family responsibilities, and 7% on the basis of their sexual orientation.

When asked to relate their experiences, the urban teachers listed the following:

- Not being able to obtain bank loans because their husbands would not give their consent (4 teachers).

- Not being able to use contraceptives without the permission of their husbands (2 teachers).
- Being forced to have a child because the participant had a girl only, and her husband wanted to have a boy (1 teacher).
- Not being able to sue people in the absence of their husbands (2 teachers).
- Not being able to register land in their names (20 teachers).

When asked whether they have ever been discriminated against on the basis of their sexual orientation, the majority of the urban teachers (93%) indicated they have never been discriminated against on this basis, while only 7% said the opposite. However, none of the participants who indicated affirmatively to this question listed their experiences.

5.2.7 SECTION F: THE CURRICULUM AND THE SCHOOL

This section focussed upon stereotypes associated with the curriculum and the school and in Question T28 the teachers had to indicate whether they agree or disagree with a number of statements, where

5 = Strongly Agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not applicable

The responses are reflected in Table 23.

Table 23: Gender roles in the classroom

N = 100	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
1. 'Appropriate' gender roles are assigned for girls and boys respectively in the classroom.	32	50	6	4	8	3.94
2. Boys and girls are given equal opportunities to compete in all subjects.	10	61	5	16	8	3.49
3. Boys and girls do equally well in all subjects.	40	35	2	17	6	3.86

4. Girls do not do well in subjects such as Mathematics.	10	7	1	18	64	1.81
5. Boys do well in Maths, while girls do well in Languages.	6	20	2	10	62	1.98
6. Statistically boys do better than girls in Mathematics in the respondents' schools.	7	15	10	9	59	2.02
7. Maths should rather be taught by male teachers in the respondents' schools.	6	15	4	30	45	2.07
8. Male teachers are better Maths teachers than female teachers.	7	15	6	10	62	1.95
9. Boys and men are prominent in textbooks.	18	36	17	8	23	3.24
10. Girls are steered towards more "womanly" careers, while boys are steered towards more "manly" careers	12	32	6	18	32	2.74

From the information reflected in Table 23 it is evident that the majority of the teachers seem to **disagree or strongly disagree** that the listed stereotypes are still alive in their schools (mean scores below 3). These are:

- The teachers rejected the statement that *girls do not do well in subjects such as Mathematics* (mean = 1.81).
- The teachers disagreed that *male teachers are better Maths teachers than female teachers* (mean = 1.95).
- They also did not agree with the belief that *boys do well in Maths, while girls do well in Languages* (mean = 1.98).
- In line with the previous statement, the teachers also did not agree that statistically *boys do better than girls in Mathematics* (mean = 2.02).
- The teachers also did not agree that *Maths should rather be taught by male teachers in the participant's schools* (2.07).
- It seems also from the responses that the teachers do not agree that *girls are steered towards more "womanly" careers, while boys are steered towards more "manly" careers* (mean = 2.74).

However, the teachers **agreed** (mean scores above 3) that the following stereotypes are alive in their schools:

- Boys and men are more prominent in textbooks (mean = 3.24).
- Boys and girls are given equal opportunities to compete in all subjects (mean = 3.49).
- Boys and girls do equally well in all the subjects (mean = 3.86).
- 'Appropriate' gender roles are assigned for girls and boys respectively in the classroom (mean = 3.94).

The aim of Question T29 was to establish whether the respondents' schools curricula are gender biased. This was an open-ended question, and the respondents reacted as follows:

- The majority of the participants (52%) indicated that they did not think that their school's curriculum is gender biased.
- 46% believed that their schools' curriculum is gender biased; and
- the remaining 2% did not respond to the question.

When asked to give reasons for their responses the teachers who indicated that their schools' curriculum is gender biased, said that subjects in their schools are still chosen according to the learners' gender.

The aim of Question T30 was to establish what the respondents think should be done to empower pregnant girls academically in their schools. In response to this question the respondents listed the following:

- Send them to skills training centres (6 teachers).
- Allow them to complete their education (92 teachers).

5.2.8 SECTION G: GENERAL

This section intended to ask general questions with regard to discrimination against women in the school. Question T31 was asked to find out from teachers if

they have ever been victims of discrimination. A similar question was asked in Section E (T27). Question T27 focussed on discrimination as a result of cultural practices, while this question (T32) addresses the respondent's femaleness in the school situation and possible discrimination. In response to Question T31 the majority of the participants (77%) denied having ever been a target of gender discrimination, while 23% accepted being subject to this practice. When asked to briefly relate the incidents, the respondents listed the following:

- Not being allowed to acquire a bank loan (5 teachers);
- not being able to register property under their names (2 teachers) and;
- not being able to acquire a loan-bursary without the help of a husband (4 teachers).

Question T32 was asked to determine whether women teachers experienced discriminatory treatment just because they were women. In response to this question the majority of the participants (89%) indicated that they have never been treated differently or unfairly at work (the school) just because they were women, while 11% said that they indeed experienced discrimination. When asked to relate the incidents, 11% of the participants listed a number of instances (cf. Table 20).

Question T33 was also an open-ended question, asking the teachers how the situations listed in Question T32 had been resolved. The responses to both the questions are listed in Table 24

Table 24: Women teachers' experiences and the 'solutions'

Experiences (N = 100)	Solution/consequence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Being forced to punish a student, which is actually the principals' responsibility.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Not yet solved.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Not being allowed to coach football because I am a woman.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Not solved as I refused.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Being told never to punish students because I had punished the principals'</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I do not punish students anymore.</i>

<i>girlfriend.</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Used to be the only one to supervise the girls' cleaning because I was the only woman in the school.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Boys also do the cleaning now.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Being asked to prepare and supervise Form E's cooking while my male counterparts sat around doing nothing.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Was brought before the disciplinary committee because I refused.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Not being given a job because I was pregnant.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Took the matter to the Teaching Service Commission. - I got the job.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Being qualified for a principal's post but was not appointed because I am a woman.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I am still an ordinary teacher.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Education fairs are supervised by men only because they are supposedly unable to help should there be any trouble.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Not solved up to today.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nearly being passed by for a position (principal) because a male subject was supposedly more suitable.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Did not respond to the second part of the question.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nearly losing discipline because a male colleague encouraged learners to disobey us.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>No response</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Being insulted in a staff meeting.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The matter was brought to the attention of the staff and the teacher concerned was dealt with. Not yet solved and the tension between us is growing.</i>

From the responses in Table 24 it appears that very little of the stated situations have to date been resolved.

Question T34 was asked to determine whether women teachers are aware of the *Sexual Offence Act of 2000*. The responses are reflected in Table 25.

Table 25: Are the teachers aware of the *Sexual Offence Act of 2003*?

	Responses N = 100	%
Yes	4	4
No	96	96
Total	100	100

The information in Table 25 shows that the majority of women teachers (96%) are not aware of the *Sexual Offence Act of 2000*. The minority (4%) indicated that they are aware of the Act.

Question T35 intended to find out what can be done to improve the status of women in Lesotho. The following responses were given by the teachers:

- Women should be empowered academically (42%).
- Equality of opportunity should be applied in an attempt to empower women (25%)
- Women need to be educated in terms of the Law (Legal Education) (14%).
- Gender awareness workshops to be held to empower women (6%).
- Nothing should be done (2%).

5.3 QUESTIONNAIRE B: PRINCIPALS

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire was aimed at investigating gender disparities in the education system of Lesotho. The respondents were mostly principals (men) from both rural and urban areas, mostly Catholic, with at least a Certificate in Education.

Question Pr1 was asked to determine areas of residence of the respondents. As in the case of the teachers' the possibility exists that there is sufficient difference between the experience of gender stereotypes amongst urban and rural principals, especially with regard to cultural practices. A comparison of the

results will thus be done in the section of the analysis focussing on cultural practices (cf. Section F). The results are reflected in Table 26.

Table 26: The places of residence of the respondents

N = 20	No of responses	%
Urban	17	85
Rural	3	15
Total	20	100

The responses in Table 26 indicate that the majority of the respondents (85%) are from urban areas, while the minority (15%) are from rural areas.

5.3.2 SECTION B: GENERAL ASPECTS

The aim of question Pr 2 was to determine what the principals think of women managers in education. This was an open-ended question and the respondents indicated

- that they had no problem with women managers in education (12 respondents = 60%); and
- they tend to be emotional (8 respondents = 40%).

Question Pr 3 was intended to determine whether the respondents have ever been discriminated against because of their gender. The results are presented in Table 25.

Table 27: Have the respondents ever been discriminated against because of their gender?

	Responses N = 20	%
Yes	0	0
No	20	100
Total	20	100

The responses in Table 27 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that they have never been discriminated against because of their gender.

Question Pr 4 was a follow-up to question Pr3, and none of the respondents (100%) reacted to this question.

Question Pr 5 was asked to establish whether female vice-principals think that they have not yet been appointed as principals because they are women. Although the questionnaire was distributed amongst the principals and the vice-principals, the return rate was only 84% and no vice-principals returned their questionnaires. All the respondents who returned their questionnaires were principals and the question was thus not applicable.

Question Pr 6 was asked to find out what the principals and their schools were doing to address a number of instances of gender discrimination.

- When asked what is being done to educate women about their legal rights, all the respondents indicated that they were doing nothing.
- The respondents further indicated that they were also doing nothing to promote practices that empower women and promote gender equality as well as preventing expulsion of unmarried pregnant girls.
- The principals indicated that they were also not doing anything to integrate gender-based violence issues into the curriculum.

Question Pr 7 was aimed at establishing the links that the respondents' schools have with the Ministry of Gender and Sports to ensure that its policies are being implemented. This was an open-ended question and the majority of the principals (13) indicated that they have no links with the Ministry of Gender and Sports, while only 7 of them indicated that they attended workshops. No further explanations were offered.

The aim of Question Pr 8 was to determine what the respondents understand by *gender equality*. The majority of the principals (12) indicated that they thought that *gender equality* meant that people are equal. Seven of them said that no gender is superior to the other, and only one of the principals did not respond to the question.

5.3.3 SECTION C: The DRAFT *LESOTHO GENDER POLICY 2003*

This section was aimed at determining whether the respondents are aware of the *Lesotho Gender Policy*. The results are shown in Table 28.

Table 28: Awareness of the draft of the *Lesotho Gender Policy 2003*

	Responses N = 20	%
Yes	7	35
No	13	65
Total	20	100

The responses in Table 28 indicate that the majority of the respondents (65%) is not aware of the draft *Gender Policy 2003*, while the minority (35%) acknowledged being aware of the policy.

Question Pr 10 was a follow-up to Question Pr 9. The aim was to determine how the respondents heard of the policy. Only the 7 respondents who indicated that they are aware of the policy, reacted to this question. The results are shown in Table 29.

Table 29: How the respondents heard about the policy

N = 7	Responses	%
At a workshop on gender	2	29
At our school where it is implemented	0	0
From the Education Department	0	0
From the District Office	0	0
Another source	5	71
Total	7	100

The responses in Table 29 clearly indicate that the majority of the respondents (71%) heard about the policy from other unidentified sources. The remaining 29% heard about the policy at a gender workshop.

Question Pr 11 was asked to find out whether the respondents are aware of the contents of the policy. Only the 7 respondents who indicated that they are aware of the policy, reacted to this question. The responses are presented in Table 30.

Table 30: Are the respondents aware of the contents of the policy?

N = 7	Responses	%
Yes	2	29
No	5	71
Total	7	100

In Table 30 the majority of the respondents (71%) indicated that they are not aware of the contents of the policy, while the minority (29%) acknowledged being aware of the contents of the policy.

The aim of Question Pr 12 was to determine what the respondents think the objectives of the policy should be. Only the 7 respondents who indicated that they are aware of the policy, reacted to this question. The responses are presented in Table 31.

Table 31: What the respondents think the objectives of the policy should be

N = 7	Responses	%
Empower women	2	29
Encourage women never to feel inferior	1	14
Encourage women to effectively oppose gender violence	1	14
Educate women in all fields	1	14
Educate women about their legal rights	2	29
TOTAL	7	100

The responses in Table 31 indicate that the largest groups of the respondents think that the objectives of the policy should be to empower women and educate them about their legal rights (29% in both cases). This is followed by the 14% who think that women should be encouraged never to feel inferior, while another 14% indicated that women should be educated in all fields. The remaining 14% believe that women should be encouraged to stand up against gender violence.

Question Pr 13 was intended to determine whether the respondents are aware of the *Gender Mainstreaming Programme*. All the respondents indicated that they knew nothing about the gender mainstreaming programme.

Question Pr 14 was asked as a follow-up to question Pr 13 and since there were no responses to Question Pr 13, Question Pr 14 was not applicable.

The aim of question Pr 15 was to determine whether the respondents know if the *Land Act of 1979* that prohibits women from owning land has been removed, as envisaged by the policy. Only the 7 respondents who indicated that they are aware of the policy, reacted to this question. The results are shown in Table 32.

Table 32: Has the *Land Act of 1979* that prohibits women from owning land been removed as envisaged by the policy

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

The results in Table 32 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that the *Land Act of 1979* that prohibits women from owning land has not been removed as promised.

Question Pr 16 consisted of 11 statements, intending to find out whether a number of changes, as promised by the policy, had been implemented. Respondents had to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statements by indicating “yes” or “no”. Only the 7 principals who indicated that they were aware of the policy, reacted to these statements.

Statement 1 wanted to find out if the *development fund* to enhance the opportunities of marginalised men and women has been established in their areas. The responses are presented in Table 33.

Table 33: Has the development fund to enhance the opportunities of the marginalised men and women been established in the respondents’ area?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

The information contained in Table 33 clearly shows that all the respondents (100%) indicated that the *development fund* to enhance the opportunities of the marginalised women and men has not yet been established in their areas.

Statement 2 intended to establish whether the legal impediments to women’s access to credit have been removed. The responses are presented in Table 34.

Table 34: Have the legal impediments to women’s access to credit been removed?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	20	100

The information in Table 34 shows that all the respondents (100%) indicated that the legal impediments to women’s access to credit have not been removed.

Statement 3 asked whether women in the respondents' areas are still in some cases refused employment and dismissed on the grounds of pregnancy or breastfeeding responsibilities. The participants' responses are recorded in Table 35.

Table 35: Are women refused employment and dismissed on the grounds of pregnancy or breastfeeding responsibilities?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	1	14
No	6	86
Total	7	100

The information contained in Table 35 clearly shows that the majority of the respondents (86%) indicated that women in their areas are no longer refused employment or dismissed on the grounds of pregnancy or breastfeeding responsibilities. The remaining 14% indicated that this is still the case in their areas.

The aim of Statement 4 was to find out whether steps have been taken to equalise the marital status of women and men regarding property rights. The results are shown in Table 36.

Table 36: Have steps been taken to equalise the marital status of women and men on property?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

The responses in Table 36 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that steps to equalise the marital status of women and men on property have not yet been taken.

Statement 5 wanted to find out whether gender and economic empowerment issues have been introduced in the curriculum in the respondents' areas. The responses are shown in Table 37.

Table 37: Have gender and economic issues been introduced in the curriculum?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	2	29
No	5	71
Total	7	100

The results in Table 37 show that the majority of the respondents (71%) indicated that gender and economic empowerment issues have not been introduced in the curriculum. The remaining 29% of the principals acknowledged that gender and economic empowerment have indeed been introduced in the curriculum.

The aim of Statement 6 was to find out whether in-service training on gender issues and equality has been offered at the respondents' schools. The responses are shown in Table 38.

Table 38: Has in-service training on gender issues and equality been offered in the respondents' schools?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

The information contained in Table 38 clearly shows that all the respondents (100%) indicated that in-service training on gender issues and equality have not been offered in their schools.

The aim of Statement 7 was to determine whether sexual health education programmes have been included in the curriculum in the respondents' schools. The responses are presented in Table 39.

Table 39: Have sexual health education programmes been introduced in the respondents' schools?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	7	100
No	0	0
Total	7	100

According to Table 39 all the respondents (100%) indicated that sexual health education programmes have indeed been introduced in their schools.

Statement 8 intended to find out whether information on gender-based violence issues has been included in the curriculum at the respondents' schools. The responses are presented in Table 40.

Table 40: Has information on gender-based violence issues been introduced in the respondents' areas?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	4	57
No	3	43
Total	7	100

The Information in Table 40 shows that the majority of the respondents (57%) agreed that gender-based violence issues have been introduced in their areas, while the minority (43%) denied this being the case in their areas.

Statement 9 wanted to determine whether a gender-balanced *National Youth Council* has been established in the respondents' areas. The results are presented in Table 41.

Table 41: Has a gender balanced *National Youth Council* been established in the respondents' areas?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

The results in Table 41 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that a gender-balanced *National Youth Council* has not yet been established in their areas.

Statement 19 asked whether workshops have been held in the respondents' areas to familiarise people with the contents and strategies of the *Gender Policy*. The responses are presented in Table 42.

Table 42: Workshops in the respondents' areas to familiarise people with the content and strategies of the *Gender Policy*

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	2	29
No	5	71
Total	7	100

The responses in Table 42 show that the majority of the respondents (71%) indicated that workshops have not been held in their areas to familiarise people with the content and strategies of the *Gender Policy*. The remaining 29% agreed that workshops had been held in their areas.

Statement 11 wanted to determine whether the respondents knew of the existence of *Gender Focal Points*. The responses are shown in Table 43.

Table 43: Do the respondents know of the existence of *Gender Focal Points*?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	0	0
No	7	100
Total	7	100

The results in Table 43 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that they know nothing about the existence of *Gender Focal Points*.

The aim of question Pr 17 was to determine the respondents' views on the main issues that the Policy should address. The participants also had to motivate their responses. The responses are presented in Table 44.

Table 44: What are the main issues that the policy should address?

N = 7	Responses	%
Regard women as equal to men	4	57
Ensure that the rights of women are respected	1	14
Prevent violence against women	1	14
Empower women academically	1	14
Total	7	100

The information contained in Table 44 clearly shows that:

- The majority of respondents (57%) indicated that the main issue that the policy should address is equality between men and women;
- 14% indicated that ensuring that the rights of women are respected, should be the main issue that the policy ought to address.
- Another 14% were of the opinion that preventing violence against women should be the main issue that the policy should address; while
- the remaining 14% of the principals felt that the most important issue is that women should be empowered academically.

Question Pr 18 intended to establish whether the respondents are aware of any provisions made by the Ministry of Gender to empower women in the education sector. The results are presented in Table 45.

Table 45: Knowledge of provisions made by the Ministry of Gender to empower women in the education sector

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	2	29
No	5	71
Total	7	100

The responses in Table 45 clearly show that the majority of the respondents (71%) indicated that they are not aware of any provisions made by the Ministry of Gender to empower women in the education sector, while 29% acknowledged being aware of such provisions. When asked to indicate what the provisions were, none of the principals responded.

The aim of Question Pr 19 was to determine which of the laws of Lesotho (as referred to in the *Lesotho Constitution*) the respondents thought oppressed women the most. In response to this question, 6 of the principals indicated that they have never read the Constitution, and therefore cannot answer the question, while one principal indicated the *Land Act of 1979*.

The aim of Question Pr 20 was to determine if the respondents were aware of any progress geared towards improving these laws to cater for gender equality. The responses are presented in Table 46.

Table 46: Knowledge of progress geared towards improving laws to cater for gender equality

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	7	100
No	0	0
Total	7	100

The responses in Table 46 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that they were not aware of progress geared towards improving laws to cater for gender equality.

Question Pr 21 was asked to find out whether the respondents think that the introduction of the *Gender Policy 2003* has made a positive difference to the marginalised roles of female teachers in their areas. The responses are presented in Table 47.

Table 47: Has the introduction of the *Gender Policy 2003* made a positive difference to the marginalised roles of female teachers?

	Responses N = 7	%
Yes	7	100
No	0	0
Total	7	100

According to Table 47 all the respondents (100%) agree that the introduction of the *Gender Policy 2003* has made a positive difference to the roles of the marginalised female teachers in their areas. The follow-up to this question required the respondents to indicate how the policy has made a difference. All the respondents indicated that “women now believe in themselves”.

5.3.4 SECTION D: WOMEN AND THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Question Pr 22 consisted of 15 statements, intending to determine the respondents' views in situations that relate to their experiences as education managers. The principals had to indicate their level of agreement/disagreement, where:

5 = Strongly agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not sure

The results are reflected in Table 48.

Table 48: Women's managerial positions and tasks

N = 20	5	4	3	2	1	Mean score
1. Women's academic achievements do not earn them managerial positions in education.	0	14	2	0	4	3.30
2. Women who are turned down for managerial positions are equally or more educated than men who are currently holding these posts.	4	4	0	12	0	3.00
3. Women must not be appointed in managerial positions due to their biological make-up, which makes them not suitable to be leaders.	14	4	2	0	0	4.60
4. Biologically, women lack the ability to be efficient managers.	0	20	0	0	0	4.00
5. Work done by women managers is less valuable.	0	0	0	0	20	1.00
6. Women are not as ambitious as men in managerial situations.	0	6	0	6	6	2.10
7. Women are not able to meet work challenges in managerial positions.	0	2	0	6	12	1.60
8. Women are not as likely to make good leaders as men.	0	1	3	2	14	1.55
9. Woman managers lack the ability to be objective.	2	2	0	8	8	2.10
10. Female managers tend to give up easily.	4	2	2	0	12	2.30
11. Women are too emotional to be good managers.	1	1	2	4	12	1.75
12. Women managers cannot enforce discipline in the school.	0	2	0	4	14	1.50
13. Female teachers prefer male managers in their schools.	12	4	4	0	0	4.40
14. Women are not capable of holding leadership positions without problems.	0	2	4	0	14	1.70
15. Women in managerial positions are biased against their female colleagues.	4	2	10	0	4	3.10

The information contained in Table 48 clearly indicates that the majority of respondents indeed **disagree of strongly disagree** with the statements that reflect stereotypes and practices associated with women's managerial tasks and

roles (mean scores below 3). The statements that the principals disagree with are the following:

- *Work done by women managers is less valuable.* The respondents strongly disagreed with this statement (mean = 1.00).
- The principals also indicated that they did not agree with the belief that *women managers cannot enforce discipline in the school* (mean = 1.50).
- In response to the statement that *women are not as likely to make good leaders as men*, the respondents indicated their disagreement (mean = 1.55).
- The principals also did not agree with the idea that *women are not able to meet work challenges in managerial positions* (mean = 1.60).
- The statement that *women are not capable of holding leadership positions without problems* also met with the disagreement of the principals (mean = 1.70).
- The participants also rejected the idea that *women are too emotional to be good managers* (mean = 1.75).
- The belief that *women are not as ambitious as men in managerial situations* also met with the disagreement of the respondents (mean = 2.10).
- The respondents also did not think that *female managers tend to give up easily* (mean = 2.30).
- Finally they disagreed that *woman managers lack the ability to be objective* (mean = 2.10).

The principals however **agreed** with the following statements regarding the managerial capacity of women (mean above 3):

- *Women's academic achievements do not earn them managerial positions in education* (mean = 3.30)
- *Women in managerial positions are biased against their female colleagues* (mean = 3.10).

- *Biologically, women lack the ability to be efficient managers (mean = 4.00).*
- *Women must not be appointed in managerial positions due to their biological make-up, which makes them not suitable to be leaders (mean = 4.60).*
- *Female teachers prefer male managers in their schools (mean = 4.40).*

The principals were not sure of the following statement (mean = 3):

- *Women who are turned down for managerial positions are equally or better educated than men who are currently holding these posts (mean score = 3).*

The aim of Question Pr 23 was to determine whether men and women are afforded the same opportunities for promotional appointments in the respondents' schools. To achieve this aim, the respondents had to react to four statements, indicating "yes" or "no". The responses are reflected in Tables 49, 50, 51 and 52.

Statement I intended to find out whether the respondents think women are underrepresented in promotional posts at their schools. The results are presented in Table 49.

Table 49: Are women underrepresented in promotional posts?

	Responses N = 20	%
Yes	6	30
No	14	70
Not sure	0	0
Total	20	100

Table 49 indicates that the majority of the respondents (70%) do not think that women are underrepresented in promotional posts at their schools, while the minority (30%) agree with the statement.

Statement 2 wanted to determine whether the respondents think women have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level. The responses are reflected in Table 50.

Table 50: Do women have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level?

	Responses N = 20	%
Yes	0	0
No	20	100
Not sure	0	0
Total	20	100

The results in Table 50 show that all the respondents (100%) agree that women do not have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level.

The aim of Statement 3 was to determine whether women in the respondents' schools are represented on the schools' governing bodies. The results are presented on Table 51.

Table 51: Are women represented on the governing bodies?

	Responses N = 20	%
Yes	17	85
No	3	15
Not sure	0	0
Total	20	100

The information in Table 51 indicates that the majority of the respondents (85%) agree that women are represented on the schools' governing bodies, while the minority (15%) do not agree with the statement.

Statement 4 was intended to determine whether membership of departmental committees in the respondents' schools is fairly distributed. The responses are presented in Table 52.

Table 52: Fair distribution of membership on departmental committees?

	Responses N = 20	%
Yes	18	90
No	2	10
Not sure	0	0
Total	20	100

The results in Table 52 clearly indicate that the majority of the respondents (90%) believe that membership of departmental committees in their schools is fairly distributed, while the minority (10%) do not agree.

5.3.5 SECTION E: WOMEN AND DECISION-MAKING

Section E intended to investigate the perpetuation of stereotyped views regarding women's decision-making abilities and consisted of one question only.

In response to Question Pr 24 the respondents had to indicate their level of agreement/disagreement with 7 statements, where

5 = Strongly Agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not applicable

The responses are reflected in Table 53.

Table 53: Women and decision-making

Women and decision-making N = 20	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
1. Women are not able to make meaningful decisions.	2	0	2	0	16	1.60
2. Women's decision-making abilities are negatively influenced by their hormones.	0	0	0	0	16	0.80
3. Women's opinions do not carry the same weight as their male counterparts in staff meetings.	0	0	0	0	20	1.00
4. Women teachers prefer not to make important decisions.	0	0	0	0	20	1.00
5. Women need men's approval to make major money decisions in the home.	0	2	5	12	10	2.65
6. Women are generally not good decision-makers.	0	0	0	6	16	1.40
7. Women's motherhood instincts negatively influence their ability to make decisions in the classroom situation.	2	2	0	16	0	2.50

The information in Table 53 shows that the principals **disagree or strongly disagree** with all of the following statements (mean score below 3):

- The respondents did not agree that *women's decision-making abilities are negatively influenced by their hormones* (mean = 0.80).
- They also rejected the idea that *women's opinions do not carry the same weight as their male counterparts in staff meetings* (mean = 1.00).
- The statement that *women teachers prefer not to make important decisions* was also rejected (mean = 1.00).
- The principals were also not in agreement with the idea that *women are generally not good decision-makers* (mean = 1.40).
- They also disagreed with the statement that *women are not able to make meaningful decisions* (mean = 1.60).
- The belief that *women need men's approval to make major money decisions in the home* also met with their disagreement (mean = 2.65).
- Contrary to the teachers' response in Table 48 (indicating their agreement that women are not suitable leaders because of their biological makeup), the principals disagreed with the statement that *women's motherhood instincts negatively influence their ability to make decisions in the classroom situation* (mean = 2.50).

5.3.6 SECTION F: CULTURAL AND LEGAL PRACTICES

The aim of Question Pr 25 was to evoke the principals' opinions on a number of cultural and legal practices that appear to discriminate against women in schools. The principals had to indicate their level of agreement/disagreement with the 13 statements, where

5 = Strongly Agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not applicable

The responses are reflected in Table 54.

Table 54: Cultural and legal practices that occur in the respondents' schools

Urban responses N = 17							Rural responses N = 3					
	5	4	3	2	1	Mean score	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
1. Women are subject to verbal violence.	0	0	0	7	10	1.41	0	0	0	0	3	1.00
2. Girls sometimes have to leave school to get married due to economic reasons.	5	2	7	3	0	3.52	0	0	0	3	0	2.00
3. Male teachers still believe that a woman's place is in the home.	2	3	0	5	7	2.29	1	0	0	2	0	3.00
4. Women cover their heads and shoulders at work.	0	1	1	6	8	1.58	2	0	0	0	1	3.66
5. Women do not wear pants and mini dresses at work.	1	0	6	9	1	2.41	0	3	0	0	0	4.00
6. Women should get married to be role models to students.	8	5	0	2	2	3.88	0	0	0	0	3	1.00
7. Women are suitable to teach Home economics while men should teach Mathematics.	3	2	4	4	4	2.76	0	0	0	2	1	1.66
8. Women should supervise cleaning on the school premises.	2	4	2	3	6	2.58	0	3	0	0	0	4.00
9. All staff members administer punishment in the school.	11	3	0	1	2	4.17	1	2	0	0	0	4.33
10. The general conviction in your area is that head teachers should be men.	0	7	0	8	2	2.70	2	1	0	0	0	4.66
11. Women need their husband's permission to use contraceptives.	10	3	0	4	0	4.11	1	0	0	0	2	2.33
12. Women cannot obtain passports for their children without their fathers'/husband's consent in the case of an unmarried mother	2	3	4	6	2	2.82	0	0	0	3	0	2.00
13. Women need their husband's permission to obtain a passport.	4	2	0	8	3	2.76	0	0	0	0	3	1.00

It is clear from the responses in Table 54 that the principals of the urban and rural areas did not share the same views on most of the statements. The two groups did not share the same views on the following statements:

- With regard to Statement 2, that *girls sometimes have to leave school to get married due to economic reasons*, the urban participants agreed that

this is the case (mean = 3.52), while the rural principals did not agree that this is the case (mean = 2.00).

- In the case of the statement that *male teachers still believe that a woman's place is in the home*, the urban principals did not agree (mean = 2.29), while the rural participants were not sure if this is the belief in their area (mean = 3.00).
- With regard to the statement that *women cover their heads and shoulders at work*, the urban principals disagreed with the statement (mean = 1.58), while the rural participants agreed that this is the case in the rural areas (mean = 3.66).
- In line with the previous statement, the urban respondents disagreed that *women do not wear pants and mini dresses to work* (mean = 2.47) and the rural principals agreed that this is the case (mean = 4.00).
- The urban principals agreed with the statement that *women should get married and have children to be role models to students* (mean = 3.88), while the rural respondents strongly denied that this belief (mean = 1.00).
- The statement that *women should supervise the cleaning of the school* was also met with conflicting views by the two groups. The urban respondents disagreed with the statement (mean = 2.58), while the rural participants thought that this should indeed be the case (mean = 4.00).
- The urban principals disagreed that the conviction that *head teachers should be men* is still alive in their area of work (mean = 2.70), while the rural group agree that this is still the belief in the rural areas (mean = 4.66).
- The urban principals further agreed that *women still need their husbands' permission to use contraceptives* (mean = 4.11), while the rural group did not agree with this statement (mean = 2.33).

The cases where both the urban and the rural principals **disagreed** that some stereotyped practices still occur in their areas are as follows:

- Both the groups did not think that *women are subject to verbal violence at staff meetings* (urban principals: mean = 1.41; rural principals: mean = 1.00).
- The principals further disagreed that the belief that *women are more suitable to teach Home Economics while men should teach Mathematics* is still in existence in their areas (urban: mean = 2.76; and rural: 1.66).
- Both groups also indicated that the practice that *women cannot obtain passports for their children without their husbands'/fathers' consent in the case of unmarried mothers* no longer exists in their areas (urban participants: mean = 2.82; and rural principals: mean = 2.00).
- In response to the statement that *women need their husbands' permission to obtain a passport*, both groups disagreed that this is the case (urban: mean = 2.76; and rural: mean = 1.00).

The only statement that both the urban and rural principals agreed to was that *all the staff members administer punishment in the school* (urban: mean = 4.17; and rural: mean = 4.33).

Question Pr 26 was intended to establish what the respondents think their most important role in life is. The results are presented in Table 55.

Table 55: The respondents' most important role in life

	Urban responses N = 17	%	Rural responses N = 3	%
Continuity of the lineage of the family	0	0	0	0
Getting married and having children	0	0	0	0
Achieving personal aspirations and goals	13	76	2	67
Other, please specify	4	24	1	33
Total	17	100	3	100

The responses in Table 55 reveal almost similar results because the majority of the urban respondents (76%) and 67% of the rural participants indicated that their most important role in life is to achieve personal aspirations and goals, while the minority (24% and 33% respectively) indicated “other”, but did not specify these.

Question Pr 27 was open-ended and wanted to elicit the respondents’ feelings on a number of listed *cultural practices*. Although this was an open-ended question and respondents could express their views as they wished, their responses were similar in most cases. Their views will therefore be listed, indicating the number of participants who shared the same view in each case.

When asked to express their feelings on the *union of marriage not being between husband and wife only, but between the whole family*, the participants reacted as follows:

- The majority of both the urban (11 participants) and of the rural respondents (2) had no problem with the fact that marriage is not only a union between the husband and wife but between the whole family and community.
- The remaining urban (6) and rural principals (1) indicated that they did not agree with this view. They did however not give reasons for their disagreement.

The participants subsequently had to state their feelings on the belief that *in marriage a woman’s place is in the home*. The principals responded as follows:

- The majority of the urban principals (14) indicated that times have changed and so should the roles of women, a view also shared by the majority of the rural principals (2).
- Of the urban principals, 2 indicated that this belief is oppressive to women; and one of the rural participants appeared to share the same view.

- The remaining one of the urban participants did not respond to the question.

When they had to respond to the practice that *children conceived in the marriage belong to the paternal family*, the principals reacted as follows:

- The majority of both the urban participants (12) and the rural principals (2) felt that because men still pay *bohali*, children conceived in a marriage should belong to the paternal family.
- A small number of both urban participants (3) and rural principals (1) felt that this practice is oppressive to women; while
- one of the urban participants thought that this phenomenon should be revised with immediate effect.
- The remaining one of the rural participants did not respond to the question.

Next the respondents had to state their feelings about the practice that *only the first-born male can inherit the estate of the family*. In response to this, the principals reacted in the following way:

- The majority of both the urban (14) and the rural principals (2) felt that it is unfair that only the first-born male can inherit the family estate since all the children should be treated equally.
- The remaining groups of both the urban (3) and the rural principals (1) indicated that girls get married and leave their families, which means that it is right that only the first born males can inherit the family estate.

The participants also had to state their feelings about the practice that *women do not have a say in their maternal family once they get married*. In response, all of the urban (17) and the rural respondents (3) felt that it is unfair that women do not have a say in their maternal families once they get married.

Question Pr 28 was also open-ended and intended to establish the respondents' feelings about the *legal practice that women are legal minors whether they are married or not*. Only 7 principals (6 urban and 1 rural) responded to this question and shared the following view:

- *It is unfair that women are legal minors whether they are married or not.*

Question Pr 29 was open-ended and aimed at establishing the respondents' opinions about the fact that men in Lesotho possess more decision-making powers in the family because they are regarded by custom as heads of families. The results are presented below:

- The majority of both the urban (11) and rural principals (2) think that it is unfair that men possess more decision-making powers in the family because they are regarded by custom as heads of families.
- The remaining urban (6) and rural principals (1) however indicated that they feel that this practice is *good because it is a custom*.

The aim of Question Pr 30 was to determine whether the respondents have ever been restricted by a number of listed cultural practices.

- The first cultural practice that the respondents had to react to, was *thapo* (black attire worn when mourning). They had to give details on the restrictions and also express their feelings. The results are presented in Table 56.

Table 56: Have the respondents been restricted in the instance of *thapo*?

	Urban responses N = 6	%	Rural responses N = 1	%
Yes	0	0	0	0
No	6	100	1	100
Total	6	100	1	100

The information in Table 56 shows that all the respondents (100%), indicated that they have never been restricted in the instance of *thapo* and restrictions associated with it. Only 1 rural and 6 urban respondents reacted to this part of the question. It is possible that the rest of the respondents did not react to the question because they have never been in the position to wear *thapo*.

In a follow-up on the previous question, the participants had to indicate whether they have ever been restricted in the instances of mourning and rules associated with it. They also had to provide details if they experienced such restrictions. The responses are presented in Table 57.

Table 57: Restrictions associated with mourning and rules associated with it?

	Urban responses N = 6	%	Rural responses N = 1	%
Yes	0	0	0	0
No	6	100	1	100
Total	6	100	1	100

The responses in Table 57 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that they have never been restricted when mourning. Again only 6 urban and 1 rural principal reacted to this question. Because no restrictions were experienced, none of the principals offered any explanations.

In the same format as the previous questions, Question Pr 31 intended to elicit the respondents' feelings about a number of cultural practices.

Part (a) of the question was intended to determine the respondents' feelings about *patrilocality* (women moving to the husband's family after marriage). The following responses were recorded:

- No problem with the practice (10 urban and 2 rural principals).
- The practise is unfair (6 urban and 1 rural principal).
- No response (1 urban principal).

The majority of the urban principals (59%) thus indicated that they have no problem with the practice, a view also shared by 67% of the rural principals. 35% of the urban principals however indicated that the practice is unfair, against only 5% from the rural area.

Part (b) of the question was aimed at establishing the respondents' feelings about *patrilineality* (male heir succession in the case of death of a husband/father).

The responses present differing views with regard to this practice. The following responses were recorded:

- *The practice is not good* (10 urban principals). *The practice needs to be revised* (2 of the 10 principals).
- *The practice is unfair to women* (3 urban and 1 rural principal).
- *No problem with the practice* (4 urban and 2 rural principals).

It seems that the majority of the urban respondents (59%) are not in favour of the practice. Of these principals, 20% also indicated that the practice needs to be revised. Another 18% of the urban principals indicated that the practice is unfair to women, while this view is shared by only 33% of the rural principals. It is clear that the urban and rural principals do not feel the same about this practice because 66,6% of the rural principals do not have a problem with *patrilineality*, while this view is shared by only a small minority of the urban participants (24%).

Part (c) of the question was asked to determine the participants' feelings about the *bohali* (bride-price) custom in relation to *ho ngala* (temporarily leaving a husband), *and also* gender-based violence, sexual violence and the minority status of women.

With regard to *ho ngala*, the following responses were given:

- The *bohali* custom is domineering since it prevents women from leaving (12 urban and 1 rural principal).

- The practise has to be revised (5 urban and 2 rural principals).

The responses show that the majority of the urban principals (71%) think that the *bohali* custom dominates women since it prevents them from leaving (*ho ngala*), while only 33% of the rural principals shared the same opinion. Furthermore, another 29% of the urban principals believe that the practice has to be revised, while the majority of the rural principals (67%) expressed the same view.

The next section intended to establish the respondents' opinion about gender-based violence. The results are presented below:

- All the respondents (both urban and rural principals) indicated that they think gender-based violence is wrong.

When asked to give their opinions on sexual violence (in relation to *bohali*), the following responses were given:

- Sexual violence offenders should be given the maximum punishment (15 urban and 3 rural principals).
- The practice is wrong (2 urban principals).

Responding to sexual violence, all the rural principals want sexual offenders against women to receive the maximum punishment, and this view is shared by 88% of the urban participants. The remainder of the urban principals also indicated that sexual violence against women is wrong.

When asked to give their opinions about the minority status of women in the family, the following responses were given:

- No problem with the minority status of women (11 urban and all the rural participants).
- The practice is outdated (6 urban participants).

It is surprising that the majority of the urban (64.7%) and all the rural participants have no problem with the minority status of women in the family. However 35% of the urban participants were of the opinion that the practice was outdated.

Question Pr 32 was aimed at determining the respondents' opinion's about The *Deeds Registry Act of 1967*, which indicates that no land shall be registered in the name of a married woman. The following responses were recorded:

- *The Deeds Registry Act of 1967 is unfair because it prevents women from developing* (14 urban and 2 rural participants).
- *No problem with the Act because it is customary* (3 urban and 1 of the rural participants).

From the responses it is clear that the majority of both the urban (85%) and rural (66,6%) principals regard the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* as unfair, while the minority of each group believes it to be according to custom and therefore they do not have a problem with it.

The aim of Question Pr 33 was to establish the respondents' feelings about the fact that women are under the jurisdiction of their fathers before marriage and their husbands' after marriage. The following responses were received:

- The practice of women being under the jurisdiction of their fathers before marriage and their husbands after marriage is unfair to women (14 urban and 1 rural principal).
- It is a customary practice and it is not a problem (3 urban participants and 2 rural).

It is clear that the urban and rural participants do not agree on this practice, since the majority of the urban principals (82.3%) regard it as unfair, while the majority of rural principals (66,6%), do not have a problem because it is a customary practice. Only 17.6% of the urban principals favoured the practice while, 33,3% of the rural participants shared the same view as the majority of the urban principals.

The aim of Question Pr 34 was to determine the opinions of the respondents about the belief in Lesotho that men are the heads of families. In reaction to the question, the principals offered the following responses:

- *The belief that men are the heads of families in Lesotho is unfair to women and is caused by the “bohali” custom* (9 urban and 1 rural principal).
- No problem with the practice (8 urban and 2 rural principals).

From the responses of the principals it is evident that the two groups are also divided on this issue. Where the majority of urban principals (52.9%) regard the practice as unfair to women, the majority of the rural principals (66.6%) indicated that they do not have a problem with it. Of the urban principals, only 47% agreed with the majority of the rural participants that the practice is not a problem to them. Only 33.3% of rural principals regard the practice as unfair.

Question Pr 35 was asked to determine whether the principals have ever been discriminated against on the grounds of their gender. They had to relate their experiences of discrimination (if any) regarding the following instances:

- Marital status, e.g. not being able to enter into a contract due to the absence of a husband.
- Pregnancy.
- Family responsibilities.
- Sexual orientation.

The responses are presented in Tables 58, 59, 60, and 61.

Table 58: Discrimination on the grounds of marital status

Urban	Responses N = 17	%	Rural	Responses N = 3	%
Yes	0	0	Yes	0	0
No	17	100	No	3	100
Total	17	100	Total	3	100

The results recorded in Table 58 clearly show that all the respondents (100%) have never been discriminated against on the grounds of marital status.

Table 59: Discrimination against women on the grounds of pregnancy

Urban	Responses N = 17	%	Rural	Responses N = 3	%
Yes	0	0	Yes	0	0
No	17	17	No	3	100
Total	17	100	Total	3	100

The information in Table 59 shows that all the principals (100%) indicated that they have never been discriminated against on the basis of pregnancy.

Table 60: Discrimination against women on the grounds of family responsibilities

Urban	Responses N= 17	%	Rural	Responses N = 3	%
Yes	1	6	Yes	1	30
No	16	94	No	2	70
Total	20	100	Total	3	100

The responses in Table 60 show that the majority of urban principals (94%) indicated that they have never been discriminated against on the grounds of family responsibilities, while the majority of the rural principals (66.6%) expressed the same view. The minority of the urban principals (6%) acknowledged being discriminated against on the grounds of family responsibilities, and 33.3% of the rural principals also indicated that they have indeed been discriminated against on the same grounds. When asked to relate the incident briefly the rural respondent listed:

- *Being prevented from inheriting an estate although an only child, because she was a woman and a nun.*

The urban respondents did not relate their experiences.

Table 61: Discrimination against women on the grounds of sexual orientation

Urban	Responses N = 17	%	Rural	Responses N = 3	%
Yes	0	0	Yes	0	0
No	17	100	No	3	100
Total	17	100		Total	3

The results in Table 61 show that all the principals (100%) indicated that they have never been discriminated against on the grounds of sexual orientation.

5.3.7 SECTION G: DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN SCHOOLS

Question 36 was asked to find out whether certain discriminatory practices are still alive in the respondents' schools. The principals had to indicate their level of agreement/disagreement with 10 statements, where

5 = Strongly Agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not applicable

The responses are reflected in Table 62.

Table 62: Discrimination in the curriculum and the school

N = 20						
	5	4	3	2	1	Mean score
1. 'Appropriate' gender roles are assigned to girls and boys respectively in the classroom.	10	4	2	2	0	3.80
2. Boys and girls are given equal opportunities to compete in all the subjects.	16	2	2	0	0	4.70
3. Boys and girls do equally well in subjects such as Mathematics.	2	14	0	4	0	3.70
4. Girls do not do well in subjects such as Mathematics.	0	4	0	0	14	1.50
5. Boys do well in Mathematics, while girls do well in	2	4	0	0	12	1.90

languages.						
6. Statistically boys do better than girls in Mathematics.	4	2	1	0	13	2.20
7. Mathematics should rather be taught by male teachers in your school.	0	2	0	16	2	2.10
8. Male teachers are better Mathematics teachers than female Mathematics teachers.	0	0	4	16	0	2.20
9. Boys and men are prominent in textbooks.	8	0	0	6	6	2.90
10. Girls are steered towards more "womanly" careers, while boys are steered towards more "manly" careers.	0	4	0	6	10	1.90

The results in Table 62 reveal that the principals **disagreed** with most of the statements (mean = below 3). The statements that the respondents disagreed with, listed according to their level of disagreement are the following:

- The belief that *girls do not do well in subjects such as Mathematics* was also rejected by the principals (mean = 1.50).
- The principals also did not agree that *boys do well in Mathematics while girls do well in Languages* (mean score = 1.90).
- Finally they did not agree that *girls are steered towards 'womanly' careers, while boys are steered towards more 'manly' careers* in their schools (mean score = 1.90).
- The principals do not agree that *Mathematics should rather be taught by male teachers* in the respondents' schools (mean score = 2.10).
- The principals also do not agree that *statistically boys do better than girls in Mathematics* (mean score = 2.20).

- They also indicated their disagreement with the statement that *male teachers are better Mathematics teachers than female teachers* (mean score = 2.20).
- The principals also disagreed that *boys and men are prominent in textbooks* (mean = 2.90).

The principals **agreed** that the following practices are alive in their schools:

- *Boys and girls do equally well in subjects such as Mathematics* (mean = 3.70).
- *'Appropriate' gender roles are assigned to girls and boys respectively in the classroom* (mean = 3.80).
- *Boys and girls are given equal opportunities to compete in all the subjects* (mean = 4.70).

Question Pr 37 was intended to find out whether the school curriculum is gender-biased. The responses are presented in Table 63:

Table 63: Is the school curriculum gender-biased?

	Responses N = 20	%
Yes	0	0
No	20	100
Total	20	100

The responses in Table 63 clearly show that all the principals (100%) indicated that curriculum is not gender-biased.

The aim of Question Pr 38 was to find out what the principals think should be done to empower pregnant girls academically. This was an open-ended question, and the following responses were given:

- Incorporate them in the school system (13 respondents).
- Develop skills development institutions (5 respondents).
- Develop evening classes (2 respondents).

5.3.8 SECTION H

The aim of question Pr 39 was to determine whether the principals had been the target of gender discrimination as a principal or a vice-principal. The responses are presented in Table 64.

Table 64: The target to gender discrimination as principals or as vice-principals?

	Responses	%
Yes	2	10
No	18	90
Total	20	100

The responses in Table 64 show that the majority of the principals (80%) denied ever having been the target of gender discrimination as principals or vice-principals, while 10% affirmed that they have indeed been the target of discrimination as principals or vice-principals. When asked to relate the incidents the respondents listed the following:

- Almost not being given the job because the school board was looking for a male principal (2 responses).

5.4 ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

Sixteen principals (male and female), randomly selected from the urban and rural areas were interviewed. The interviewees will not be named, and for the sake of protecting their identities they will be listed as Participants A to P.

The aim of the interviews was to determine whether the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* is known in the schools, and to explore the possible existence of gender stereotypes in the school. The following themes were identified from the transcriptions.

1. Awareness of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*
2. Provisions for young mothers at the schools

3. Gender sensitivity of teaching materials
4. Women science teachers
5. Equal opportunities in science subjects
6. Management in schools

The report on the interviews will be based on the themes as identified from the transcriptions.

5.4.1 Awareness of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*

It transpired from the interviews that not all of the principals were aware of the existence of the policy. Nine of the principals said that they were not aware the policy, and those who knew of the existence of the policy, indicated that they were not familiar with the contents thereof. Reactions such as the following were given:

Participant K: *I don't know what the policy entails.*

Participant L: *I know it but don't know whether it is school-based or not.*

Participant N: *I have heard about it but nothing more.*

The interviewees who indicated that they were fully aware of the policy, however could not give any details on the policy and seemed to equate the stipulations of the policy to the following:

Participant D: *Subjects offered here are intended for both sexes; and*

Participant M: *Jobs are free for everyone to apply for.*

5.4.2 Provisions for young mothers in the schools

The researcher wanted to know from the principals whether their schools have made provision for young mothers to re-enter the school system. Although a small minority of the principals (4) indicated that provision is made for young mothers in their schools, it seems from the reactions of the principals that no

special provision is made to accommodate pregnant girls in their schools. Six of the principals (Interviewees B; C; D; J; L and N) said that they allow the students to come back to the school after delivery: Participant L also added that they have married women in the school and “give the girls maternity leave”. The majority of the principals (8) however indicated that it is against the schools’ policy to allow girls to return to the school after giving birth. Reasons such as the following were given:

Participant E: *No they are discontinued.*

Participant F: *It is our strictest policy not to admit any pregnant girls or women.*

Participant I: *No, this is a Catholic school and the rules are very strict. No pregnant girls!*

Participant M: *...pregnant girls are expelled.*

It is clear that the principals are divided on this issue and that girls who fall pregnant in the school are not at all guaranteed that they will be allowed to complete their studies.

5.4.3 Gender sensitising of teaching materials

With regard to a question whether the principals are doing anything to ensure that teaching materials are gender sensitive, the responses were not positive, apart from those of the principals who really do not know what to do with regard to this issue. Most of the principals thought that gender sensitising of materials is not their responsibility because materials are supplied by the Ministry, which means that they (the principals) are not at liberty to change the content. It was also added by Participant M, that “...the Ministry should do something”. Some of the participants felt quite helpless and responded in the following way:

Participant B: *Nothing much, materials are printed elsewhere and we have no influence and nothing much we can do.*

Participant D: *[I]t is a problem of the curriculum.*

Participant N: *[I]t is the Ministry's problem.*

It is clear that nothing is done to sensitise learning material, but that it is regarded as a curriculum problem that should be addressed by the Ministry. Although they feel that there is nothing they can do about sensitising learning materials, two of the principals (C and D) indicated that they do try and sensitise language in the school:

Participant C: *Nothing much about materials but with regard to language we do not particularly observe boys or girls.*

Participant D: *[I]t is a problem of the curriculum, but with regard to language it depends on the teachers.*

5.4.4 Women Science Teachers

Because this aspect was not fully addressed by the quantitative investigation, the representation of women teachers, especially in the field of science teaching, was probed in the interviews. From the information that was given to the researcher by the principals, the following table was compiled:

Table 65: The gender of science teachers in the schools

N = 16				
	Total no. of science teachers	Women science teachers	Male science teachers	% women teachers
Participant A	5	2	3	40
Participant B	6	4	2	66
Participant C	5	3	2	60
Participant D	4	3	1	75
Participant E	7	3	4	42
Participant F	7	1	6	14
Participant G	2	1	1	50
Participant H	7	3	4	42
Participant I	7	4	3	57

Participant J	7	1	6	14
Participant K	5	2	3	40
Participant L	7	3	4	42
Participant M	9	3	6	33
Participant N	0	0	0	0
Participant O	4	1	3	25
Participant P	3	1	2	33

From the information supplied by the interviewees (Table 65), it can be seen that in the majority of the principals' schools women science teachers are in the minority. Exceptions are interviewees B, C, D where women science teachers are in the majority, and the school of Participant G where the division is equal.

5.4.5 Same opportunities in Science subjects

The principals were also asked whether boys and girls are given the same opportunities in science subjects at their schools. From the reactions of the interviewees it can be concluded that boys and girls are given the same opportunities in science subjects. One participant (E), specifically indicated that they allow enrolment in science subjects based on "performance in science at a JC level", which implies that they do not discriminate.

5.4.6 Management in schools

The researcher also attempted to determine how the management of the interviewees' schools are constituted in terms of gender. It seems that women are involved in the schools' management and governance, although this is at a lower rate than that of their male counterparts:

Participant C: *The principal is male, board of directors is mixed and the chairperson is male.*

Participant G: *Nine, and three are women.*

Seven of the principals indicated that the management teams at their schools consist only of male educators (Participants B; F; H; J; L O and P), while at 2 schools (Participants D and E) the management is all-female. In the rest of the schools management consists of slightly more males than female managers. It seems that in a number of schools the top positions are held by males, while the position of vice-principal is held by a female educator (Participants A; K and M):
Participant A: *The Manager is male and our vice-principal is female.*

Apart from the schools where there are no women educators on the management team, it appears that some of the schools do acknowledge the leadership abilities of women, although there is much room for improvement.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused primarily on the analysis of the data collected through questionnaires, as well as interviews. The questionnaires and interviews were aimed at assisting the researcher to determine the extent to which gender stereotypes affect women in education in Lesotho. The results collected from all the self-structured questionnaires (quantitative) administered to teachers and principals, were subsequently tabulated in this chapter. The data analysis also dealt with interviews conducted with randomly selected school principals. The analysed data will provide a basis for the findings that will be presented in Chapter 7 if this study.

The next chapter will focus on the data analysis of the quantitative survey amongst the students and parents.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEY: STUDENTS AND PARENTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 presented an analysis of the results of the survey amongst *teachers and principals* in the targeted urban and rural schools in Lesotho. This chapter can be seen as a continuance of Chapter 5, since it will focus on the results of the questionnaires that were distributed amongst *students and parents* of the sampled schools. As such this chapter will thus address the results of the survey to investigate disparities faced by women/girls in the education system of Lesotho.

As stated in Chapter 5 (cf. *supra*: 5.1) a total of 150 questionnaires were distributed amongst students and 40 amongst parents. The questionnaires were delivered to the schools by the researcher and collected personally. All the questionnaires of the students and the parents were retrieved, thus representing a 100% return-rate.

6.2 QUESTIONNAIRE C: STUDENTS

All the participants targeted to complete the questionnaire for students were girls and ranged between the ages of 15 to 20 years of age.

6.2.1 SECTION A: Geographical details

Question S1 intended to find out the geographical location of the participants' homes. The reason for asking this question was to be able to compare the students' experiences (rural and urban) with regard to particular cultural

stereotypes. As in the case of the questionnaires for teachers and principals, the possibility exists that the experiences of the rural and urban students with regard to gender stereotypes might be different. The results are presented in Table 66:

Table 66: The geographical location of the students' homes

	Responses N = 150	%
Urban	120	80
Rural	30	20
TOTAL	150	100

The responses in Table 66 show that the majority of the students (80%) live in the urban areas, while the homes of the minority (20%) are located in the rural areas.

6.1.3 SECTION B: SCHOOL-RELATED INEQUALITIES

Section B of the questionnaire focussed specifically on possible school-related inequalities and consists of 13 questions.

In response to Question S2 the students had to react to a number of statements (18), by indicating "yes", "no" or "not sure". The responses to the statements are reflected in Table 67. An analysis of the responses to each of the will be done after the table.

Table 67: Inequalities faced by women/girls in the school situation

Responses N = 150	Yes	%	No	%	Not sure	%	Total responses	%
1. Boys and girls are treated equally on the school premises.	87	58	53	35	10	7	150	100
2. Boys and girls are given the same opportunities to answer questions and compete fairly in the classroom.	130	87	14	9	6	4	150	100

3. Teachers give preference to boys to interrupt the class while teaching.	9	6	137	91	4	3	150	100
4. Teachers allow girls to interrupt while teaching.	3	2	144	96	3	2	150	100
5. Boys are given the first chance to answer and ask questions in the classroom.	7	5	139	93	4	3	150	100
6. Science and technology subjects are for boys and languages and arts are for girls.	3	2	133	89	14	9	150	100
7. Poor or no support is given to girls once they have decided to follow science and technology subjects.	56	37	45	30	49	33	150	100
8. In most cases boys tend to follow technical and prestigious vocations such as engineering and architecture.	94	63	29	19	27	18	150	100
9. Girls are sometimes absent at school because their parents require child minders.	65	43	49	33	36	24	150	100
10. Verbal abuse is directed to girls by boys at the school.	80	53	50	33	20	13	150	100
11. Girls are subjected to violence by boys on the school premises.	80	53	50	33	20	13	150	100
12. Teachers assign girls to domestic chores on the school premises, e.g. sweeping and cleaning.	115	77	29	19	6	4	150	100
13. Choice of subjects is sometimes done according to one's gender, e.g. Agriculture is for boys and Domestic Science is for girls.	47	31	97	65	6	4	150	100
14. In competitions such as debating, boys are trusted to deliver good speeches and therefore represent the schools, while girls serve as the support systems for such boys.	17	11	127	85	6	4	150	100
15. Boys are assigned to Science projects in most cases.	59	39	54	36	37	25	150	100

16. Girls are steered towards traditional female roles and careers.	44	29	54	36	52	35	150	100
17. There are no male or female careers at your schools.	28	19	65	43	57	38	150	100
18. Boys are superior to girls.	36	24	94	63	20	13	150	100

In response to Statement 1, which, investigated whether boys and girls are treated as equals at schools, the following responses were given:

- The majority of the participants (58%) indicated that they were treated as equals to boys on the school premises;
- 35% indicated that they were not treated equally; while
- 7% were not sure.

In response to Statement 2, whether boys and girls are given the same opportunities to answer questions and compete fairly in the classroom, the responses of the students can be summarised as follows:

- The majority of the students (87%) felt that boys and girls are afforded the same opportunities to answer questions and compete fairly in the classroom;
- A small group of the students (9%) felt that they were not afforded the same opportunities as boys; and
- 4% were not sure.

In response to Statement 3, which wanted to determine whether teachers give preference to boys to interrupt the class while teaching, the respondents reacted as follows:

- The majority (91%) did not think that boys are allowed to interrupt teachers more than girls are in the classroom;
- Only 6% believed that boys are allowed to interrupt teachers more than girls are; while
- 3% were not sure.

The aim of Statement 4 was to find out whether only girls are allowed to interrupt teachers in the classroom. The responses are as follows:

- The majority of students (96%) did not agree that only girls are allowed to interrupt teachers in the class;
- 2% agreed with the statement; while
- another 2% were not sure.

Statement 5 intended to determine whether boys are given the first chance to answer and ask questions in the classroom. The responses, as indicated in Table 64, are as follows:

- The majority of the students (93%) felt that boys are not given the first chance to ask and answer questions in the classroom;
- 5% agreed with this statement; while
- 3% were not sure.

The aim of Statement 6 was to determine whether the students think Science and Technology subjects are for boys and Languages and Arts are for girls. In Table 71 the participants gave the following responses:

- The majority of the students (89%) did not agree that Science subjects are meant for boys and that Languages and Arts are for girls;
- 2% of the respondents agreed with the statement; while
- 9% of the respondents were not sure.

The aim of Statement 7 was to determine whether the students think that poor or no support or encouragement is given to girls once they have decided to follow Science and Technology subjects. The responses, as reflected in Table 64, were as follows:

- 37% agreed that girls are given less encouragement in Science and Technology subjects;
- 33% of the students were not sure; while

- 30% did not think that girls are given poor support once they have decided to do Science and Technology subjects.

Statement 8 intended to determine whether the students believe that boys in most cases tend to prefer technical and prestigious vocations such as engineering and architecture. In response, the participants indicated the following:

- The majority of the students (63%) agreed that in most cases boys tend to prefer technical and prestigious vocations such as engineering and architecture;
- 19% disagreed with the statement; while
- 18% were not sure.

The aim of Statement 9 was to determine whether the students think that girls are sometimes absent from school because their parents require child minders. The responses, reflected in Table 64, are the following:

- 43% of the students agreed that girls' are sometimes absent from school because their parents require child minders.
- 33% disagreed; while
- 24% were not sure.

Statement 10 wanted to determine whether the students think that boys verbally abuse girls at school. The responses were as follows:

- The majority of the students (53%) thought that boys verbally abuse girls at school;
- 33% believed that there is no verbal abuse directed at girls by boys in their schools, while
- 13% were not sure.

The aim of Statement 11 was to determine whether girls are subjected to violence by boys in the schools. The responses reflected the following:

- The majority (53%) indicated that girls are subjected to violence by boys in their schools.
- 33% seemed to think that there is no violence by boys aimed at girls in their schools; while
- 14% were not sure.

Statement 12 wanted to determine whether the students think teachers assign girls to domestic-related chores on the school premises, e.g. cleaning and sweeping. The responses are depicted below:

- The majority of the students (77%) indicated that girls are assigned to do domestic chores in the school;
- 19% disagreed with the statement; while
- 4% of the students were not sure.

Statement 13 was aimed at determining whether the students think that subjects are sometimes chosen according to one's gender. The following responses, as indicated in Table 64, were given:

- The majority of the students (65%) believed that gender does not determine the choice of subjects in their schools;
- 31% of the respondents tended to agree that this is the case; and
- the remaining 4% were not sure.

Statement 14 was intended to establish whether, in competitions such as debating, boys are trusted to deliver good speeches and therefore represent the school, while girls serve as a support system for such boys. The participants' responses were as follows:

- An overwhelming majority of the students (85%) disagreed that boys are trusted to deliver good speeches and therefore represent their schools in competitions;
- 11% of the respondents seemed to agree with the statement; and
- 4% were not sure.

Statement 15 intended to determine whether the students think that in most cases only boys are assigned to Science projects, probably with the idea to steer boys and girls towards 'appropriate' female roles. The responses were as follows:

- 39% tended to agree that only boys are assigned to Science projects in their schools.
- 36% did not agree; and
- 25% of the respondents were not sure.

Statement 16 intended to find out whether girls in the students' schools are steered towards traditional female roles and careers. The results are as follows:

- 36% did not agree that girls are steered towards traditional female roles and careers;
- 35% of the students were not sure; while
- 29% acknowledged such occurrences.

The aim of Statement 17 was to determine whether the students think that there are no specifically female or male careers or roles in their schools. This was asked because in some schools girls are steered towards careers that are supposedly meant for girls and boys to so-called '*boys*' careers. The responses are as follows:

- 43% disagreed that there are no female or male careers in their schools, which means that there are indeed such careers in their schools;
- 38% of respondents were not sure; while
- 19% agreed that there are no female and male careers in their schools.

This statement was not clear since it was stated in the negative and could be open to confusion. The possibility exists that the students did not understand that a double negative makes a positive!

Statement 18 intended to find out whether the students believed boys to be superior to girls. The results are reflected below:

- The majority of the students (63%) do not believe that boys are superior to girls;
- 24% agree that boys are superior to girls; while
- 13% are not sure whether this is the case.

Question 3 was aimed at investigating whether the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* is known by the students. The results are reflected in Table 68.

Table 68: Knowledge of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*

	Responses N = 150	%
Yes	84	56
No	66	44
Total	150	100

The results in Table 68 show that the majority of the students (56%) are aware of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*. The remaining 44% have never heard of the policy.

Question S4 intended to determine whether the students have ever been discriminated against because they are girls. The results are shown in Table 69.

Table 69: Have the students been discriminated against just because they are girls?

N = 150	Responses	%
Yes	3	2
No	146	97
No response	1	1
Total	150	100

According to the responses in Table 69, it is clear that the majority of the students (97%) have never been discriminated against just because they are girls. A small group of 2% acknowledged being discriminated against because they are girls, while 1% did not respond to the question. When asked to relate

their stories the participants who indicated that they have been discriminated against listed the following instances:

- Coming late to school and being told to sweep the classroom after school, while other latecomers (boys) were told to clean the chalkboard (1 student); and
- being asked to wash the teachers' dishes at lunchtime, while boys do nothing (2 students).

Question S5 was aimed at finding out whether head boys address the students more often than head girls during the school's assembly. The results are shown in Table 70.

Table 70: Who addresses the students most frequently?

	Responses N = 150	%
Head boy	118	79
Head girl	29	19
Both	2	1
No response	1	1
Total	150	100

The responses in Table 70 show the following:

- The majority of 79% indicated that the head boy addresses the students more often than the head girl does during the schools' assemblies, while
- 19% indicated that head girls are the ones who address the assemblies the most.
- 1% of the participants did not respond to the question, while
- 1% indicated that both the head boy and head girl address the assemblies equally.

Question S6 intended to determine the subject that the students would like to do in a given list of subjects. The responses are shown in Table 71.

Table 71: Subjects that the students would like to do

Subject	Responses	Ranking
Science	64	1
Mathematics	50	4
Woodwork	16	8
Home Economics	21	7
Languages	60	2
Agriculture	37	6
Accounting	39	5
Computer Science	60	2

According to the responses in Table 71, the students marked more than one subject and a total of 347 responses were received. The information in Table 68 reveals the following:

- The majority of 64 students indicated that they would like to do Science;
- this was followed by Languages and Computer Science with 60 responses each; and
- Mathematics with 50 responses.
- 39 students indicated that they would like to study Accounting; and
- Agriculture received 37 responses.
- The least responses were given to Home Economics (21 responses); and
- Woodwork with 16 responses.

Question S7 was asked to determine the reasons for the students' choice of subjects. Due to the fact that participants chose more than 1 subject in Question S7, the total number of responses differs from those of other questions. In answering the question the respondents listed the following reasons:

- Being good in the subject (72 responses);
- loving the subject (174 responses); and
- the subject being marketable (101 responses).

Question S8 was asked to find out what subjects the students were presently doing and to establish reasons for this. This question was asked because it is sometimes assumed that girls are forced to do subjects associated with traditional female roles. The respondents marked more than one subject. The results are presented in Table 72.

Table 72: Subjects that the students are presently doing

Subject	Responses N = 150	%	Ranking
Science	150	100	1
Mathematics	150	100	1
Woodwork	10	7	8
Home economics	50	33	5
Languages	150	100	1
Agriculture	50	33	5
Accounting	70	47	4
Computer science	30	20	7

The responses in Table 72 exceed the total number of respondents (150) because each participant chose more than 1 subject. This reason for this is that Science, Mathematics and Languages are compulsory subjects in all the schools and according to the table, 100% of the respondents are therefore doing Science, Mathematics, and Languages. Second to this is the 47% who are doing Accounting, which is a choice subject. 33% of the respondents are doing Home Economics, while another 33% indicated that they are doing Agriculture. The remaining 7% indicated Woodwork. Reasons for choosing the subjects were:

- It is the respondents' favourite subjects.
- It is needed for their chosen careers.
- The respondents want to teach the subject; and
- the subject is compulsory in the respondents' schools.

The intention with Question S9 was to elicit the students' opinions on the assumption that boys are encouraged to do Science and Technology-related subjects. This question was asked because it is the opinion of the researcher

that in most schools boys are encouraged to do certain subjects and this happens to girls as well. The results are presented in Table 73.

Table 73: Boys are being encouraged to do Science and Technology and girls are encouraged to do Accounting and Art-related subjects

	Responses N = 150	%
Good	21	14
Unfair	106	71
Not sure	2	1
No response	21	14
Total	150	100

The responses in Table 73 show that the majority of the students (71%) indicated that it is unfair to encourage only boys to do Science subjects. The minority (14%) seemed not to have a problem with the practice, while 1% was not sure whether this is right or wrong. The remaining 14% did not respond to the question.

The lack of career guidance programmes may sometimes influence students' academic destinies. The aim of Question S10 was thus to determine whether the respondents are aware of any career guidance programmes in their schools. The responses are reflected in Table 74.

Table 74: Are there career guidance programmes in the students' schools?

	Responses N = 150	%
Yes	49	33
No	84	56
No response	10	6
Do not know	7	5
Total	150	100

The results in Table 74 reflect that the majority of the students (56%) indicated that there are no career guidance programmes at their schools. 33% of the

participants indicated that there are career guidance programmes in their schools, while 6% of the students did not respond to the question. The remaining 5% did not know whether there are career guidance programmes in their schools.

Question S11 intended to determine the careers that the students would like to follow when they completed their Cambridge O' Level Syndicate Certificate (COSC). The results are presented in Table 75:

Table 75: Careers that the students would like to follow when they completed COSC

N=150	Responses	%
Nursing	33	22
Doctor	12	8
Accountant	14	9
Teaching	12	8
Engineering	7	5
Lawyer	9	6
Information Technology	5	3
Scientist	6	4
Media	7	5
Pilot	5	3
Banker	1	1
Farmer	8	2
Business person	4	3
Beauty and hair care	1	1
AIDS activist	2	1
Social worker	4	3
Pharmacist	2	1
Economist	1	1
Marketing	2	1
Academic	4	3
Veterinarian	1	1
Counsellor	1	1
Nutritionist	1	1
Not sure yet	4	3
No response	5	3
Total	150	100

According to the responses in Table 75:

- 22% of the students indicated nursing as a career that they would like to follow.
- 8% of the students want to be doctors, while
- 9% chose to be accountants.

- A further 8% indicated that they prefer teaching as their future career; while
- 6% wants to be lawyers.
- Subsequent to that is Engineering with 5%; and
- a further 4% of the students intend to be scientists.
- 5% wants to be in the media, and a further
- 3% want to do a career in Information Technology; while
- 3% were not sure; and
- 3% did not respond to the question

As a follow-up to Question S11 the students were asked to give reasons for their choices. They listed:

- Love the subject (82 participants);
- good in the subject (22 participants);
- financial gains (25 participants); and
- women's empowerment (10 participants).

Question S12 was asked to determine whether the students' Mathematics and Science teachers are male or female. This was done because it is assumed that Mathematics and Science are 'male' subjects and therefore taught by male teachers. The results are presented in Table 76.

Table 76: Gender of the students' Mathematics and Science teachers

	Responses N=150	%
Female	28	19
Male	74	49
Both	38	25
No response	10	7
Total	150	100

The information presented in Table 76 show that the majority of the students (63%) indicate that their Maths and Science teachers are male, while a small minority (11%) indicated that their Mathematics and Science teachers are female.

However, 25% of the respondents indicated that their Maths and Science teachers are both male and female, while 2% did not respond to the question.

Question S13 was asked to determine whether the students preferred male or female Mathematics and Science teachers and to establish reasons for their preferences. The results are presented in Table 77.

Table 77: The students' preferences regarding Mathematics and Science teachers

	Responses N = 150	%
Male	85	57
Female	43	28
Any	22	15
Total	150	100

The responses in Table 77 show that the majority of the students (57%) prefer male teachers, while a minority (28%) prefer female teachers to teach Mathematics and Science. The remaining 15% indicated that they had no preferences.

When the students were asked to state reasons for their choices they listed the following with regard to their preference of female teachers:

- Competence (9 students).
- Patience (28 students).
- Female teachers are approachable (6 students).

The students' reasons for choosing male teachers were:

- Competence (33 students).
- Patience (24 students).
- Male teachers are approachable (28 students).

6.1.4 SECTION C: STEREOTYPES IN THE SCHOOL SITUATION

It is assumed that equal treatment is not applied in schools due to gender stereotypes. This section thus focussed on possible stereotypes in the school situation.

Question S14 consisted of 9 statements and was aimed at investigating stereotypes associated with discipline in the school situation. Students had to react to the statements by indicating “yes”, “no” or “not sure”. The participants’ reactions to the statements are presented in Table 78:

Table 78: Inequalities faced by women/girls in the school environment

N = 150							
	Yes	%	No	%	Not sure	%	Total%
1. Equal punishment is administered to boys and girls in the school.	97	65	40	27	13	8	150
2. Boys obey rules and regulations in the school.	52	35	62	41	36	24	150
3. Girls obey school rules and regulations in the school.	98	65	29	19	23	15	150
4. Women teachers are able to administer punishment to all students.	85	57	47	31	18	12	150
5. Boys from the initiation schools also submit to punishment administered by women teachers.	35	23	47	31	68	45	150
6. Boys are ignored when they are not wearing uniforms, while girls are punished.	24	16	114	76	12	8	150
7. Girls are subject to verbal	58	38	67	45	25	17	150

abuse from boys, which goes unpunished in most cases.							
8. Girls are punished for late-coming caused in most cases by their multiple roles of keeping the home while attending school.	81	54	43	29	26	17	150
9. Female teachers punish female students, while their male counterparts punish male students in case of misbehaviour.	32	21	112	75	6	4	150

The responses in Table 78 indicate the following:

Statement 1 intended to investigate whether equal punishment is administered to boys and girls in the participants' schools. From the information in Table 82 it is clear that the majority of the students (65%) believed that equal punishment is administered to boys and girls in their schools, 28% did not think that this is the case, while 7% were not sure.

Statement 2 wanted to determine whether the students think that boys obey the school rules. The following responses were gathered:

- 41% of the respondents believe that boys do not obey school rules;
- 35% think that they do; while
- 23% were not sure.

The aim of Statement 3 was to determine whether the students think that girls obey school rules and regulations. The responses in Table 82 reflect that the majority of participants (65%) indicated that girls do obey rules in the school, 19% disagreed, while 15% were not sure.

Statement 4 was aimed at determining whether women teachers are able to administer punishment to all the students. From the responses in Table 82 it is

clear that the majority of the respondents (57%) agree that women teachers are able to punish all the students, while 31% seem to disagree, and 12% were not sure.

Statement 5 intended to find out whether boys from the initiation schools also submit to punishment administered by women teachers. The aim of this statement was thus to determine whether the perception that boys from these schools do not submit to punishment from females is indeed true. The responses in Table 82 indicate that 46% of the students were not sure whether boys from the initiation schools submit to punishment administered by women teachers, while 31% indicated that they do not submit to punishment by female teachers, and 23% of the students believed that they do.

The aim of Statement 6 was to find out from the students if boys are ignored when they do not wear school uniforms, while girls are punished. The responses in Table 82 reveal that the majority of the participants (76%) believed that boys are not ignored when they do not wear school uniforms, while 16% agreed with the statement, and 8% were not sure if this is the case.

Statement 7 wanted to determine if the students think that girls are subject to verbal abuse from boys, which goes unpunished in their schools. The responses in Table 82 indicate that 45% of the respondents disagreed that girls are subject to verbal abuse from boys, which goes unpunished. However, 38% of the students thought that it is true that girls are subject to verbal abuse which goes unpunished, while 17% were not sure if this is the case.

The aim of Statement 8 was to determine whether the students think that girls are punished for late-coming, caused in most cases by their dual roles of housekeeping and attending school. According to the responses in Table 82, the majority (54%) agreed that girls are mostly punished for being late, because of their dual roles of housekeeping while attending school. 29% of the participants

did not agree with the statement, and 17% were not sure whether this is the case.

Statement 9 intended to determine whether female teachers punish girls only while male teachers only punish boys. The results in Table 82 reveal that the majority of the students (75%) disagreed that female teachers punish only female students in the case of misbehaviour, while male teachers punish male students. A minority of 21% of the respondents agreed with the statement, while 4% were not sure.

Question S15 (i) was asked to determine the students' opinion with regard to the expulsion of pregnant girls from the school. In response to this open-ended question, the participants indicated the following:

- They have no problem with the practice (45%).
- It is not good (42%).
- The boys should all be expelled (7%); and
- they have mixed feelings about this (1%).
- The remaining 5% of the students did not react to the question.

A follow-up question (S15 (ii)) intended to determine what the students regard as solutions to the expulsion of pregnant girls from the schools. This was also an open-ended question, and the students listed the following solutions:

- Girls who get pregnant should be given support (17 participants);
- abstinence (15 participants);
- sex education (20 participants);
- family planning (17 participants);
- expel boys not girls (31 participants);
- suspend the girls (2 participants);
- expel both (31 participants); and
- this should be a joint decision between all the stakeholders (2 participants).

- The remaining 9 participants did not respond to this part of the question.

The third part of Question S15 was intended to determine the students' opinion on what should happen to boys who impregnate girls. In response to this open-ended question the participants indicated the following:

- Boys should be expelled from school (75%).
- They should be given support (26%) and
- 3% of the respondents thought that boys should be suspended.
- The remaining 5% of the participants did not respond to the question.

6.1.5 SECTION D: CULTURAL STEREOTYPES IN THE SCHOOL

The section was intended to investigate cultural stereotypes currently faced by girls in schools in Lesotho. This was achieved through 20 statements (Question S16) to which respondents had to respond by indicating "yes", "no", or "not sure". The responses to all the statements are reflected in Table 79. In each case the responses of the urban participants are compared to those of the rural participants.

Table 79: Cultural stereotypes faced by girls in Lesotho schools

URBAN N = 120							RURAL N = 30						
N = 150	Yes	%	No	%	Not sure	%	Yes	%	No	%	Not sure	%	Total
1. Girls are treated differently to boys at home.	50	42	45	38	25	20	12	40	10	33	8	26	150
2. Girls' tasks at home should include cleaning, collecting wood and vegetables, and plastering the house, grinding corn and other women-related tasks.	97	80	20	17	3	3	13	43	12	40	5	17	150

3. Boys' tasks in the home should include herding cattle, ploughing fields, washing car(s) and milking animals and other men-related tasks.	99	83	16	13	5	4	18	60	10	33	2	7	150
4. When you complete your studies, you are expected to get married and have children.	44	37	74	62	2	2	7	23	21	70	2	7	150
5. When you get married your parents expect <i>likhomo/bohali</i> .	114	95	5	4	1	0,8	17	57	6	20	7	23	150
6. You cannot eat certain foods because you are a girl.	54	45	60	50	6	5	14	47	8	27	8	26	150
7. You sometimes assume the domestic chores of your family and thus get behind in your school-work.	77	64	42	36	1	0.8	18	60	11	37	1	3	150
8. Time restrictions set by your parents for girls differ from that of your brothers.	85	70	25	21	10	8	21	70	7	23	2	7	150
9. A good woman should be able to cook and have children.	99	83	21	18	0	0	24	80	6	20	0	0	150
10. Men are breadwinners and women are homemakers.	77	64	43	36	0	0	18	60	11	37	3	0	150

11. Men and women are equal and therefore should share roles.	104	87	18	15	8	7	20	67	8	27	2	7	150
12. Girls are supposed to play netball while boys play soccer.	60	50	50	42	10	8	17	57	7	23	6	20	150
13. Girls should lean to keep house while boys look after the livestock.	90	75	20	17	10	8	18	60	11	37	1	3	150
14. Girls should sweep classrooms while boys should move desks.	76	80	40	42	4	3	20	67	8	27	2	7	150
15. Girls are sometimes discriminated against.	49	41	61	51	10	8	6	20	20	67	4	13	150
16. You have been treated unfairly at home because you are a girl.	40	33	70	58	9	8	15	50	7	23	8	27	150
17. It is unfair that a girl cannot inherit her parents' estate just because she is female.	80	67	20	17	20	16	20	67	4	13	6	20	150

The responses in Table 79 reflect the following:

Statement 1 intended to determine whether girls are treated differently from boys at home. From the responses in Table 83, it is clear that the largest groups of the urban and rural students (42% and 40% respectively) agree that girls are treated differently at home, while a slightly smaller number (38% and 33%) of the respondents (urban and rural respectively) disagrees. The remaining 20% and 26% indicated that they were not sure whether this is the case.

Statement 2 intended to find out whether the students think that girls' tasks at home should include cleaning, collecting wood and vegetables, plastering the house, grinding corn and other woman-related tasks. In response, the majority of the urban students (80%) and 43% of the rural students agree that girls' tasks at home should indeed include cleaning, collecting wood and vegetables, plastering the house and other woman-related tasks. The minority of the urban students (17%), and 40% of the rural students seemed to disagree with the statement. 3% and 17% of the students (urban and rural respectively) did not react to the statement.

Statement 3 intended to find out whether the students think that boys' tasks in the home should include herding cattle, ploughing the fields, washing the car(s), milking the animals and other traditionally men-related tasks. From the responses in Table 83 it is clear that the majority of the urban and rural participants (83% and 60%) agree that boys' tasks in the home should include herding cattle, ploughing fields, washing car(s), milking the animals and other traditionally men-related tasks. A small minority of the urban students (13%), and 33% of the rural students indicated that they did not agree with the statement. The remaining 4% and 7% of both urban and rural participants did not respond to the statement.

Statement 4 intended to find out from the students whether they are expected to get married and have children when they complete their studies. In reaction to the statement a small percentage of both the urban and rural respondents (37% and 23% respectively) seemed to agree that when they complete their studies they are expected to get married and have children. The majority of both the urban and rural students, however, (62% and 70% respectively) did not agree that this is the case. The remaining 2% and 7% respectively, did not respond to the statement.

Statement 5 was asked to determine whether the students' parents are expecting *likhomo/bohali* (bride-price) when they get married. From the information in Table 83, it is clear that that the majority of both the urban and rural students (95% and 57% respectively) agreed that when they get married their parents are expecting *bohali*. A small minority (4% and 20% of the urban and rural respectively) indicated that this is not the case, while another 23% of the rural participants and 0.8% of the urban students indicated that they were not sure.

Statement 6 intended to determine whether the students think that girls are not allowed to eat certain foods because of their gender. The largest groups of the urban students (50%) and 27% of rural students appeared to think that this is not the case. An equally large number of urban students (45%) and 47% of the rural students agreed that girls are not allowed to eat certain foods because they are girls. The remaining 5% (urban students) and 26% (rural students) were not sure whether this is the case.

Statement 7 intended to determine whether girls sometimes get behind in their schoolwork due to the fact that they have to assume domestic chores. In response to this statement the majority of both urban and rural students (64% and 60% respectively) agreed that they experienced backlogs in their schoolwork because they have to do domestic chores. Similar responses were also obtained from the minority groups of respondents (36% of urban and 37% of rural students) who indicated that they have never encountered the problem.

Statement 8 was aimed at finding out if time restrictions set by parents for girls differ from that of their brothers. The information in Table 83 reveals that the majority of both the urban and the rural students (70% and 70% respectively) indicated that time restrictions set by their parents for girls differ from those of their brothers. A small minority, but with similar figures, also reveal that 21% and 23% of both the urban and rural students disagreed with the statement, while 8% and 7% respectively were not sure whether this is the case in their families.

The aim of Statement 9 was to find out from the students if they think a good woman should be able to cook and have children. In reaction to the statement, the majority of the students (both the urban and rural) seemed to acknowledge that a good woman should be able to cook and have children (83% and 80% respectively). The remaining minority (18% and 20% respectively) indicated that they did not agree with the statement.

Statement 10 was intended to determine whether the students agree with the belief that men are breadwinners and women are homemakers. The information presented in Table 83 reveals that the majority of the urban and rural students (64% and 60% respectively), indicated that they disagree with the belief that men are breadwinners, while women are homemakers. Similar responses were also revealed when the minority of both the urban and rural participants indicated that they do agree that men are breadwinners and that women are homemakers (36% and 37% respectively).

Statement 11 intended to determine whether the students think that men and women are equal and should therefore share roles. From the information presented in Table 83 it is clear that the majority of the participants indicated that they agree that men and women are equal and therefore should share roles (87% urban and 67% rural). Another reflection from the table is that 15% of the urban participants and 27% of the rural students indicated that they were not decided on the subject, while 7% of both the urban and the rural participants indicated that they did not agree with the statement.

Statement 12 intended to determine whether girls are expected to play netball while boys are expected to play soccer. The results presented in Table 83 reflect that the majority of both the urban and rural students (50% and 57% respectively) indicated that they agree that girls are expected to play netball and that boys are expected to play soccer. A different picture is revealed among the participants

who did not agree with the statement. 42% of the urban students indicated that they disagreed with the statement, while only a small group of 23% of the rural participants disagreed. The remaining 8% of the urban students and 20% of the rural students were not decided on the issue.

Statement 13 intended to find out whether the students think that girls should learn to keep house while boys should learn to look after livestock. In response to the statement Table 83 reveals that the majority of both the urban and rural respondents (75% and 60% respectively) indicated that they agree that girls have to learn to keep house, while boys should learn to look after livestock. 17% and 37% of both the urban and rural students indicated that they disagreed with the statement. The remaining 8% and 3% of the urban and rural respondents respectively, indicated that they were not decided on the issue.

The aim of Statement 14 was to determine whether the students think that girls should sweep classrooms while boys should move desks. The information presented in Table 83 reveals that an overwhelming 80% of the urban students indicated that they agreed that girls should sweep classrooms while boys should move desks. The majority of the rural students (67%) gave the same reaction to the statement. However, the minority of urban participants who did not agree with the statement only amounted to 42%, while 27% of the rural participants shared the same view. The remaining 3% and 7% respectively, were not decided on the subject.

Statement 15 was asked to determine whether girls are sometimes discriminated against on the school premises and at home simply because they are girls. The responses in Table 83 reveal that a large group of the urban students (41%) and 20% of the rural students agree that they are sometimes discriminated against on the school premises and at home just because they are girls, while the majority of both groups (51% urban and 67% rural students) disagree with the statement.

Only 8% of the urban respondents and 13% of the rural respondents were not sure.

The aim of Statement 16 was to determine whether students are being treated unfairly at home because they are girls. In reaction to the statement, a majority of 58% of the urban participants indicated that they did not think that they were treated differently in the home because they are girls, while only 23% of the rural students shared the same view. The same difference of views is presented by the students who seemed to acknowledge that they were indeed treated differently in their homes just because they are girls. 33% of the urban participants agreed with the statement, while only 50% of the rural participants shared the same view. The remaining 8% of the urban respondents indicated that they were not decided on the subject, while a much larger figure (27%) of the rural students were not sure.

The aim of Statement 17 was to find out whether the students think it is fair that they cannot inherit from their parents' estate just because they are females. The responses presented in Table 83 reveals that the majority of both the urban (67%) and rural respondents (67%) indicated that they agree that it is unfair that girls are unable to inherit from their parents' estate. Almost similar views were expressed by the students who did not agree with the statement, (17% urban and 13% rural), which means that they do not think it unfair. Another similar reaction (16% and 20%) is presented by the participants who were not decided on the subject.

Question S17 was intended to determine the tasks that students perform at home. In response to the statement all the urban students (100%) and 99% of the rural students indicated that they perform domestic tasks at their homes, while only 1% of these participants presented a different view by indicating that their task is to herd cattle.

When asked to state reasons for the tasks that they listed, the students offered the following:

- Loved doing the task (25 urban participants and 10 rural participants);
- it is a girls' duty (88 urban participants and 20 rural participants); and
- it is a learning experience (6 urban participants).

One urban respondent did not respond to this section of the question.

Question S18 intended to determine the tasks that the students' brothers perform in their homes. In response to the question the students listed the following:

- 90 urban participants indicated that they perform male tasks against the 15 rural participants who indicated the same.
- 10 urban indicated that they do nothing, compared to 8 rural participants; and
- 7 urban participants indicated that they do all the tasks, while 7 of the rural participants shared the same view.

Of the remaining 13 participants, 5 did not respond to the question, while the remaining 8 indicated that there were no boys in their families.

Question S19 was asked to determine how the students felt about the tasks that they perform in their homes. In response to the statement 86, urban and 18 rural students indicated that they did not have any problem with the tasks they perform at home, while 29 urban students indicated that they disliked the tasks. This view is shared by only 2 rural students. The remaining 2 urban students and 10 rural participants did not respond to the question.

Question S20 was aimed at determining whether the students had as yet missed school or assignments because they had to perform any other tasks. In response the participants listed the following:

- 13 urban students and 3 rural students indicated that they have indeed missed school or assignments; while the majority of 86 urban students and

26 rural said that they had not. 8 urban and 1 rural student did not respond to the question.

When asked to relate the incidents, the students listed the following:

- No money for school fees (1 urban and 1 rural participant);
- mother away, had to take care of siblings (5 urban participants);
- mother sick (2 rural and 2 urban participants);
- did not do homework because they had to do household chores (1 urban participant and 1 rural participant); and
- brother sick (3 urban participants).

All the remaining participants did not respond to this part of the question.

Question S21 was intended to determine what the students think their roles in life are. The results are reflected in Table 80.

Table 80: Students' roles in life

	Urban responses N = 120	%	Rural responses N = 30	%
1. Continuity of the lineage of the family	2	2	20	67
2. Getting married and having children	6	5	6	20
3. Achieving personal goals and aspirations	112	93	4	13
4. Other, specify.	0	0	0	0
Total	150	100	30	100

According to the information in Table 80, the majority of the urban students (93%) believe that their role in life is to achieve their personal goals, while only 13% of the rural participants shared the same view. A large number of rural students (67%) indicated that their role in life is to continue the lineage of their families, against only 2% of the urban students who share the same opinion. The remaining 5% of the urban students and 20% of the rural students said that their most important role in life was to get married and have children.

Question S22 was asked to determine the students' opinions on the cultural practice that the custom of marriage is not only the union of a couple but the union between two families. The students responded in the following way:

- The majority of both the urban (50 students) and rural participants (21) admitted that they regard marriage to be a union between two families.
- Only 37 urban and 9 rural participants indicated that they believe that marriage is a union between the couple.
- The remaining 8 urban participants did not respond to the question.

Question S23 intended to elicit the students' opinions on a number of cultural practices and other instances of possible discrimination against women.

In the first part of the question, the students had to comment on the *bohali* (bride-price) custom. In response, the participants reacted as follows:

- *Bohali* is a good idea (50 urban and 20 rural students).
- *Bohali* is wrong because it affects the couple economically (20 of the urban and 10 of the rural students).

The next part of the question was intended to determine the students' opinion on *thapo* (black attire worn as a customary sign of mourning according to Basotho culture). In response the participants listed the following:

- It is a custom and, therefore, it is good (28 rural students).
- This practice is discriminatory (72 urban students).
- It has no meaning (40 urban students).
- Women should have a choice (1 urban student).
- No response (7 urban and 2 rural students).

Next the students had to give their feelings about the custom of *patrilocality*, and the following responses were received. The majority of the urban and the rural

respondents (48% and 48% respectively) were of the opinion that *bohali* causes conflicts between the daughter in-law and her in-laws. Other comments were:

- The newly-weds need their independence (29% of the urban students);
- it is a custom and therefore good (29% and 50% urban and rural student respectively);
- there is no problem with the custom (1% of the rural students); and
- 7% of the urban students and 1% of the rural did not respond to the question.

The aim of the next part of the question was to determine the students' opinions on *chobeliso* (abduction with the intent to marry). In response to this question the urban and rural students were divided in their opinions. The majority of the urban participants (97%) seemed to be against the custom, while the majority of the rural participants (93%) thought it was a good idea. The remaining 3% of the urban and 7% of the rural participants did not respond to the question.

The next part of Question S23 was asked to determine what the students would do if they were abducted. Some of the participants responded by indicating that they would continue the marriage (10 urban and 3 rural participants), while others stated that they would sue their abductors (1 urban participant). This is followed by students who indicated that they would commit suicide (2 urban participants), while the majority said that they would run away (107 urban and 27 rural participants).

6.1.6 SECTION E: SEXUAL VIOLENCE

This section of the questionnaire for students concentrated on sexual violence against girls in the school situation.

Question S24 was intended to investigate whether the students were aware of the existence of the *Lesotho Sexual Offence Act of 2003*, which is aimed at punishing sexual offenders. The students' responses are illustrated in Table 81.

Table 81: Awareness of the Lesotho Sexual Offence Act of 2003

	Responses N = 150	%
Yes	60	40
No	87	58
No reponse	3	2
Total	150	100

The results in Table 81 indicate that the majority of the students (59%) are not aware of the existence of the *Sexual Offence Act of 2003*. The remaining 41% pointed out that they are aware of the existence of such an Act.

Question S25 was intended to find out if participants have ever been subject to verbal violence by male teachers. The responses are reflected in Table 82.

Table 82: Verbal violence by male teachers

	Responses N = 150	%
Yes	10	7
No	140	93
Total	150	100

The results in Table 82 indicate that the majority of the respondents (93%) have never been subjected to verbal violence by male teachers. However, only 7% acknowledged having been subjected to violence by either boys or male teachers. The respondents were asked to relate the incidents but none of them responded.

Question S26 was intended to find out whether verbal abuse is a punishable offence in their schools. The responses are shown in Table 83.

Table 83: Is verbal violence a punishable offence in schools?

	Responses N = 150	%
Yes	60	41
No	87	59
Total	150	100

The results in Table 83 show that the majority of the respondents (59%) indicated that verbal abuse is not a punishable offence in their schools, while, on the other hand, 41% indicated that verbal abuse is a punishable offence in their schools.

Question S27 was aimed at determining the students' opinions on the fact that sexual violence sometimes goes unpunished because of the stigma attached to rape victims. This was an open-ended question and the participants indicated the following:

- Sexual violence should be reported (60 participants);
- it promotes violence against women (66 participants);
- women fear not being believed and therefore do not report the cases (27 participants);
- it is caused by girls' bad behaviour (26 participants); and
- she was raped by the fathers' employer therefore it could not be reported for fear of the father losing his job (1 participant).

Question S28 intended to find out whether students have ever been raped. The responses are presented in Table 84.

Table 84: Have the participants been raped?

	Responses N = 150	%
Yes	8	5
No	142	95
Total	150	100

The results in Table 84 clearly indicate that the majority of the students (95%) have never been raped. The remaining 5% indicated they have been rape victims. When the respondents were asked whether the cases were reported, all of them indicated that they did not report the cases. The reasons for not reporting were the following:

- Raped by a father's employer and was afraid the father would be fired (1 student);

- afraid of not being believed (2 students);
- afraid of parents (3 students); and
- afraid of the boy (2 students).

The aim of Question S29 was to find out whether the respondents know of other girls that have been rape victims. The results are presented in Table 85.

Table 85: Do the participants know of other girls that have been raped?

	Responses N = 150	%
Yes	65	57
No	85	43
Total	150	100

The results in Table 84 show that the majority of the respondents (57%) indicated that they knew of other girls who had been raped, while the minority (47%) did not know anybody who had been raped.

The second part of the question intended to find out whether the cases were reported. The responses were as follows:

- 33 students indicated that the cases were not reported;
- 32 students pointed out that the cases were reported; and
- 85 students did not respond to the question.

6.2 QUESTIONNAIRE D: PARENTS

6.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The legal system of Lesotho classifies a woman to acquire majority status at the age of 21, however, this status changes if a woman gets married under *Common Law*, according to the type of contract she enters into. Under *Customary Law*, a woman is a legal minor from birth to death. She is under the control of the father before marriage and under the husband's control after marriage (cf. *supra*: 3.3.3).

The minority status of women therefore appears to perpetuate gender stereotypes, particularly in the education system. This questionnaire was therefore aimed at investigating gender disparities as experienced by men and women whose children attend the schools that were selected for the survey.

6.2.2 SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

This section was aimed at identifying the area of residence of the participants because the researcher is of the opinion that the area (urban or rural) in which the participants live might have an influence on the existence and perpetuation of gender roles and stereotypes. The results of Question P1, wishing to establish the area of residence of the parents, are reflected in Table 86.

Table 86: The area of residence of the respondents

N = 40	Responses	%
Urban	30	75
Rural	10	25
Total	40	100

From the responses in Table 86 it is clear that the majority of the respondents (75%) reside in the urban areas, while the minority (25%) live in the rural areas.

6.2.3 SECTION B: CULTURAL PRACTICES

Question P2 was asked to determine the respondents' reactions regarding a number of cultural stereotypes that discriminate against women in Lesotho. The parents had to respond to a number of statements by indicating either of the following:

1 = Strongly agree

4 = Disagree

2 = Agree

5 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not sure

The results are reflected in Table 87.

Table 87: Aspects of culture that discriminates against women in Lesotho (urban area and rural)

	Urban responses N = 30							Rural responses N = 10						
	5	4	3	2	1	Tot	Mean	5	4	3	2	1	Tot	Mean
1. A woman's place is in the home.	4	10	6	2	8	30	3.00	1	6	0	3	0	10	3.50
2. Women are better care-givers than men.	15	7	5	1	2	30	4.06	8	1	0	0	1	10	4.50
3. The best person to take care of the children is the mother.	15	6	1	7	1	30	3.90	0	5	0	5	0	10	3.00
4. Men are breadwinners.	5	6	2	1	16	30	2.43	1	6	0	0	3	10	3.20
5. Women are breadwinners.	5	10	7	6	2	30	3.33	5	5	0	0	0	10	4.50
6. Male teachers are better than female teachers.	6	2	4	8	10	30	2.53	0	2	0	0	8	10	1.60
7. Married men make better role models than unmarried men.	2	4	4	15	5	30	2.43	0	0	4	1	5	10	1.90
8. Married women make better role models than unmarried women.	5	8	1	2	14	30	2.60	3	6	0	1	0	10	4.10
9. Boys are gifted in Mathematics while girls are gifted in arts/languages.	1	2	7	14	6	30	2.26	2	0	1	0	7	10	2.00
10. It is bad luck to refuse to wear <i>thapo</i> when your husband is dead.	4	5	2	13	6	30	2.60	2	0	0	0	8	10	1.80
11. Men are the rightful heads of families.	5	3	2	10	10	30	2.43	5	2	0	2	1	10	3.80
12. Women should be heads	4	1	0	15	10	30	2.13	3	1	0	0	6	10	2.50

of families.														
13. Women are bad decision-makers.	5	5	7	3	10	30	2.73	0	3	0	0	7	10	1.90
14. Men should administer punishment for boys in the home while women should punish girls.	8	4	1	10	7	30	2.86	1	4	0	5	0	10	3.10
15. Punishment should be administered by both parents regardless of the sex of the children.	3	8	1	5	13	30	2.36	2	2	0	2	8	10	3.00

The responses in Table 87, show that both the urban and the rural parents **agree** with the following practices (mean scores above 3):

- *Women are better care-givers than men* (mean = 4.06 (urban) and 4.50 (rural));
- *Women are breadwinners* (mean = 3.33 (urban) and 4.50 (rural));

Both the groups of parents also indicated that they **disagree** with the following statements (mean scores below 3):

- They did not agree that *married men are better role models than unmarried men* (mean = 2.43 (urban) and 1.90 (rural)).
- The idea that *male teachers are better than female teachers* was also rejected by both the groups (mean = 2.53 (urban) and 1.60 (rural)).
- The participants also disagreed that *boys are gifted in Mathematics while girls are gifted in arts/languages* (mean = 2.26 (urban) and 2.00 (rural)).
- The perception that *women should be heads of families* was also rejected by the urban and rural participants (mean = 2.13 (urban) and 1.90 (rural)).
- They also did not agree that *women are bad decision-makers* (mean = 2.73 (urban) and 1.90 (rural)).

- Both of the groups disagreed that it is *bad luck to refuse to wear thapo when your husband is dead* (mean = 2.60 (urban) and 1.80 (rural)).

However, the urban and rural parents' responses **differed** greatly with regard to the following statements:

- The urban parents disagreed that *married women make better role models than unmarried women* (mean = 2.60), while the rural parents (mean = 4.10) thought that this is indeed the case.
- With regard to the statement that *men are the rightful heads of families*, the two groups also did not share the same view. The urban parents did not think that men are the rightful heads of families (mean = 2.43), while the rural parents agreed with this idea (mean = 3.80).
- While the rural parents agreed that *men should administer punishment for boys in the home while women should punish girls* (mean = 3.10), the urban parents did not think that this should be the case (mean = 2.86).
- The urban parents did not think that *men are breadwinners* (mean = 2.43), while the rural parents agreed with the statement (mean = 3.20).
- The urban parents thought that *the mother is the best person to take care of the children* (mean = 3.90), and the rural parents were not sure whether this is the case (mean = 3.00).
- In response to Statement 15 that *punishment should be administered by both parents regardless of the sex of the children*, the responses of the groups also differed. The urban parents indicated their disagreement with the practice (mean = 2.36), while the rural parents were not sure if this should be the case (mean = 3.00).
- The urban parents were not sure whether *a woman's place is in the home* (mean = 3.00), while the rural parents agreed that a woman's place should indeed be in the home (mean = 3.50).

Question P3 was asked to determine why the respondents think that the initiation school is becoming popular again amongst boys. The respondents indicated the following reasons for the rising popularity of the initiation school:

- The initiation school is becoming popular amongst boys for educational purposes (12 respondents).
- It is a sign of prestige amongst boys (5 respondents).
- The radio is popularising it (4 respondents).
- The initiation school heals people with HIV/AIDS (3 respondents).
- For business purposes to teachers (3 respondents).
- Boys are running away from discipline in the formal schools (2 respondents).
- Boys are running away from poverty in their homes (2 respondents).
- People who went to the initiation schools are popularising it (1 respondent).
- 6 of the parents did not respond to the question.

The aim of question P4 was to determine the opinions of respondents on the listed statements about initiation schools. The parents had to respond to the statements by indicating:

5 = Strongly agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not sure

The results are recorded in Table 88.

Table 88: The participant's opinions about the initiation schools

	Urban responses N = 30						Rural responses N = 10					
	5	4	3	2	1	Mean	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
1. Initiation schools facilitate gender roles.	10	6	3	9	2	3.43	5	2	1	1	1	3.90

2. Initiation schools promote stereotypes (specific set of roles of the sexes) through the emphasis on manhood and womanhood.	7	6	2	6	5	2.73	2	3	2	3	0	3.40
3. Initiation schools could cause gender violence.	10	5	2	9	4	3.26	3	2	0	0	5	2.80
4. Initiation schools encourage patriarchy (the idea that men are superior to women).	13	4	4	4	5	3.53	6	2	0	1	1	4.10
5. Boys from the initiation schools tend to dislike disciplinary measures in ordinary schools especially if administered by women.	10	8	0	7	5	3.36	7	3	0	0	0	4.70

The responses in Table 88 show that both the urban and rural parents agreed with the majority of the listed statements relating to initiation schools (mean scores above 3). The statements that they **agreed** with are the following:

- *Initiation schools facilitate gender roles* (mean = 3.43 (urban) and 3.90 (rural)).
- *Initiation schools encourage patriarchy* (mean = 3.53 (urban) and 4.10 (rural)).
- *Boys from the initiation schools tend to dislike disciplinary measures in ordinary schools especially if administered by women* (mean = 3.36 (urban) and 4.70 (rural)).

With regard to the following statement, the two groups held different views:

- The urban parents disagreed that *initiation schools promote stereotypes through the emphasis on manhood and womanhood* (mean = 2.73), while the rural parents agreed that this is the case (mean = 3.40).
- The urban parents also did not agree that *initiation schools could cause gender violence* (mean = 3.26), and the rural parents agree with the statement (mean = 2.80).

Question P5 was an open-ended question and intended to find out the participants' opinions about the *Land Act of 1979*. In response to the question, the participants listed the following:

- 27 urban parents indicated that the law needs to be revised, a view that is also shared by 2 rural parents.
- 6 of the rural parents indicated that equal treatment for everyone needs to be applied; and
- 2 rural parents further said that they had no problem with the law, a view also shared by 1 urban parent.
- The remaining 2 urban parents did not answer the question.

Question P6 intended to find out what the respondents think about the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967*, which indicates that married women cannot have property registered in their names. The participants indicated the following:

- The majority of the urban parents (20) indicated that the act is unfair, a view also shared by 5 of the rural parents.
- 2 of the urban parents indicated that the act needs revision, against 2 of the rural parents.
- 1 urban and 2 rural parent also indicated that they did not have a problem with the act.
- 2 of the urban parents further indicated that the Act needs to be abolished; and
- the remaining 4 urban parents and 2 rural parents did not respond to the question.

Question P7 intended to find out what the respondents think about the *Inheritance Law*, which indicates that male children must inherit their family's property in the event of the death of their father. The participants responded by indicating the following:

- This practice is unfair (26 urban and all the rural parents).
- This is a good practice (1 urban parent).
- Children should share the inheritance (1 urban parent),
- This state of affairs should be revised (1 urban parent)
- No response (1 urban parent).

It appears thus that the majority of the two groups agree that the practice is unfair and should be changed.

The aim of Question P8 was to determine the views of the parents on a number of customary practices.

In response to the practice of *patrilocality*, they presented the following views:

- No problem with the practice (8 urban and 7 of the rural parents).
- The practice is oppressive to women (13 urban and 3 rural parents).
- No response (9 urban parents).

From the above responses of the parents it seems that the urban and rural parents are divided in their opinions on *patrilocality* since the majority of the urban parents (13) think it to be oppressive to women, while the majority of the rural parents (7) do not have a problem with the practice. However, the minority of urban parents (8) agree with the practice, while only a small group of rural participants (3) regard it as oppressive. A large number of urban parents (9) did not respond to the question.

In their comments on the *thapo* custom, the following views were reflected by the parents:

- They have no problem with the practice (1 parent from the rural area and 1 from the urban area).

- It is a sign of love and respect to the dead (8 rural parents).
- It should be an individual's choice (10 urban parents).
- It is unfair to women (16 urban parents).
- No response (1 rural and 2 urban parents).

In response to the *bohali* (bride-price) custom, the participants indicated the following:

- They do not have a problem with the *bohali* practice (7 urban and 10 rural parents).
- *Bohali* is unfair because women tend to become men's property (18 urban parents).
- *Bohali* should be optional (4 urban parents).
- No response (1 urban parent).

The reactions of the participants to this practice also differed considerably between the two groups, since the majority of the urban parents regard *bohali* as unfair, while all the rural parents indicated that they have no problem with the practice. Only 7 of the urban participants agreed with the latter response of the urban parents. A further 4 urban parents indicated that the practice should be optional, while one did not respond to the question.

Parents were subsequently also asked to give their views on the *minority status of women* according to the Basotho custom. This was also an open-ended question, but since only 2 types of responses were received, it is presented in table-form (Table 89).

Table 89: The respondents' views on the minority status of women

	Urban Responses N = 30	%	Rural responses N = 10	%
Unfair	19	63	3	30
Good	5	17	5	50
No response	6	20	2	20
Total	30	100	10	100

The responses in Table 89 indicate that the majority of the urban parents (63%) think the minority status of women is unfair, while only 30% of the rural participants share the same view. A large number of the rural parents however indicated that it is good practice (50%), while only 17% of the urban parents gave a similar response. The remaining groups of both the urban and rural parents (20% of each) did not respond to the question.

The aim of Question P9 was to determine the roles that the respondents assign to their girl-children. The parents reacted as follows:

- They give their female children domestic roles (20 of the urban and 7 of the rural parents).
- They do not assign particular roles to female children (5 urban and 3 rural parents).
- No response (5 urban parents).

It is clear from the responses to this question that both urban and rural parents assign domestic roles (which are traditionally seen as women's work) to their girl-children. Only a small minority do not assign any particular roles to their girl-children. The 5 urban parents who did not respond to the question possibly were not sure.

The aim of Question P10 was to determine the roles the respondents give to their male children. The parents offered the following responses:

- They assign their male children male roles (10 urban and 4 of the rural parents).
- They are not particular about the roles, and that they give their male children any roles (8 urban and 6 rural parents).
- The remaining 12 urban parents did not respond to the question.

The reaction to this question is quite different from the previous question since here the majority of the rural parents are not particular which roles they assign to

their male children, while a third of the urban parents assign them male roles. It is surprising that such a large number of urban parents did not respond to the question, indicating that they were not sure. *It seems thus, when comparing the reactions to the last two questions, that gender-specific roles are more likely to be assigned to female children than to male children.*

6.2.4 SECTION C: WOMEN'S SEXUALITY

This section focussed upon the rights of women (girls) with regard to their sexuality.

Question P11 was asked to determine to what extent the parents agree with the "myths" about why women and girls are raped in Lesotho. The parents had to respond to 10 statements, where:

5 = Strongly agree

2 = Disagree

4 = Agree

1 = Strongly disagree

3 = Not sure

The responses are shown in Table 90.

Table 90: Myths about why women are raped in Lesotho

Responses N = 40	5	4	3	2	1	Mean
1. Women of "questionable" morals get raped.	4	2	8	1	25	1.97
2. Women who wear see-through clothes, mini skirts, tight pants and dresses call for rape.	0	0	0	0	40	1.00
3. Women use rape to call for attention.	35	2	0	3	0	4.72
4. Women who get raped must have let on the men who raped them.	26	8	0	4	2	4.30
5. Women cry rape when they	5	10	5	10	10	2.75

are caught in the act.						
6. Women who are drunk call rape unto themselves.	30	5	1	4	0	4.52
7. Accepting a lift from a man justifies rape.	35	0	5	0	0	4.75
8. Walking alone at night calls for rape.	20	2	5	8	5	3.60
9. Agreeing to be bought alcohol by a man calls for rape.	24	8	0	8	0	4.20
10. Agreeing to be visited by male friends call for rape.	20	10	0	10	0	4.00

The information in Table 90 shows that the majority of participants **agree** with the majority of the listed “myths” about why women are raped (mean scores above 3):

- *Women cry rape when they are caught in the act* (mean = 2.75).
- *Walking alone at night calls for rape* (mean = 3.60).
- *Women who are drunk call rape unto themselves* (mean = 4.52).
- *Agreeing to be visited by male friends calls for rape* (mean = 4.00).
- *Agreeing to be bought alcohol by a man calls for rape* (mean = 4.20).
- *Women use rape to call for attention* (mean = 4.72).
- *Women who get raped must have let on the man who raped them* (mean = 4.30).
- *Accepting a lift from a man justifies rape* (mean = 4.75).

The parents also **disagreed** with some of the listed myths (mean scores below 3):

- They did not agree that *women who wear see-through clothes, mini skirts, tight pants and dresses calls for rape* (mean = 1.00).
- The statement that *women of “questionable” morals get raped* (mean = 1.92), was also rejected.

Question P12 intended to find out whether the respondents are aware of the existence of the *Sexual Offences Act of 2003*, which is aimed at punishing sexual offenders. The responses are presented in Table 91.

Table 91: Are the parents aware of the *Sexual Offences Act of 2003*?

N = 40	Responses	%
Yes	22	55
No	18	45
Total	40	100

The responses in Table 91 clearly indicate that the majority of the parents (55%) are aware of the *Sexual Offences Act of 2003*, while the minority (45%) are not aware of its existence.

Question P13 intended to investigate whether any of the participants' girl-children had been victims of sexual abuse or rape. The responses are reflected in Table 92:

Table 92: Have any of the respondents' girl-children been victims of sexual abuse or rape?

N = 40	Responses	%
Yes	0	0
No	40	40
Total	40	100

The responses in Table 92 show that all the respondents (100%) indicated that their girl-children have never been raped.

Question P14 was a follow-up to question P13. In response to the Question P13 all the respondents indicated that their girl-children have never been raped, therefore none of the parents responded to Questions P14 and P15.

6.2.5 SECTION D: DISCRIMINATION IN THE SCHOOL

This section focussed upon discrimination in the school. Question P16 was asked to determine whether the respondents' girl-children had ever been discriminated against in the school because of their sex. The responses are presented in Table 93.

Table 93: Have the respondents' girl-children ever been discriminated against in the school because of their sex?

N = 40	Responses	%
Yes	0	0
No	40	40
Total	40	100

The results in Table 93 show that all the respondents indicated that their girl-children have never been discriminated against in the school because of their sex.

Question P17 intended to find out whether the respondents' girl-children have been subjected to verbal or physical violence by either boys or male teachers in the school. The responses are reflected in Table 94.

Table 94: Subjection of parents' girl-children to verbal or physical violence in the school

N = 40	Responses	%
Yes	4	10
No	36	90
Total	40	100

The results in Table 94 show that the majority of the respondents (90%) indicated that their girl-children have never been subjected to verbal or physical violence by either boys or male teachers in the school. The remaining 10% indicated that their children have in fact been subjected to verbal or physical violence by either

boys or male teachers in the school. When asked to relate the incidences, the last group of respondents indicated the following:

- Her child was a victim of verbal violence because she refused to engage in a relationship with a boy (1 respondent); and
- name-calling (3 respondents).

Question P18 was asked to determine whether the respondents reported the incidences to the authorities or the police. The results are presented in Table 95.

Table 95: Did the respondents report the incidences to the authorities/police?

N = 40	Responses	%
Yes	0	0
No	40	40
Total	40	100

According to the responses in Table 95, all the respondents (100%) indicated that the incidences were never reported to the authorities, and there were no reasons stated for failure to report the cases.

Question P19 was an open-ended question, and was asked to determine what the respondents thought about women teachers. The following responses were given:

- They do not have any problem with women teachers (29 parents).
- Women teachers are too emotional when dealing with issues (2 parents).
- Any teacher is acceptable (5 parents).
- No response (4 parents).

The reaction of the majority of the parents (29 + 5) indicate that they do not have a problem with the gender of the teachers, while only a small group prefer male teachers because they think that female teachers are too emotional. A group of parents did also not respond.

Question P20 was asked to determine whether the respondents preferred male or female principals in the schools. The results are presented in Table 96.

Table 96: Do the respondents prefer male or female principals?

N = 40	Responses	%
Male	4	10
Female	5	12
Both	31	78
Total	40	100

The responses in Table 96 indicate that the majority of the respondents (78%) prefer both male and female principals. 12% prefer female principals, while the remaining 10% prefer male principals. When asked to give reasons for their answers, none of the parents responded.

Question P21 intended to determine the respondents' opinion about women wearing pants (*borikhoe*) to work. In response to this open-ended question the parents reacted as follows:

- They do not have a problem with women wearing pants to work (25 parents).
- It is wrong for women to wear pants (6 parents).
- It depends on the physical make-up of the woman (4 parents).
- No response (4 parents).

From the above responses it is clear that the majority of the parents do not have a problem with women wearing pants to work.

When asked to give reasons for their responses, some of the participants listed the following:

- It is degrading for the woman for women to wear pants (3 responses);
- it is embarrassing for women to wear pants (2 responses); and
- it is not customary for women to wear pants to work (1 response).

Question P22 was asked to determine whether the respondents think that female teachers should get married in order to be good role models. This question was similar to Statement 8 in Question P2 and the responses will be used to find out whether the parents answered the question consistently. The results are presented in Table 97.

Table 97: Should female teachers get married in order to be good role models to students?

N = 40	Responses	%
Yes	10	25
No	30	75
Total	40	100

The results in Table 97 indicate that the majority of the respondents (75%) do not think that female teachers should get married in order to become good role models. However, the remaining 25% of them agreed that teachers have to get married to be good role-models. Their responses to Question P22 were however not consistent with their responses to Statement 8 (Question P2) where the majority of the participants agreed (urban and rural) that they indeed think that female teachers should get married to be good role models to the students. The parents did either not understand the statement or did not have a definite view on the issue.

When asked to give reasons for their responses, they listed the following:

- Marriage cannot change a person (2 responses); and
- it depends on one's character and principles (28 responses).

The aim of Question P23 was to find out who the parents think (male or female teachers) should discipline the students. The results are shown in Table 98.

Table 98: Who should discipline the students?

N = 40	Responses	%
Male teachers	0	0
Female teachers	5	25
Both	35	75
Total	40	100

From the responses in Table 98 it is clear that the majority of the respondents (75%) indicate that both male and female teachers should discipline the students. Only a minority of the parents (25%) think that female teachers should discipline the students, while none of them indicated male teachers only. The second part of the questions required the parents to give reasons for their choices, and none of them responded.

Question P24 was asked to determine whether the respondents thought that a male or female parent should chair the schools' governing bodies. The responses are presented in Table 99.

Table 99: Who the respondents think should chair the schools' governing bodies

N = 40	Responses	%
Male parent	0	0
Female parent	4	10
Any	36	90
Total	40	100

The information in Table 99 clearly indicates that the majority of the respondents (90%) think that any parent (male or female) should chair the schools' governing bodies, while a small minority (10%) indicated that female parents should chair the schools' governing bodies. The second part of the question intended to find reasons for the parents' responses, but none were given.

Question P25 was asked to find out what subjects the respondents think girls should take at school. In response to the question the parents gave more than one option and therefore their responses exceeded their total number (40). The responses are reflected in Table 100.

Table 100: Subjects that the parents think girls should take at school

N = 40	Responses	Rank
Mathematics	36	2
Science	36	2
English	35	4
Sesotho	35	4
Agriculture	30	6
Woodwork	24	7
Home economics	35	4
Accounting	35	4
Computer Science	37	1

The information in Table 100 indicates that the majority of the respondents (37 responses), think that girls should do Computer Science. This is followed by those who indicated that girls should do Mathematics and Science (36 responses each). 35 respondents indicated that girls should do English and another 35 respondents think that girls should do Sesotho. These choices are followed by 35 respondents who think girls should do Home Economics and another 35 parents who indicated that girls should do Accounting. The minority of the respondents think girls should do Woodwork (24). 13% of the parents did not respond to the question.

The second part of the question was aimed at establishing the reasons for the respondents' choices. The respondents' reasons for their choices are listed as follows:

- They want gender equality on the subjects (22 respondents).
- The future opportunities that the subjects offer (7 respondents)
- Their children are weak in Mathematics (4 respondents).
- 5 parents did not respond to the question; while
- 2 did not give reasons.

Question P26 was asked to determine the subjects that the parents think boys should do. The parents could choose more than one subject. The results are shown in Table 101.

Table 101: Boys' subjects

Subjects	Responses	Ranking
Maths	35	4
Science	37	1
English	36	2
Sesotho	36	2
Agriculture	35	4
Woodwork	35	4
Home Economics	35	4
Accounting	35	4
Computer Science	35	4

The responses in Table 101 indicate that the majority of the participants (almost all the parents - 37) think that boys should do Science. This is followed by English and Sesotho, with 36 respondents each. Next is Agriculture, Woodwork, Accounting, Computer Science, Home Economics with 35 responses each. Although the respondents could mark more than one option, for some unknown reason they all marked only one of the subjects. When asked to give reasons for their choices, the respondents listed the following:

- They are talented in the subject (5 responses);
- it gives extensive career opportunities (10 responses); and
- their reasoning power is comprehensive (1 response).

The remaining respondents did not give reasons for their choices.

Question P27 was asked to determine what careers the participants want their **female** children to pursue. In response to this question, the parents could list more than one career, but they only listed one career each. Although this was an open-ended question, the responses are listed in a table because of the recurring responses (Table 102).

Table 102: Careers that the parents want their female children to pursue

Careers	Responses	%
Tailor	1	3
Teaching	3	7
Doctor	10	25
Pilot	1	2
Psychologist	1	2
Soldier	1	3
Political scientist	1	2
Information Technology	1	2
Agriculture	2	5
Engineering	1	3
Mother	1	3
Any	8	20
Their choice	9	23
Total	40	100

The information in Table 102 indicates the following:

- The largest group of parents (25%) wish their female children to be doctors.
- This is followed by the 23% who think that their female children should pursue the careers of their choice; while
- 20% indicated that any career is acceptable.
- Only 5% indicated that they want their female children to become political scientists; while
- another 5% think that their female children should pursue Agriculture as a career;
- Only 3% think their female children should become mothers, and
- another 3% think their female children should become engineers.
- 3% think they should become soldiers;
- 2% want their female children to be tailors; while
- another 2% want their children to become psychologists.
- The remaining 2% want their female children to be pilots.

When asked to give reasons for their choices, the parents listed the following reasons:

- Improving the country's economy (13 parents);
- suits their academic strength (8 parents);
- they are good in the required subjects (10 parents);
- technology rules the world nowadays (2 parents);
- to protect themselves (1 parent);
- good at sewing (1 parent) ; and
- she gets along well with people (1 parent).
- The remaining 9 parents did not give reasons for their choices.

The aim of Question P28 was to determine which careers the parents want their **male** children to follow. As in the previous question, the participants could list more than one option, but once again they each only listed one career. The results are shown in Table 103

Table 103: The careers the parents want their male children to pursue

N = 40	Responses	%
Doctor	10	25
Engineering	4	10
Economics	2	5
Pharmacist	2	5
Teaching	1	3
Politician	1	3
Carpentry	1	3
Computer Scientist	1	3
Lawyer	1	3
Agriculturist	1	3
Any	14	35
No idea	1	3
Total	40	100

The responses in Table 103 indicate the following:

- 35% of the parents wish their male children to follow any career that they choose.
- 25% want their male children to become doctors.
- 10% indicated that they want their male children to become engineers.
- 5% want their male children to be pharmacists; while
- another 5% want their male children to do Economics.
- 3% (each) want their male children to become politicians, teachers, lawyers, agriculturists and computer technicians; and
- a further 3% have no idea about the career they wish their male children to follow.

When asked to give reasons for their choices the parents listed the following:

- To help the sick (10 parents);
- good in Mathematics (2 parents); and
- loves the subject (28 parents).

Question P29 was intended to find out whether the parents think boys and girls should be treated differently in the schools because of their gender differences.

In reaction to this question, the parents gave the following responses:

- Boys and girls should not be treated differently (32 parents).
- Boys and girls should be treated differently (4 parents).
- No response (4 parents).

The parents were also asked to give examples of incidences where this should be the case but none of them responded to this part of the question.

Question P30 was asked to determine the roles which the parents think girls should assume in the school. In response to the question the parents listed the following:

- Girls should assume any role in schools (23 responses).
- Girls should assume domestic roles in schools (7 responses).
- Girls should assume leadership roles (1 response).

- No response (9 parents).

The parents were also asked to give reasons for their answers, and none of them responded to this part of the question.

Question P31 intended to find out what the respondents think about gender equality. In response the parents reacted as follows:

- Gender equality is a good idea and should be implemented (37 responses).
- Gender equality needs to be taught at an early age (2 responses).
- The idea of gender equality does not exist (1 response).

It is clear from these responses that the majority of the parents are in favour of equality of the sexes.

6. SECTION E: THE DRAFT *LESOTHO GENDER POLICY (2003)*

This section focused on the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* and intended to test the parents' awareness of such a policy.

Question P32 intended to establish whether the respondents are aware of the existence of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*. The responses are shown in Table 104.

Table 104: Parents' awareness of the existence of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*.

N = 40	Responses	%
Yes	15	38
No	25	62
Total	40	100

The results in Table 104 indicate that the majority of the respondents (62%) are not aware of the existence of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy*. The minority of the parents (38%) however indicated that they know of the existence of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*.

The second part of the question intended to find out what the parents know about the policy. They listed the following:

- It calls for gender equality (35 responses); and
- it calls for the same treatment for both males and females (5 responses).

Question P33 was asked to determine whether the parents are aware of the Ministry of Gender. The results are reflected in Table 105.

Table 105: Do the parents know anything about the Ministry of Gender?

N = 40	Responses	%
No	21	53
Yes	19	47
Total	40	100

The responses in Table 105 show that the majority of the parents (53%) do not know anything about the Ministry of Gender, while the minority (47%) indicated that they do know about the Ministry.

The aim of Question P34 was to identify issues that the respondents think the Ministry should immediately deal with. The respondents indicated the following:

- The Ministry should immediately deal with the equality of the sexes (12 parents - 30%).
- The Ministry should immediately implement the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* (5 parents - 12%).
- The Ministry should deal with the passport issue (2 parents - 5%).
- The Ministry should employ women in the Ministry of Gender (1 parent - 2%).
- Self-reliance programs for women should be implemented (1 parent - 2%).
- The *Land Act of 1979* should be improved (1 parent - 2%).
- No response (18 parents - 47%).

Although a number of suggestions were given, it is significant that 47% of the parents did not respond to the question.

6.2.7 SECTION F: GENERAL

Question P35 was asked to find out whether the respondents think that their church promotes gender equality. Almost half of the parents (19) indicated that the church does not promote gender equality, while 15 parents are of the opinion that the church does promote gender equality. 6 parents did not respond to the question. The parents also did not give reasons for their answers.

The aim of Question P36 was to determine what the respondents think about the rights of women in general in the country. In response to this question most of the parents (22 responses) indicated that the rights of women are generally compromised. 6 parents believe that the rights of women are changing for the better, while 3 indicated that the rights of women are generally good. The remaining 9 parents did not respond to the question.

Question P37 intended to find out what the respondents think should be done to achieve gender equality in Lesotho. In response, the parents listed the following:

- Apply equal rights to everyone (21 responses).
- Change the laws (4 respondents).
- Hold workshops (1 respondent).
- Education (1 respondent).
- Change the mindset of people (1 respondent).
- 10 of the parents did not respond to the question.

6.3 SUMMARY

Through the means of self-constructed questionnaires to teachers, principals, students and parents relevant data was collected and analysed in an attempt to

determine the extent of gender stereotypes in the education system of Lesotho. The analysis was presented in sections and the data on cultural stereotypes was compared because the researcher expects that women's experiences in the urban areas are likely to differ from those in the rural areas of the country.

Chapter 5 dealt with the analysis of the teachers' and the principals' responses, while Chapter 6 focused on the students' and the parents' responses. The data analysis will form the basis for the next chapter where findings will be presented, and conclusions will be drawn as well as recommendations made.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research was to determine the extent of gender stereotypes in the education system of Lesotho. For this aim to be attained an extensive literature review was undertaken of *inter alia* cultural practices that facilitate women's subordination. The study of literature was followed up by both a quantitative and qualitative investigation in urban as well as rural areas in Lesotho (cf. *supra*: 1.4 and 5.2.6.1). Based on the latter, the focus of this chapter will thus be a presentation of the findings of the investigation in an attempt to come to a conclusion and offer recommendations that might assist to address the stated problem.

7.2 THE DRAFT *LESOTHO GENDER POLICY of 2003*

In an attempt to correct the problem of gender inequalities, the government of Lesotho devised a draft *Lesotho Gender Policy* in 2003. The literature review revealed that the objectives of the policy are the following:

- To set the guidelines for public awareness and promotion of an understanding of the link between gender equality and development.
- To ensure equal opportunities and participation by men and women, girls and boys in the development process in order to promote a better standard of living for all.
- To ensure equal access to education, training and health services and control over resources such as land and credit.
- Conserve positive and mitigate negative aspects of the Basotho culture in order to sustain social stability and peaceful co-existence.
- To ensure that gender sensitive laws exist and are enforced.

- To guide in the allocation of resources and public expenditure so that they are equally beneficial to women and men, boys and girls.
- To promote equal opportunities and participation in politics and decision-making.
- To provide direction for the development of effective programmes on the awareness of the causes and consequences of gender-based violence and mechanisms geared at eradicating such problems.
- To promote equal decision-making in sexuality matters in order to reduce the spread of STIs and HIV/AIDS among women and men, boys and girls (cf. *supra*: 3.5.2).

It was imperative therefore to determine the extent to which the aims of the policy have been met, especially with regard to the education system of Lesotho.

7.2.1 Objectives of the policy

Awareness of the policy

One of the objectives of the policy is to “set guidelines for public awareness and promote an understanding of the link between gender equality and development through the media” (cf. *supra*: 3.5.2). It seems however, from the results of the survey that this objective has not been fully realised.

It was discovered that the majority of the participants in the survey (teachers, principals, students and parents) in both the urban and rural areas were not aware of the existence of such a policy (cf. Tables 12, 14, 28, 68 and 104). This finding was further verified through the interviews with the principals who also were not informed about the policy (cf. *supra*: 5.4.1; also Morahanye, 2004: 78). Furthermore, apart from the fact that the policy is not known to the majority of the respondents, a small minority who indicated that they were aware of the policy were not familiar with its contents (cf. Table 30). The participants who had an idea about the contents of the policy, however, indicated that none of the issues that the policy had set out to address had been realised (cf. Table 13). The

survey further revealed that in none of the investigated areas a National Youth Council and Gender Focal Points as envisaged by the policy had been established (cf. Tables 14 and 43).

From this observation it can be concluded that the Ministry of Gender and Sports has not yet succeeded in promoting public awareness of gender equality and development. Its objective to promote this through the media has also not been realised. The fact that the people who are directly influenced by the policy are not even aware of its existence indicates that to date the policy has not been implemented. The “draft” thus remains only a draft with no further developments to realise its commendable objectives.

Equal opportunities and participation

Another of the objectives of the policy is to “ensure equal opportunities and participation by men and women, girls and boys in the development process in order to promote a better standard of living for all” (cf. *supra*: 3.5.2).

It appears from the survey that the development fund, which was envisaged by the policy to enhance the opportunities of marginalised men and women have not yet been established (cf. Tables 14 and 33). It is clear that in many instances women in Lesotho are not afforded equal opportunities. This was evidenced by the finding that legal impediments still hamper the equality of women with men since women are still regarded as minors with regard to e.g. access to credit (cf. Tables 14; 34; Questions T27 and T31) and ownership of property (cf. Tables 11; 32; 36; Questions T19; Pr 32; P5; P6). It was also found that the policy has not yet made a positive impact on the marginalised role of female teachers (cf. Tables 14 and 16). Although the majority of the principals indicated that they were not aware of the existence of the policy (cf. Table 28), they unanimously agreed that the policy has made a positive difference to the roles of female teachers in Lesotho. The possibility is that their response that women now “believe in themselves”, is not directly related to the effects of the policy as such,

but indicates a general “awakening” of women in Lesotho. Reasons were not offered for this perception, and it is clear from the results of the survey that stereotypes which marginalised women in education in Lesotho still exist (cf. Tables 17; 20; 48; 67 (Statements 7 and 8); 70; 73; 76; 79 (Statements 12; and Statement 15)). It became clear that, despite the commendable objective of the policy to facilitate equal participation of the sexes in Lesotho education, women who are turned down for managerial positions are well or better qualified than men who are currently holding the positions (cf. Table 17).

This position was affirmed by the principals in the survey who agreed that women’s academic achievements do not earn them managerial positions in education (cf. Table 48). Although it was found that membership of departmental committees is fairly distributed amongst men and women (cf. Tables 18 and 52), it was clear that teachers feel that women are not afforded the same representation on school governing bodies as men (cf. Tables 18). The (male) principals who took part in the survey did however not agree with this since the majority of them were of the opinion that women are adequately represented on governing bodies (cf. Table 34).

Although the majority of the participants did not think that women are underrepresented in promotional posts in their schools, a group of teachers and principals nevertheless agreed that this is indeed the case (cf. Tables 18 and 49). This was also evidenced by the information from the principals who were interviewed. It transpired in these interviews that although in some cases women are employed as managers, there is room for improvement (cf. *supra*: 5.4.1.6).

It can be deduced from the results of the survey that the objective of the policy to ensure equal opportunities and participation by women and men in the development process in Lesotho has not been met.

Equal access to education

The policy further envisaged to “ensure equal access to education, training and health services and control over resources such as land and credit” (cf. *supra*: 3.5.2). In realisation of this objective, the policy aimed at removing the legal impediments to women’s access to credit, and also introducing sexual education and economic empowerment issues in the curriculum. It appears from the survey that girls’ access to education in Lesotho is hampered mainly by economic issues (cf. Table 20), such as having to be child-minders for their siblings (cf. Table 67; 79), and also leaving school because of becoming pregnant (cf. Question S15 (i); *supra*: 5.4.1.2).

It was however revealed that with regard to access to subjects in the school, boys and girls are given equal opportunities to compete in all subjects (cf. Tables 23 and 62 and *supra*: 5.4.1.5). Although it was clear that in the majority of cases gender does not determine the choice of subjects in the schools, a large number of the students who took part in the research were indeed of the opinion that this is still the case (cf. Table 67: Statement 13). It was also pointed out that only boys were assigned Science projects (Table 67: Statement 15). Added to this is the large number of students who affirmed that in their schools girls were steered towards careers that are supposedly meant for girls and boys to so-called ‘boys’ careers.

It appears also that women Science teachers in Lesotho are in the minority (cf. *supra*: 5.4.1.4). This finding was substantiated by the students who indicated that Maths and Science teachers at their schools are predominantly male (cf. Table 76). Although the cultural and legal minority status of women in Lesotho (cf. *supra*: Chapter 3.4) appear to influence their access education, this does not pose a serious problem, since it seems that in most cases girls are free to pursue the careers of their choice. In instances where this is not possible, the eventual implementation of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* might make a difference.

As envisaged by the policy, access to sexual health services seems to have been introduced into the curriculum (cf. Tables 14 and 39). The objective of the policy envisaging equal control over resources such as land or credit, have however, not been attained and will be discussed in a subsequent paragraph (cf. Questions Pr 32; P5; P6; P7; Tables 32 and 36; *infra*: 7.3).

Conserve positive and mitigate negative aspects of culture

The policy is further aimed at conserving positive and mitigating negative aspects of the Basotho culture in order to promote equality of men and women (cf. *supra*: 3.5.2). This objective has also not yet been achieved. The survey revealed that discriminatory cultural practices and laws such as *patrilocality patrilineality* (male heir succession) *thapo*, the *Land Act of 1979* and the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* (cf. *supra*: 3.4.3; Questions T10; T24; Pr 32; P5; P6; and Table 32) still perpetuate gender inequality in Lesotho. The findings on cultural practices will be addressed in a subsequent paragraph (cf. *infra*: 7.4).

Allocation of resources and public expenditure through gender sensitive laws

The policy also envisages that allocation of public resources and expenditure is equally beneficial to all (cf. *supra*: 3.5.2). This was to be achieved *inter alia* through the development of gender-sensitive laws. The survey however revealed that these strategies of the policy have yet not been implemented (cf. Tables 14; 33 -38 and 40 - 43). For example, due to their minority status, women cannot conclude contracts, the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* still exists and the *Land Act of 1979* still discriminates against women (cf. Questions T11; T31; Pr 15; Pr 32; P5 and P6). In order to pursue tertiary education, a Mosotho woman has to apply for a government loan which cannot be concluded without the consent of a father in the case of an unmarried woman, and a husband in the case of a married woman because women lack contractual capacity due to their minority status (cf. *supra*: 3.4.3; 5.2.6; and *infra*: 7.3).

Equal opportunities in politics and decision-making

The policy is further aimed at promoting equal opportunities and participation in politics and decision-making. This however has not yet happened because decision-making in the public arena and politics is still vested in men (cf. *supra*: 3.3.6; also Table 8), although it has become clear that women do not doubt their ability to make meaningful decisions (cf. Table 19). The survey also revealed that women are not satisfied with the fact that they are barred from making decisions in their maternal families once they get married (cf. Questions Pr 27 and T19), and yet they also have no say in their husbands' families since the law regards them as legal minors.

Eradicating gender-based violence

With regard to gender-based violence, the policy intended to “provide direction for the development of effective programmes on awareness and causes of gender-based violence and mechanisms geared at eradicating such problems” (cf. *supra*: 3.5.2). In this regard the government of Lesotho had already implemented the *Sexual Offences Act of 2003* before the introduction of the gender policy, and therefore it is not clear whether the policy has specifically done anything to reach this objective. However, although the majority of parents (urban and rural) seem to be aware of the *Sexual Offences Act of 2003* (cf. Table 91), the majority of the other participants have never heard of the Act (cf. Tables 25, 81 and 91). It is also clear that the strategy of the policy to introduce information on gender-based violence into the curriculum has not been done. This was substantiated by the principals who indicated that they were doing nothing to integrate gender-based violence issues into the curriculum (cf. *supra*: 5.3.2 and Question Pr. 6).

7.2.2 Concluding remarks on the gender policy

It appears from the results of the research that, although awareness of women of their rights have improved, this cannot be attributed to the success of the policy, since the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* has not been implemented as

envisaged. Although the policy was only released in 2003, it is clear that during the last two years no specific attempts have been made to set the policy on its course.

7.3 WOMEN, EDUCATION AND THE LAW IN LESOTHO

Against the background of the exposition of the status of women in Lesotho (cf. Chapter 3), several items in the survey were aimed at determining whether stereotypes currently perpetuate women's marginalised position in general and in education in particular.

Because of the law in Lesotho women are dependent on others from birth to death, especially in the management of their affairs because according *Customary Law* they are legal minors (Letuka *et al.*, 1997: 20; cf. also *supra*: 3.3.3 and 3.4). This state of affairs affects their academic aspirations, especially where contracts are involved, since women are unable to conclude contracts without the assistance from a male figure in their families due to their lack of contractual capacity according to the law. For example, when they wish to acquire loans from the bank, due to their lack of *locus standi in judicio* (cf. *supra*: 3.3.3) they need consent from their husbands in the case of married women or their fathers in the case of unmarried women because the law regards them as perpetual minors. This implies that should the husband/father refuse to help, the woman's aspirations are futile. The survey shows that the urban teachers and principals (urban and rural) seem to be dissatisfied with this state of affairs (cf. *supra*: 5.2.6 Question T22; 5.3.6 Question Pr 28; Tables 20 and 54). Surprisingly, however, a large number of rural teachers and rural parents are not opposed to the minority legal status of women (cf. Table 89; Question T20). This could possibly be due to the fact that urban women have developed a stronger sense of gender awareness than their rural counterparts.

7.3.1 Women's access and control over land

A practice in Lesotho that is guided by *Customary Law* and enforced by the *Deeds Registry Act (1967)* and the *Land Act (1979)* is the fact that women do not have the right to own property (cf. *supra*: 3.4.3). As stated previously, only in a few cases when a woman can prove that she has abandoned the customary way of life, she may acquire the title to land (cf. *supra*: 3.4.3).

In an attempt to address gender disparities, the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* envisaged that it will address the unequal power relations and the unequal control over land and resources. The responses from the survey however show that two years down the line this is still not the case (cf. *supra*: 3.4.3; 5.2.3 Question T7; 5.3.3 Question Pr 15; and 6.2.5 Question P34; cf. also Tables 14 and 32). Although most of the urban and rural teachers, parents and principals who took part in the survey regard the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* as unfair, some participants have no problem with the act because they think it is customary (cf. Question Pr 32). The indication here is that the influence of customs and tradition is so strong that inequality is accepted without question.

In Lesotho land is regarded as the most valuable commodity because the country is largely mountainous and the remaining land is used for building homesteads, fields and gardens for planting vegetables for family consumption. According to Letuka *et al.* (1997: 15) 67 percent of households in the country have fields, but due to the fact that the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* does not allow women to register land in their names, land allocated to households is allocated under the names of the male heads of the families.

It is important to note, however, that in some instances the status of urban women differ from those in the rural areas. This unequal state of affairs is a direct result of cultural practices which also appear to be facilitated by *Customary Law*. This practice hinders women's progress because they are unable to acquire facilities such as mortgages or even other resources since land is not

registered in their names (cf. *supra*: 3.4.1). The survey revealed that the majority of women (teachers, principals and parents (both rural and urban)) are not satisfied with the *Land Act (1979)* and believe it to be unfair and discriminatory against women (cf. *supra*: 5.2.6 Question T24; 5.3.6 Question Pr 32; and 6.2.3 Questions P5 and P6).

Fact is that the law in Lesotho, whether *Common* or *Customary*, denies women access and control over land and this impacts negatively on their status. In the survey, the few respondents who indicated that they have knowledge of the contents of the *draft Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* indicated that the policy has not done anything to change these laws (cf. Tables 15 and 32). It is important to note however, that with regard to women's access to property the two groups (urban and rural) reacted to the question with differing views. For example, the majority of the rural parents did not have any problem in this regard, while most of the urban parents wanted the law to be revised (cf. *supra*: 6.2.3; Question P6). The remaining groups of the urban and rural participants (teachers and principals) however felt that this practice is unfair to women. The fact that only rural parents do not have a problem with this practice is possibly because they are more culturally driven than the other groups and also do not possess the same level of education.

7.3.2 Marriage

In the family set-up, and especially in marriage, women appear to be placed at the lower echelons. Literature has revealed that this state of affairs occurs because of the minority status vested upon women by the law (*Customary Law*), which asserts that women are under the jurisdiction of their fathers, when single and their husbands upon marriage and under the male heir of the family should the husband die (cf. *supra*: 3.3.3; also Question T19). *Customary Law* is also supported in this case by *Common Law*, which also regards a woman married in community of property as a legal minor.

The literature study revealed that marriage places Basotho women at a disadvantage because their belonging to the family (Letuka *et al.*, 1998: 63; also *supra*: 3.3.3) is transient. This results in women being insecure because they no longer belong to their natal families nor do they fully belong to their marital families. The results of the survey reveal that the majority of Basotho women (teachers, principals and parents (both urban and rural)) are unhappy with this state of affairs (cf. 5.2.6 Question T20; 5.3.6 Question Pr 20). The parents however had conflicting views on this issue since the urban parents indicated that they believe this state of affairs to be unfair to women, while the rural parents do not think so. This can once again be explained in terms of a strict adherence to cultural practices amongst rural parents. This leads to women being afraid to take challenges such as accepting leadership roles in the schools when opportunities are available simply because they are brought up through traditional stereotypes not to believe in themselves and to believe that decision-making is meant for men (cf. Questions T19; T20; T21; Pr 28 and Pr 29).

Another effect of Lesotho women's subordinate position in marriage is that women who wish to further their education need male approval because *inter alia* application forms for government loans or bursaries (Department of Manpower and Development) requires the fathers'/husbands' consent (Government of Lesotho: 1979). This is due to the fact that women lack contractual capacity as a result of their minority status in marriage. The implication is that if husband feels that it is not necessary for his wife to be educated there is no way that the particular woman can go to school since the law puts her at a disadvantage. Women's subordinate position in marriage also has a negative effect on the roles that they assume in the education sector. The cultural belief that women are answerable to men leads to women being afraid to take challenges.

The survey further revealed that the urban teachers (cf. Question T19) expressed their concerns about the belief that marriage is not only a union between the couple but it becomes a union between the whole family. The rural respondents

had no problem with this practice. Surprisingly, the majority of the students (both urban and rural) were also of the opinion that marriage should be a union between the entire family (cf. Question S22). Once again this difference of opinion can be ascribed to a blind adherence to cultural stereotypes and beliefs and consequent lack of awareness that women are oppressed by these practices.

7.4 CULTURAL PRACTICES

Gender-minded scholars are of the opinion that gender stereotypes are rooted in the belief systems of people (cf. also Diagram 1) and that as a result of this, women are classified as inferior (Modo and Ogbu, 1998: 37; cf. also *supra*: 3.3).

It has become apparent in this study that the cultural beliefs have a significant influence on the way in which women are socialised to a position of lesser importance in society in general and education in particular. The influence of the ideology of patriarchy is so powerful that in particular rural areas, women believe that their inferior position is culturally justified. Gender disparities in Lesotho should be understood in terms of the way in which children are socialised (cf. *supra*: 2.3.2). The literature study revealed that from an early age Basotho children are taught traditional “male” and “female” roles (cf. *supra*: 3.2.1). This was evidenced by the results of the survey, which indicated that gender roles are facilitated in the school (cf. Tables 19, 59 and 71) and by the parents in the home (cf. Question P9). It is in this socialisation process that male children are taught superiority over female children and sexist and discriminatory values are enforced.

7.4.1 Role in life

According to Letuka *et al.* (1998: 153; cf. also *supra*: 3.3.2; 3.3.3) women in Lesotho are expected to perform the roles of reproduction, (childbearing and rearing), productive (contributing to the management and economic welfare of the family) and community and environmental management. These roles are

summarised by O'Connell (1994: 14) as maternal, occupational, conjugal, domestic, kin, community and individual. Contrary to their culturally assigned roles, the majority of participants in the survey indicated that they believe that their most important role in life is to achieve personal goals and aspirations (cf. *supra*: 5.2.6 Table 17; and 5.3.5 Table 52), what O'Connell (1994: 14) refers to as individual.

However a large number of the urban and rural teachers and the majority of rural students felt that their role in life is to continue the lineage of their families, a belief which is firmly rooted in the ideology of patriarchy (cf. Tables 21 and 80). The implication here is that women are socialised to believe that their place is in the home and they are expected to fulfil this societal expectation. The consequences of this belief are the following:

- Women are concentrated in the lower echelons of the employment structure because they tend to make career choices as family nurturers.
- Women dominate professions such as nursing and teaching, which do not pay very well.
- Women do not feature in management positions, which are better paying, due to social prejudice rather than lack of qualification or inefficiency.

With regard to female students, the survey revealed that they sometimes assume the role of child minders in the absence of their mothers due to the assumed gender roles and as a result they sometimes miss school or even have to abandon their education (cf. *supra*: 6.1.3 Table 67). Furthermore, due to the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, poverty and the present food crisis in the country, girls seems to drop out of school to assume the roles of caregivers for their parents, siblings and guardians and sometimes have to seek employment to support their families (UNICEF Lesotho, 2003: 1/3).

7.4.2 *Bohali*

As a reflection of the patriarchal nature of the Basotho society, the relations of power of men over women appear particularly to be facilitated by the *bohali* custom. According to this practice, the Basotho husbands believe that they have bought their wives (cf. *supra*: 3.3.5) and as a result some women do not leave an abusive marriage because they fear that their parents may have to pay back the *bohali* (cf. *supra*: 3.3.5). *Bohali* also means that marital power is vested upon men which, Kanono, Seeiso, Tsotsi and Monaphathi (1990: 54) call “owning the wife’s person”. Consequently women cannot enter into contracts, whether employment or commercial, or engage in a trade or profession without the husband’s consent (cf. *supra*: 3.4).

Opinions about *bohali* differ in the study. Surprisingly, the survey reveals that the majority of the educators (both urban and rural) are in favour of *bohali* because they believe that it is customary and therefore should be paid (cf. Questions T23; and S23). The principals who took part in the survey however expressed a totally different view to the educators. Both urban and rural principals (who were predominantly male), were of the opinion that *bohali* dominates women and prevents them from leaving an unhappy marriage and the custom should be revised (cf. Question Pr 31). The educators’ positive attitude to *bohali* can possibly be attributed to the fact that women are socialised to think that they are complete and secure in a marriage only when *bohali* has been paid. This custom however results in women being regarded as men’s commodities. For example, the majority of students (both urban and rural) indicated in the survey that when they get married their parents expect *bohali* (cf. Table 79). The implication is that a woman’s worth is sometimes measured by the number of cattle or money that she brings as *bohali* when she gets married.

Furthermore, linked to the custom of *patrilocality*, it can be argued that women feel that men should pay *bohali* because women will no longer support their natal families after marriage. *Bohali* should therefore serve as compensation for the

loss that the natal family is going to suffer when the daughter leaves. The implication is also that for Basotho women to attain power in a marriage, *bohali* should be paid.

It further appears that because of *bohali* parents in some cases force their daughters to marry because the money/cattle will help to support the family (UNICEF, 2003: 1/3). It is surprising however to note that this state of affairs does not bother Lesotho girls (both urban and rural) since the survey revealed that they are in favour of the practice (*bohali*), (cf. *supra*: 6.1.5; Question S23). It can be concluded that they perceive *bohali* for its financial benefits because they are socialised to think that this custom benefits both the family and the wife. It seems however that because the husband has “bought” his wife through paying *bohali*, this practice perpetuates stereotypes associated with patriarchy.

7.4.3 Patrilineality

One of the contributing factors to the minority status of women in Lesotho is the value that is placed on male children due the custom of *patrilineality*, which emphasises male heir succession (cf. *supra*: 3.3.3).

The custom is opposed by the majority of the urban and rural teachers and parents (cf. Question T23 and P7) who believe that the practice is oppressive to women and that the wife should inherit the deceased husband’s estate. This view is shared by the urban principals who wants the practice to be revised (Question Pr 31). The rural principals, however, indicated that they do not have a problem with *patrilineality* (cf. Question Pr 31). However, when asked what their feelings were about the practice that the male first-born can inherit the estate, in this instance the rural principals indicated that all children should be treated equally (cf. Question Pr. 27). It seems thus that the principals did not answer the questions consistently. The *draft Lesotho gender Policy* (2003) promised to eradicate all the gender insensitive laws and cultural practices and yet this

practice is still prominent in Lesotho as it is thought to be facilitated by the *bohali* custom (cf. *supra*: 3.3.4).

7.4.4 Patrilocality

With regard to *patrilocality*, the survey revealed that the majority of the teachers and principals from both the rural and the urban areas had no problem with the practice even though it appears to dominate women (cf. Questions T22 and Pr 31). However, the majority of urban parents regard the practice as oppressive to women, while their rural counterparts agree with the teachers and principals (cf. Question P8). The problem is that when a woman has to join her husband's family due to *patrilocality*, she loses her identity from her maternal family. In the family of the husband she is still a minor and also has to identify herself with her new family (cf. *supra*: 3.3.4.).

7.4.5 Thapo

As previously mentioned, the Basotho regard their ancestors as vitally important (cf. *supra*: 3.3.2). The literature study revealed that even in the world of ancestors, women hold subordinate positions because the ancestors hold the same positions that they held while they were alive. This means that women continue to be inferior even after death.

Thapo is one of the cultural tools used to discriminate against women (cf. *supra*: 3.3.2), and this is evident in the way in which a widow is handled. Traditionally according to the custom of *thapo* was not gender specific, especially because grass was used as a sign of mourning instead of clothing. In the opinion of Letuka *et al.* (1994: 122) the tradition appears to have changed with colonialism, since only the widow is expected to wear this attire for a duration ranging from three months to two years (cf. *supra*: 3.3.2).

Although some of the participants in the research (cf. Question P8) regard *thapo* as a sign of love and respect to the dead, the majority felt that *thapo* is an unfair

custom because it is gender specific (cf. *supra*: 6.1.5 Question S23; also 6.2.3 Question P8). Although the majority of the participants reported that they have never been discriminated against because they had to wear *thapo* (cf. Question T22), some of the teachers indicated that they have been restricted in the performance of their duties when wearing *thapo* because of not being able to travel after sunset, not being able to join field trips, or to punish students (cf. Question T22). However the rural and urban students indicated opposite views on *thapo*.

The majority of the urban students think that *thapo* is discriminatory and therefore should be done away with, while the majority of the rural students indicated that they had no problem with the practice because it is a custom (cf. Question S23). This implies that as long as oppression is practiced in the name of custom, then the latter group does not have a problem.

7.4.6 Violence against women

Although Letuka *et al.* (1997: 34) are of the opinion that different forms of violence exist in Lesotho, which includes assault, abduction, domestic violence and rape, this was not fully evidenced by the survey. The parents who took part in the research indicated that none of their children have ever been victims of sexual abuse or rape (cf. Table 92). This finding is substantiated by most of the students who indicated that they have never been raped. This might not be a true reflection of the situation since other studies have shown that rape in Lesotho has increased by 500% between 1998 and 2000 and in most cases the victims are children (Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2002: 54). Only a few students acknowledged being raped, but affirmed that they did not report the incidences (cf. Table 84). The majority of the students in the survey however, were aware of other incidences of rape, of which more than half had not been reported. This could be because most of the students are not aware of the *Sexual Offences Act of 2003* (cf. Table 81).

Incidences of verbal abuse and violence was evidenced by the majority of the students in the survey, who acknowledged that girls are indeed verbally abused and subjected to violence by boys in the school (cf. Table 67). However, it seems that only a small minority of girls have been subjected to verbal violence by male teachers (cf. Table 82). It seems also that verbal abuse is not a punishable in the majority of the researched schools (cf. Table 83). The possibility here is that in a particular society such as Lesotho where men have the power to chastise women, girls have learnt to tolerate abusive behaviour as normal.

Although both urban and rural participants regard gender-based violence as wrong and recommend maximum punishment for sexual offences against women (cf. Question Pr 31), *chobeliso* seems to be acceptable as a cultural practice. To rural students (cf. Question S23) the practice of abducting a wife is part of the Lesotho culture and as such not to be questioned. It appears however that the urban students are against *chobeliso* possibly because they have become sensitised to the effects of such a practice on the position of women. It is assumed from the difference in the rural and urban responses to this practice and other cultural issues that only women in the urban areas are critical of cultural practices such as *chobeliso* that would perpetuate their subordinate position.

The observation of Chaka-Makhooane *et al.* (2000: 13) that women are not allowed to use contraceptives without the husband's consent was substantiated by the urban principals who agreed that this is the practice in their areas (cf. Table 54). The principals did however not agree that women need their husbands' consent. It seems that this is not the case in the rural areas (cf. Table 54), even though studies have revealed that Basotho women do not have the right to determine the number of children that they wish to have (cf. Gill, 1994: 213). It seems also that girls become the victims of unwanted pregnancies that cause them in many cases to be expelled from the school (cf. supra: 5.4.1.2).

The problem here is that contrary to the boys who impregnate girls, the latter have to sacrifice their education when they become pregnant.

7.4.7 The initiation school

The survey and literature study revealed that the initiation school facilitates gender roles (cf. *supra*: 3.2.1; and Table 88). Indigenous Basotho education was aimed at training boys to fulfil 'male roles' while females were geared towards 'female roles' (cf. *supra*: 3.2.1). The researcher is of the opinion that the popularity of the initiation school presently is facilitated by moral degeneration, which is topical in the country at the moment. The indication is that going back to the roots might help society to maintain acceptable moral standards. The parents (both urban and rural) in the survey agreed that the initiation school is becoming popular for educational purposes (cf. *supra*: 6.2.3 Question P4, Table 88).

It was further revealed that the perceptions of the rural parents about gender equality are still stereotypic because they admitted that patriarchy is affirmed by the initiation schools, and yet they have no problem with the practice (cf. Table 88). However, the urban parents indicated that the initiation schools facilitate stereotypes by emphasising manhood and womanhood, thus affirming that males are superior.

7.5 WOMEN MANAGERS IN EDUCATION IN LESOTHO

It appears from the results of the survey and the interviews that the poor self image among women created by the patriarchal society in Lesotho has resulted in women being less prominent in managerial positions in the education sector even though they may be academically equal or better qualified than their male counterparts (cf. Tables 4; 17 and 48). Although most of the participating teachers indicated that they do not believe that women biologically lack the ability to be efficient managers and should therefore not be appointed as managers, this stereotype was affirmed by the male principals who took part in the study (cf.

Table 48). It seems thus that the male principals regard women as unsuitable leaders because of their biological make-up. This finding was also substantiated by the same group who indicated that female teachers prefer male managers (cf. Table 48).

Although the majority of the principals and teachers who took part in the survey were of the opinion that women are not underrepresented in promotional posts at the targeted schools (cf. Table 18 and 49), large numbers of teachers and some principals affirmed that women are indeed underrepresented in managerial positions in their schools. The latter view was substantiated by the information gathered in the interviews according to which the management teams in most of the schools were male only, or where women were in the minority in top positions cf. *supra*: 5.4.6). Some teachers also indicated that they were refused promotional posts because of their gender (cf. Table 24), and the majority affirmed that women are not represented on their schools' governing bodies (cf. Table 18), contrary to the view of the male principals who asserted that women are indeed adequately represented on the SGBs. Although it transpired thus that in some schools the managerial capacities of women in Lesotho are acknowledged, it is clear that there is room for improvement.

It is however clear that the teachers who took part in the research do not agree with most of the listed stereotypes associated with the managerial capabilities of women. The teachers subsequently rejected most of the traditional stereotypes and *affirmed* the following:

- women managers do not have a problem with the enforcing of discipline;
- women are able to meet the work challenges of managerial positions;
- women are as likely to make good leaders as men;
- work done by women managers are not less valuable;
- women are as ambitious as men in managerial situations;
- women managers do not give up easily;
- woman managers do not lack the ability to be objective;

- female managers do not prefer male managers;
- women managers are capable of holding managerial positions without problems;
- women are not too emotional to hold managerial positions; and
- women managers are not biased against their female colleagues (cf. Table 17).

It is interesting to note that the principals who took part in the research agreed with most of the above, but were of the opinion that women managers are indeed biased against their female colleagues (cf. Table 48).

7.6 DECISION-MAKING ABILITIES OF WOMEN IN EDUCATION

It was noted in the exposition of the position of women in Lesotho (cf. *supra*: 3.3.6) that men are the heads of families and thus perform all the decision-making tasks. Because of this patriarchal belief and the realities of the migrant labour system, women in Lesotho have become *de facto* heads of families and therefore have to make the decisions in the absence of men. The survey revealed that regardless of the patriarchal position of men in the household, women believe that they are able to make sound decisions (cf. *supra*: 5.2.5; 5.3.5; and Tables 3 and 19). The teachers therefore rejected the stereotypes associated with the decision-making abilities of women teachers and affirmed the following:

- Women are able to make meaningful decisions;
- women's decision-making abilities are not negatively influenced by their hormones;
- women's decisions carry the same weight as their male counterparts in staff meetings;
- women teachers prefer to make important decisions;
- women do not need men's approval to make major decisions;
- women are generally good decision-makers;

Letuka *et al.* (1997: 24) however argue that women still continue to make it appear as if men are responsible for the decisions. Although women are capable of making decisions and believe that they can, they are socialized to think that they need male approval for all their decisions. Contrary to this, the urban and rural teachers and principals who took part in the research view the practice that men are the heads of the families and thus have more decision-making powers, as outdated (cf. Question T21). When asked for their views on the minority status of women in Lesotho, the parents who took part in the survey presented a different picture. In this case opposing views were received from the rural and urban parents. Where the majority of the urban parents were opposed to the minority status of women, the largest group of rural parents considered this to be a good practice. One could assume thus that the view of Letuka *et al.* (1997:24) holds for women in the rural areas where the patriarchal influence is stronger and the position of men as the heads of households are more readily accepted.

It is however clear that the attitudes of women in education in Lesotho are gradually changing and they have become aware of their rights and the effect of patriarchy on their positions.

7.7 THE SCHOOL AND GENDER ROLES

It was pointed out in the literature study that in Lesotho the unique situation prevails where the female population is more educated than the male population (cf. *supra*: 3.1; and also Kanono *et al.*, 1990:71). A possible reason for this is that some boys tend to drop out of school at an early age to become cattle herders or pursue migrant labour (cf. UNICEF, 2003:2/3; Gill, 1994:10). Girls however seem to drop out of school at a much older age when they fall pregnant, get married or have to fulfil their domestic roles, which is facilitated by gender role expectations (cf. *supra*; 2.3.2.2; also Table 20). The point was however made in the previous section (cf. *supra*: 7.6) that women, despite their capabilities, are still marginalized in promotional positions in education.

However, it appears that the education of women in Lesotho tends to concentrate on subjects associated with their supposedly “womanly” abilities in the home and they seem to end up with lower paying jobs than their male counterparts, despite their qualifications. The implication is that boys are reared for success, which is not always the case with girls in this country (cf. *supra*: 2.3.2.3). It transpired from the survey that the majority of the students think that they have to perform domestic tasks at home because “it is a girl’s duty” (cf. Question S17), and that boys are supposed to perform only male tasks at home (cf. Question S18). The participants in the survey were clear that girls’ tasks at home include cleaning, collecting wood and vegetables, plastering the house, grinding corn and other women-related chores (cf. Table 79; and also 6.1.4). Boys’ tasks were indicated as herding cattle, ploughing fields, washing cars, milking cows and other men-related tasks (cf. Table 79). The teachers who took part in the survey also affirmed that “appropriate” gender roles are assigned to girls and boys in the classroom (cf. Table 23). The students agreed that it is mostly the head boy in the school who addresses the students and not the head girl (cf. Table 70). A consequence that also came out in the survey was that especially girls tend to leave school to be caregivers when their mothers have to work (cf. Table 67). In the case where girls have to perform the dual roles of schooling and caring for the family, they tend to fall behind in their schoolwork (cf. Table 78 and 79).

It appears thus that girls and boys in Lesotho are socialized in line with the *gender schema theory* (cf. *supra*: 2.4.4), according to which children learn gender specific roles by observing examples in society and the importance of such roles. The implication is that unless there is a societal change with regard to gender equality, it may not be easy for children not to assume specific gender roles because they are socialised at a very early age to either consciously or subconsciously learn and practice specific roles.

7.8 THE CURRICULUM

Although it appears from the responses of the students that certain subjects in the schools are not reserved for a particular gender, meaning that girls are free to choose traditional “male” subjects also (cf. Table 72, 73), the teachers who participated in the survey were clear that subjects in the schools are still chosen according to the students’ gender (cf. Question T29). Most of the parents in the survey opposed this practice and were of the opinion that boys and girls should be allowed to take the subjects of their choice, should not be treated differently in the school and should be able to assume any role (cf. Questions P29 and P30).

However, it became clear that when girls are finally allowed to follow the so-called “male” subjects such as Science and Technology, little or no support is given to them, probably because the belief in “male” and “female” careers are still alive in many schools in Lesotho (cf. *supra*: 6.1.2; and Table 67). This is further complicated by the fact that there are little or no career guidance programmes in schools in Lesotho (cf. Table 74) and students thus end up choosing traditional “male” or “female” careers. For example, it was found in the survey that a large number of girls prefer to pursue nursing as a career once they complete their COSC (cf. Table 75).

Although the survey revealed that girls and boys are treated equally in the schools and are given the same opportunities (cf. Table 67), it appears that the hidden curriculum in Lesotho is still gendered. Marland (1983:18) is of the opinion that the hidden curriculum is part of the learning experience of the child and can be facilitated by the teacher’s behaviour or role, amongst other things. The implication is that the teacher may not be aware that he/she is treating the children differently, because he/she has been socialized to believe that this is the norm. It may very well be that the norm is that male teachers must teach “male” subjects. As a result the student might end up believing that this is normal behaviour. It subsequently transpired that although the parents have no problem with women teachers (cf. Question P19), the majority of Maths and Science

teachers in the targeted schools are male (cf. Table 76) and that the students prefer male teachers to teach these subjects (cf. Table 77), explaining that male teachers are competent, patient and approachable. Contrary to this, the principals indicated that the belief that women are more suitable to teach “female” subjects while men should teach “male” subjects, is not active in their schools (cf. Table 54). This is however not the practice in the interviewed principals’ schools, since in most of the schools males teach science (cf. Table 65). It seems thus that although the teachers and principals in Lesotho schools are not convinced that only males should teach traditional “male” subjects, this is indeed not practiced.

Another aspect of the hidden curriculum that facilitates gender stereotypes in the school is textbooks and other teaching materials (cf. Lips, 1988: 227; Dekker and Lemmer, 1996:13; and *supra*: 2.3.2.2). The survey revealed that in Lesotho boys and men are more prominent than women in textbooks (cf. Table 23). It appears that the interviewed principals feel that gender sensitising of teaching materials is not their responsibility and that the Lesotho Ministry should take it upon them to rectify the gender bias apparent in textbooks and materials (cf. *supra*: 5.4.3).

7.9 SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN THE SCHOOL

With regard to sporting activities in Lesotho schools, it seems that some activities are meant for boys and others for girls. In the survey the students indicated that netball is for girls and soccer for boys (cf. Table 83). This is also a result of the way in which *Mosotho* children are socialized when they grow up.

7.10 DISCIPLINE IN THE SCHOOL AND AT HOME

Although the survey revealed that equal punishment is administered to boys and girls in Lesotho schools, it also showed that girls tend to obey rules more than boys (cf. *supra*: 6.1.3 and Table 82; also Morahanye, 2004:79). It also became clear that teachers associate certain behaviour patterns with a particular gender. The implication here is that when boys exhibit particular “male” behaviour that is

unfavourable, it is acceptable and could go unpunished. For example, when a girl falls pregnant, it becomes her own problem and she is in most cases expelled from school (cf. Question Pr 6 and S 15), while the boy who impregnated the girl remains in the school. Although most of the participants regard this as unfair, they do not have a problem with the expulsion of the pregnant girl (cf. Table 82). The teachers however expressed their opinion that girls who fall pregnant should be supported by being allowed to complete their education.

With regard to punishment in the home, the tendency to ignore unfavourable behaviour in boys is the same as in the school.

7.11 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion: The findings of the quantitative and qualitative investigations seem to substantiate the findings in the literature study that women in Lesotho, and particularly in education, are indeed subordinated by gender stereotypes facilitated by the ideology of patriarchy. Although it is clear that women in education in Lesotho appear to have become aware of the oppressive nature of various practices, both in school and society in general, not much has been accomplished to eradicate the unequal position of women.

Patriarchy is still prevalent in Lesotho and is manifested in a culturally-determined law system, which “legalises” discrimination against women. The effects of this is that women in education do not serve in decision-making positions and are subservient to their male counterparts. The implication here is that women, within the Lesotho education system cannot reach their full potential.

It appears that rural women have not been sensitised with regard to the effects of oppressive cultural practices, and in most cases they even accept their subordination willingly as normal.

Regardless therefore of the awakening of women in education to their oppression, it seems that in practice very little has been done to level the playing-field between the sexes, especially in terms of appointment in promotion posts and opportunities of empowerment. The implication is that a change of attitude and awareness alone cannot eradicate the oppressive structures of patriarchy. What is needed is that society's deep-rooted beliefs that are at the basis of the oppression will have to change, by women themselves and through education.

Education seems to be a powerful tool to change the attitudes of the broader community in this regard. The fact that the students themselves seem to condone oppressive practices against women is sufficient proof that education has not as yet been employed to change these practices and the attitudes associated with it.

7.12 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations, based on the findings of the research, are made in an attempt to address the current position of women in Lesotho, and particularly in education.

7.12.1 The draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003*

The following recommendations can be made with regard to the policy:

Gender Policy Awareness

In seeking to redress the problem of gender inequalities, drastic measures have to be taken to make Basotho men and women aware of the *Gender Policy of 2003* and its contents because the pursuit of its objectives could contribute towards attaining gender equality in Lesotho. In order to achieve these goals the following strategies should be considered:

- The draft Gender policy should be revisited and rewritten in a final format to achieve the status of an official national policy, complete with definite time-frames and detailed directives for implementation.

- It is recommended that the Ministry of Gender and the Ministry of Education should also liaise to design a specific gender policy for the education system in order to address specific challenges in this sector. The Ministry of Gender could in this way be assisted by the education sector in attaining the broader principles that it wishes to achieve. Policy should also be designed on a school level.
- The Ministry of Gender should use both print and electronic media to introduce the policy to the people, especially those who reside in the mountainous areas of the country where radio broadcasts are difficult. It seems that not much is written about women's rights in the Lesotho newspapers except in the political arena.
- Thorough advocacy and training of stakeholders should be undertaken by competent facilitators appointed and trained by the Ministry of Education and training. Training can be done through workshops, role play, and during public gatherings (*pitsso*).
- The role, position and responsibilities of the Ministry of Gender should be put onto the policy agenda to clearly define what is expected of this section of government.
- The Ministry of Gender, with the help of the Ministry of Education should further set realistic time-frames to implement the policy since it is not clear when the set goals of the policy are likely to be realised.
- Monitoring of the implementation of the policy within the set time-frame by the Ministry of Gender is also recommended. For example, the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), teachers' unions, and women's groups in the church and Non Governmental Organisations should be involved. It is the researcher's belief that women should be front runners in dealing with women's issues.
- The Ministry of Gender should set up the structures that the draft policy envisages, such as Gender Focal Points, National Youth Councils and a development fund to enhance the opportunities of marginalised women.

Objectives of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)*

With regard to the objectives of the policy, it has been established through the survey that the aim of *ensuring equal opportunities and participation by men and women* has not yet been achieved. It is therefore recommended that:

- Apart from workshops to familiarise the stakeholders with the policy, measures should be taken to educate all the stakeholders about the principles of gender equality, especially in schools. This can be done in a Life Skills programme as part of the curriculum of the school.
- As mentioned previously, apart from a gender policy specifically designed for national education, each school should develop its own gender policy that is in line with the stated objectives of the national policy.

With regard to the objective of attaining *equal access to education, training and health services and control over resources*, the following recommendations should be considered:

- The Ministry of Education should liaise with the schools and contemplate ways in which women and girls can be empowered.
- The Ministries of Gender and Education should investigate circumstances under which girls leave schools to care for the family so that mechanisms such as bursaries to assist these children could be provided.

With regard to the aim of *conserving positive and mitigating negative aspects of the Basotho culture, and ensuring that gender sensitive laws are enforced*, it is recommended that:

- The Ministry of Education together with all educational institutions should create an enabling environment in which women can participate fully and equally, without cultural constraints. This should be achieved by removing all the laws that undermine women, especially those facilitated by cultural practices.
- All discriminatory practices should be carefully scrutinised and women should be given the choice whether they want to partake in it.

- The government through the Ministries of Law, Education and Gender should educate and train law enforcers so that law reform can take place effectively, especially with regard to laws that discriminate against women.
- The government should amend or remove the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967*, the limitations of the *Land Act of 1979* and all other discriminatory legislation.
- It is also recommended that the government should employ measures to compensate women for the time they have been unable to own land. Where land has to be allocated, preference should be given to women.
- It is further suggested that the *patrilocal* nature of marriage in Lesotho is revisited because it limits women in realising their full potential, especially in the education system because men still have to make the final decision of whether a woman goes to school or not.

With regard to the goal of *setting guidelines for public awareness and the promotion of understanding the link between gender equality and development through the media*, which according to the survey has not been achieved by the policy, the following are recommended:

- In Lesotho, radio is one of the most powerful media resources. The Ministries of Gender and Education should develop radio programmes that are specifically targeted at educating women about their legal rights as it is done by the Ministry of Education in the promotion of the Early Childhood programmes on the radio. These programmes could be used in the classroom.

With regard to the objective of *promoting equal opportunities and participation in decision-making and politics* the survey has established that women still lag behind in management positions despite their academic achievements. In an attempt to redress this problem, the following strategies are recommended:

- The Ministry of Gender should implement the revised (or final) Lesotho *Gender Policy* with immediate effect since this may address many of the stated problems.
- Gender awareness programmes should be implemented throughout the country with special attention to educational institutions as an attempt to empower women; and
- Where women have been economically disadvantaged, affirmative action principles should be applied. For example, where women qualify for a decision-making post, she should be given preference over male candidates.

7.12.2 Gender-based violence

To reduce gender-based violence in Lesotho, the government needs to identify the common characteristics that appear to facilitate gender-based violence. To achieve this, the following recommendations can be made:

- The Ministry of Gender should organise training sessions and workshops in the schools in order to create awareness with regard to gender-based violence, especially since it was discovered that it goes unpunished because of not being reported.
- The Ministry should also create a Helpline where rape and other forms of gender-based violence can be reported anonymously. This helpline could also be used to counsel the victims.
- The government should also promote national awareness of the *Sexual Offence Act of 2000*.
- The survey and literature review have also revealed that in some cases women do not report sexual violence for the fear that they might not be believed. The government should therefore promote a programme to sensitise law enforcers and the courts on the issue of gender-based violence.

- The Ministry should also offer professional training to the police force to enable them to assist victims of gender-based violence and to treat them with dignity and respect.
- Support structures such as “safe homes” should be established where the victims can be counselled since there are presently no such structures in the country.

7.12.3 The situation in the school

In order to facilitate equality as stipulated by the Constitution, and against the background of the findings of the research, the following recommendations can be made:

- In an attempt to create a gender-friendly environment, teachers should avoid a destructive competitive climate between boys and girls and rather steer towards cooperation between the two groups. For example, by facilitating leadership roles in both boys and girls.
- The teachers should further assign roles that are neither male nor female to students regardless of their gender. This could assist in changing the learners’ attitudes since they will observe that there are no set male or female roles.
- Choice of subjects should be done according to the students’ capabilities and interests and not according to gender because this restricts girls’ career opportunities.
- The Ministry of Education should take the responsibility of removing gender-bias from the curriculum. This could be done by designing teaching materials that are gender friendly in such a way that they do not favour any of the sexes.
- Both the Ministry of Education and the schools should identify specific gender gaps and offer training to aid all the stakeholders to address the gaps. For example, the fact that women are not prominent in the teaching of Mathematics, Science and Technology, can be redressed by empowering girls to follow careers in these areas.

- The two ministries should further try to introduce gender education in the non-formal education sector so that gender awareness reaches all the sectors of the education system in the country.
- The Ministry of Education should also include a gender education programme in the training of teachers in order to enable the teachers to apply gender sensitivity principles in their classrooms. This will also empower teachers to do away with gender stereotypes that still exist in the school.
- The Ministry of Education should also facilitate interaction between school administrators and experts on gender issues (nationally and internationally) such as the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), to equip the teachers with the necessary skills to apply a gender friendly curriculum.
- All schools should offer guidance and counselling courses and these courses should be compulsory in all the schools. This will help learners to know their potential and thus assist female learners to realise that there are no “female” or “male” careers. The Ministry of Education should take responsibility for the training of these teachers.
- The Ministry of Education should also design a programme that would teach students about their legal rights, focusing on values and gender sensitivity.
- With regard to punishment in the school, it is recommended that the administrators of schools and teachers should employ equal punishment to everyone.
- In the home parents have to encourage girls to gain self-confidence and acknowledge that there is nothing wrong with being both feminine and intelligent. This will help them to venture in different aspects of life, including sporting activities with the background knowledge that they are complete human beings with the same capabilities as their male counterparts. Teachers in the school should do likewise.

- In schools, teachers should encourage girls to participate in all the sporting activities and equal opportunities should be given to all the children. This could be achieved by creating an environment that promotes cooperation amongst all the students instead of competition between boys and girls, especially with regard to “traditional male” sports.

7.12.4 Legal impediments to women

In an attempt to gear towards equality of the sexes, the government should address and remove all the laws that place women as minorities. This could be achieved through the following:

- Removing all the disempowering structures such as oppressive traditional beliefs and laws in order to adhere to the principles of the Constitution of the country, and the United Nation structures which Lesotho is signatory to. For example, there has to be a clear distinction between culture and the law. Some of the cultural beliefs that regard women as inferior have found their way into the law with the result that culture prescribes to the law, and consequently the law, entrenched by the ideology of patriarchy, has become an oppressive structure through which women are relegated to an inferior position in society.

7.12.5 Cultural practices

Since it has been established that patriarchal beliefs are innate to the Basotho society, and even prescribes the law of the country, cultural practices that discriminate against women, would have to be revised. The following are recommended:

- The government, and specifically the Ministry of Gender, should create awareness programs that sensitise women on their rights, to believe that they are not inferior and do not have to be submissive, especially in the culturally driven rural areas of the country.
- The Ministries of Gender and Education should also educate women, especially in the rural areas about their legal rights so that they may know

where they may go in search of justice when they feel that they have been discriminated against because of their gender.

- The government should further facilitate gender awareness workshops for traditional leaders to enable them to go back to their communities to enlighten them on the rights of women.
- The government should also empower women to achieve not only academically, but also socially and economically, *inter alia* through the support of affirmative action programmes.

Women's role in life

Women's role in life is changing worldwide, and against the background of the research it can be argued that the Basotho society should adapt to the new roles of women. It is understood that women in Lesotho are now educated and should therefore be allowed to contribute to, and participate in building the country's economy, and in so doing are able to prove to themselves that they are as capable as their male counterparts. The following strategies are therefore recommended:

- The reproductive role that women have to play according to the Basotho culture should be a woman's choice. This means that women should be free to have children when, and if they wish. The government should make this choice a right that is also incorporated in the law so that women know where to go should this right be violated.
- The Ministry of Education should provide *compulsory* primary and secondary education. This will prevent parents from using their girl-children to act as child-minders and not attending school. Failure to adhere to this law should be severely punished.

Bohali, patrilocality, inheritance and patrilineality

The survey has revealed that the concept of *bohali* is misused to dominate women. It is therefore recommended that *bohali* should be redefined. The following strategies are therefore recommended:

- The government should achieve this by conducting a survey in the form of public gatherings to elicit public opinion in this regard.
- Furthermore, the government should see to it that parents who allow (and encourage) their children to be married before completing their compulsory secondary education are punished.
- With regard to the custom of *patrilocality*, it is recommended this should be a choice and should not be forced upon a woman.
- The laws associated with the belief in male-heir-succession should be revised. A father should be able to allow a responsible child in the family or the female spouse to inherit the family's estate regardless of their gender.
- The proposed *Marriage Equality Bill* which proposes equality of the sexes in marriage should be implemented as soon as possible, since this would empower women to challenge discriminatory practices associated with marriage.

Thapo

With regard to the custom of *thapo*, it is recommended that the practice of *thapo* should also be a choice. Above all it should be the right of the woman to choose, and being forced to take part in a custom against her wishes should be regarded as an infringement of her rights. Women should be allowed to seek assistance from the law if they feel that they are being discriminated against in this regard.

The initiation school

Since the survey indicated that the majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the initiation schools facilitate gender roles, it is therefore recommended that the role of the initiation school should be reviewed because it does not seem to contribute to facilitating skills that will be useful to the initiates' future.

7.13 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to investigate gender stereotypes in education in Lesotho. In an attempt to achieve this aim the following objectives were stated:

- To investigate the phenomenon of gender stereotypes in general.
- To determine the way in which the ideology of patriarchy influences gender disparities and to determine the causes of gender inequalities in education in Lesotho.
- To determine the ways in which legal, traditional and cultural practices perpetuate stereotypes and affect women's potential to participate in the education system and decision-making structures in Lesotho.
- To determine the nature of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* and to investigate the extent to which it has been implemented in Lesotho schools.
- To recommend ways in which the unequal position of women can be improved in education in Lesotho.

The first two chapters (Chapter 2 and 3) comprised of a theoretical overview of the study. The first section of Chapter 2 involved a definition of gender-related concepts to be used in the study. This was followed by an investigation into the factors that influence gender role development and facilitates stereotypes about women namely, biological and socio-cultural factors. Biological determinants include, anatomy, the intellect and brain organisation, while the socio-cultural factors include, language, the school, the family, the media and the church.

The subsequent section of the chapter investigated social learning theories in an attempt to investigate how gender roles are developed. The theories studied are the Social Learning Theory, the Cognitive Development Theory, the Psychoanalysis theory and the Gender Schema theory. This was followed by an investigation into the ideology of patriarchy versus the ideology of feminism. This was done to determine if feminism could offer a plausible alternative to the oppressive nature of patriarchy. The last part of this chapter however investigated the principles at the basis of this study namely; equality, equity,

justice and a recognition of human rights. On the basis of the literature study, the following conclusions were made:

- Gender stereotypes are still prevalent in society and are mostly facilitated by the way in which roles are imposed through socialisation.
- The biological differences that are assumed to exist between male and female and that appears to facilitate gender stereotypes do not necessarily exist.
- To redress gender inequalities, one ideology (feminism) cannot be used to eradicate the effects of another (patriarchy), hence the study was based upon the principles of equality, equity, justice and respect for the rights of others.

Chapter 3 traced the history of education and gender disparities in Lesotho. The influence of culture on gender stereotyping was investigated as well as the legal system of Lesotho, which relegates women to a position of inferiority. The last part of this chapter contained an exposition of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* and the following conclusions can be made on the basis of the consulted literature:

- Although limited literature focussing on the status of women in Lesotho was available, it was found that women in Lesotho are discriminated against, and this seemed to be applicable to women in education also.
- Women's subordination in Lesotho is facilitated by cultural practices, which relegates them to the position of legal minors.
- The draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* appears not to be known to the majority of the Lesotho population and therefore might not have made any significant changes to the lives of women in the country.

Against the background of the literature study and the hypothesis that women are discriminated against in Lesotho education, it was imperative to conduct an empirical investigation into the position of women in education in Lesotho.

Chapter 4 consequently dealt with the methods to be used in the gathering of data for the empirical investigation, and the rationale behind the use of the selected methods. A clarification of how the sample size was selected was also dealt with in the chapter, together with the research instruments to be used. In order to achieve this goal, specific methods to be used in the empirical investigation were identified. The objectives of the empirical investigation were as follows:

- To determine the effects of cultural and other practices on women's roles in education in Lesotho.
- To determine the possible occurrence of, and perceptions on the discrimination of women in schools in Lesotho;
- To determine to what extent the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy of 2003* has been implemented in schools in Lesotho.

A multi-dimensional approach was consequently used, involving a literature study, as well as qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Chapters 5 and 6 comprised of an analysis of the collected data. A comparison of cultural experiences of the urban and the rural participants was undertaken and it was found that in most cases the rural participants were more strictly guided by customary practices in their perceptions of the roles of women. The following important conclusion was made in this regard:

- Women's cultural experiences in most cases differ and are influenced by their geographic location. For example in some cases women in the rural areas appear to be rigid with regard to some cultural practices whereas urban women appear to be a lot more flexible on the same issues.

The findings of the research were finally reported on in the first part of this chapter (Chapter 7), and amongst other findings, substantiated the hypothesis of the literature study, and indeed confirming that gender stereotypes, facilitated by

patriarchy negatively influence the position of women in the education sector of Lesotho.

It was found that cultural practices, driven by a belief in the superiority of the male figure, have serious effects on women's equality and rights and that these seriously hamper the position and functioning of women in education. Much of this study thus focused on the effects of cultural practices in general, but this was essential to be able to indicate the negative effects thereof on the position of women in education.

7.14 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Because of the limited and focused scope of this investigation, a number of issues need to be further explored:

- The exploration of detailed programmes that would facilitate gender sensitivity in schools.
- The content of the recommended final gender programme in teacher education has to be defined through extensive research.
- A thorough and detailed study of the impact of gender-based violence on the performance of students in the schools is an area that warrants further investigation.
- The impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the roles of girl-children in the schools is an area that could also justify further research.

7.15 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The underlying basis of this study is the principles of equality and equity, respect for human rights and justice. Whatever is done to address the unequal position of women in education in Lesotho, these principles should be kept in mind. An orientation to the above principles will guide an education system that truly emphasises (without reference to gender):

- the principle of education and training as basic human right;
- the principle of open access to education and training;

- the principle of equity;
- the principle of democratic governance; and
- education accessibility for all.

Since the above is required, it is the duty of the Lesotho government to secure the rights of women and thus address the disparities in the education system. The urgency of this task is underscored by the fact that Lesotho is signatory to most of the United Nations Conventions on women's issues, and is a member of the United Nations Organisation that has declared its intention to promote and protect the rights of women.

With regard to the disparities faced by women in the education system it has been affirmed that gender stereotypes in Lesotho indeed perpetuate the subordinate position of women in this sector. Although it appears that there is progress in some areas, much work still has to be done, especially with regard to the implementing of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* and the *Sexual Offences Act (2000)*.

Having conducted a survey on gender inequalities in education in Lesotho, and having had to explore almost all the major forces that facilitate gender stereotypes in this country, an important question then comes to the fore. Can the implementation of a "paper" policy alone be used to transcend the effects of these forces, especially culture? This study therefore proposes that the government and policy makers in the education sector in Lesotho also work towards eradicating the deep-rooted structures and perceptions that, in the service of patriarchy, have been found to perpetuate the subordinate position of women in this country, and education in particular.

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SUMMARY

Although women in Lesotho are faced with almost all kinds of inequalities, this study focuses mainly on the inequalities faced by women in the education system. Two differing geographic locations (Maseru and Mokhotlong) were selected to create a comparative basis for the study, especially with regard to women's cultural experiences. These locations represent the rural areas and the urban areas of the country. The basis for the selection of the research areas was that although women are discriminated against in many aspects, their experiences are likely to differ due to their geographic location. The investigation was done through the use of a triangular approach, where interviews and questionnaires were used in conjunction with an extensive literature study.

Theoretical perspectives of contributing socio-cultural factors that perpetuate gender stereotypes in general such as the school, the parents, language, the church and the media, as well as biological factors were investigated in the literature study. This was done to create an understanding of the way in which stereotypes render women to be inferior. Socialisation theories namely the Social Learning Theory, Cognitive Development Theory, Psychoanalysis Theory and the Gender Schema Theory were thus explored.

The ideology of patriarchy, which appears to be the umbrella tool used to relegate women to a position of inferiority, was exposed, as well as its counter-ideology (feminism). The conclusion of this exposition was that one ideology cannot be used to eradicate the effects of another, since all ideologies have the tendency of presenting a distorted view of reality by allowing certain values to dominate our experiences. Feminism was therefore not seen as a solution to patriarchy. Fundamental democratic principles were subsequently explored to provide the starting point for this research. These principles include equality, equity, respect of human rights and justice to all.

The implementation of the draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* was further investigated and it was found that this policy has not been instrumental in rectifying the subordinate position of women in education in Lesotho.

Some of the major findings in this investigation are the following:

- The draft *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* remains a policy on paper only and one cannot even describe the current situation in Lesotho as a *gap between policy and practice*, because “practice” does not exist at all.
- Although women in Lesotho have been enlightened with regard to their inferior position, and in most cases they reject the practices and structures of subordination, in practice very little has been achieved to facilitate equality and justice in education in Lesotho.
- Patriarchy is still prevalent in Lesotho and is manifested in a culturally-determined law system, which “legalises” discrimination against women. The effects of this is that women in education do not serve in decision-making positions and are subservient to their male counterparts. The implication here is that women, within the Lesotho education system cannot reach their full potential.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE A: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

This questionnaire has been constructed in an attempt to assess the prevailing attitudes, feelings and behaviour towards the roles of women in education in Lesotho. Please give your honest opinions. All the responses will be treated as highly confidential and there are *no correct or incorrect responses*. All the information will be used only for academic purposes and will be treated with the strictest confidence.

SECTION A

T1. Geographical location.

Urban	
Rural	

SECTION B: THE DRAFT *LESOTHO GENDER POLICY OF 2003*

T2. Are you aware of the existence of the *draft Gender Policy (2003)* of the *Lesotho Gender Task Force*?

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is “yes”, please answer all the questions in Section B (T2 – T9). If the answer is “no”, do not answer Section B, but proceed directly to Section C.

How did you hear about this policy?

At a workshop on gender	
At our school where it is implemented	
From the Education Department	

From the District Office	
Other source, please specify:	

T3. Are you aware of the content of the policy?

Yes	No
-----	----

T4. What do you think the objectives of the policy should be?

1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

T5. Do you know about the *Gender Mainstreaming Programme*?

Yes	No
-----	----

T6. If your answer to question T.5 is yes, what do you think this programme entails? Please specify:

T7. Has the *Land Act of 1979*, that prohibits women to own land, been removed, as promised by the policy?

Yes	No
-----	----

T8. *The Lesotho Gender Policy* envisages that a number of changes will take place with regard to the position of women in Lesotho. Please indicate which of the following measures have been accomplished in your area, by drawing a cross in the block for "yes" or "no":

Task of the gender policy	Yes	No
1. Has a development fund to enhance the opportunities of marginalised men and women been established in your area?		
2. Have legal impediments to women's access to credit been removed?		
3. Are women in your area still in some cases refused employment and dismissed on the grounds of pregnancy, or breast feeding responsibilities?		
4. Have steps been taken to equalise the marital status of women and men on property?		
5. Have gender and economic empowerment issues been introduced into the curriculum?		
6. Has in-service-training on gender issues and equality been offered at your school?		
7. Has sexual health education programmes been introduced in your curriculum?		
8. Has information on gender-based violence issues been introduced in your curriculum?		
9. Has a gender balanced <i>National Youth Council</i> been established in your area?		
10. Have workshops been held in your area to familiarise you with the content and strategies of the <i>Gender Policy</i> ?		
11. Do you know of the existence of Gender Focal Points that have been established in your area?		

T9. What, according to you are the main issues that the *Lesotho Gender Policy* should address and why?

T10. Are you aware of any provisions made by the Ministry of Gender to empower women in the education sector? If the answer is yes, please briefly indicate such provisions.

T11. Which Laws of the *Amended Lesotho Constitution* (2003) do you feel oppress women the most?

T12. Are you aware of any progress geared towards improving these Laws to cater for gender equality?

Yes	No
-----	----

T13. Do you think that the introduction of the *Lesotho Gender Policy* has made a positive difference to the marginalised roles of female teachers in your area?

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is YES, please indicate how the policy has made a difference:

If the answer was NO, please indicate why:

SECTION C

WOMEN TEACHERS AND THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Women are often not appointed in managerial positions in the school due to stereotypes associated with their capabilities. They are often also discriminated against in the workplace. This section is therefore aimed at investigating the perpetuation of such stereotypes in the school.

T14. Indicate to what extent you agree with the following stereotypes expressed in each of the following statements by encircling the number that best describes how you feel, where:

- 5 indicates strongly agree;
- 4 indicates agree;
- 3 indicates not applicable;
- 2 indicates disagree; and
- 1 indicates strongly disagree.

MANAGERIAL TASKS	5	4	3	2	1
1. Women's academic achievements do not earn them managerial positions in education					
2. Women who are turned down for managerial positions are equally or better educated than men who are currently holding these positions					
3. Women must not be appointed in managerial positions due to their biological make-up, which makes them not suitable to be leaders					
4. Biologically women lack the ability to be efficient managers					
5. Work done by women managers is less valuable					

6. Women are not as ambitious as men in managerial situations					
7. Women are not able to meet work challenges in managerial positions					
8. Women are not as likely to make good leaders as men					
9. Women managers lack the ability to be objective					
10. Female managers tend to give up easily					
11. Women are too emotional to be good managers					
12. Women managers cannot enforce discipline in the school					
13. Female teachers prefer male managers in their schools					
14. Women are not capable of holding leadership positions without problems					
15. Women in managerial positions are biased against their female colleagues					

T15. Answer YES or NO or NOT SURE by drawing a cross in the block corresponding in your choice to the questions below:

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES	Yes	No	Not sure
1. Are women underrepresented in promotional posts at your school?			
2. Do women have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level?			
3. Are women represented in your school's governing body?			
4. Is the membership of departmental committees fairly distributed between men and women?			

SECTION D: DECISION-MAKING

This section investigates the perpetuation of stereotypes regarding women teachers' decision-making abilities.

T16. Please indicate your opinion by encircling a number to show to what extent you agree with the statements below, where:

5 = indicates strongly agree;

4 = indicates agree;

- 3 = indicates not applicable;
 2 = indicates disagree; and
 1 = indicates strongly disagree.

DECISION-MAKING ABILITIES	5	4	3	2	1
1. Women are not able to make meaningful decisions					
2. Women's decision-making abilities are negatively influenced by their hormones					
3. Women's opinions do not carry the same weight as their male counterparts in staff meetings					
4. Women teachers prefer not to make important decisions					
5. Women need men's approval to make major money decisions in the home					
6. Women are generally not good decision-makers					
7. Women's motherhood instincts negatively influence their ability to make decisions in the classroom situation					
8. Women are generally bad decision makers					

SECTION E: CULTURAL PRACTICES THAT PERPETUATE STEREOTYPES

Section E investigates the perpetuation of stereotypes associated with women in the school, and specifically facilitated by cultural practices.

T17. As in the other sections, please indicate to what extent the following practices occur at your school and in the society where you live, where:

- 5 = indicates strongly agree;
 4 = indicates agree;
 3 = indicates not applicable;
 2 = indicates disagree; and
 1 = indicates strongly disagree

CULTURAL PRACTICES THAT OCCUR AT YOUR SCHOOL AND SOCIETY	5	4	3	2	1
1. Women are subject to verbal violence at staff meetings					
2. Women/girls sometimes have to leave school to get married due to economic reasons					
3. Male teachers still believe that the woman's place is in the home					
4. Women teachers cover their heads and shoulders at work					
5. Women do not wear pants and mini dresses at work					
6. Women should get married to be role models to students					
7. Women are more suitable to teach Home Economics while men should teach Mathematics					
8. Women should supervise cleaning of the school premises					
9. All staff members administer punishment in the school					
10. The general conviction in your area is that all head teachers should be men					
11. Women need their husbands' permission to use contraceptives					
12. Women cannot obtain passports for their children without their husbands'/fathers' consent in the case of unmarried mothers					
13. Women need their fathers'/husbands' permission to obtain a passport					

T18. What do you see as your most important role in life?

Answer the question by making a cross in the box next to your choice.

Continuity of the lineage of the family	
Getting married and having children	
Achieving your personal aspirations and goals	
Other, please specify:	

T19. Please indicate how you feel about the following:

Marriage is not a union between husband and wife, but between the whole family and community.

In marriage a woman's place should only be in the home.

Children conceived in the marriage belong to the paternal family.

Only the first born male can inherit the estate of a family.

Women do not have a say in their maternal family once they get married

T20. Women are legal minors in Lesotho whether they are married or not. As a woman how do you feel about this state of affairs?

T21. Men possess more decision-making powers in the family because they are regarded by custom as heads of families. Please give your opinion about this.

T22. As a woman, have you ever been restricted in the instance of the death of a husband in any of the following ways:

Black attire (*thapo*) and restrictions associated with it

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please give details and say how you feel about it.

T23. Please indicate briefly your feelings about the following:

- *Patrilocality* – women moving to the husband' family after marriage

- *Patrilineality* –male heir succession in the case of the death of a husband/father

- *Bohali* (bride-price) custom in relation to: “*ho ngala*” (leaving a husband without divorcing him)

- Gender-based violence

- Sexual violence

- Minority status of women in the family

T24. *The Deeds Registry Act of 1967* specifies that no land shall be registered in the name of a married woman. How do you feel about this law? Please comment briefly.

T25. Women are under the jurisdiction of their fathers before marriage, and after marriage under their husband's. How do you feel about this state of affairs? Please comment briefly.

T26. What is your opinion on the belief in Lesotho that men are heads of families?

T27. Have you ever been discriminated against on the grounds of your gender in any of the following cases:

- Marital status e.g. not being able to enter into a contract due to the absence of your husband.

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

- Pregnancy

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

- Family responsibilities.

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

- Sexual orientation

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

SECTION F: THE CURRICULUM AND THE SCHOOL

This section deals with stereotypes associated with the curriculum and the school.

T28. Please indicate which of the following practices are still alive in your school by indicating the number of your choice, where:

5 = indicates strongly agree;

4 = indicates agree;

3 = indicates not applicable;

2 = indicates disagree;

1 = indicates strongly disagree.

THE CURRICULUM AND THE SCHOOL	5	4	3	2	1
1. 'Appropriate' gender roles are assigned to girls and boys respectively in the classroom					
2. Boys and girls are given equal opportunities to compete in all subjects					
3. Boys and girls do equally well in all subjects					
4. Girls do not do well in subjects such as Mathematics					
5. Boys do well in Mathematics, while girls do well in Languages					
6. Statistically in your school, boys do better than girls in Mathematics					
7. Mathematics should rather be taught by male teachers in your school					
8. Male teachers are better Maths teachers than female teachers					
9. Boys and men are prominent in textbooks					
10. Girls are steered towards more "womanly" careers, while boys are steered towards more "manly" careers					

T29. Is the school curriculum gender biased? Please give reasons for your answer.

T30. What do think should be done for pregnant girls to empower them academically?

SECTION G: GENERAL

T31. Have you ever been the target of gender discrimination? Please state the incident briefly.

T32. Have you ever been treated differently or unfairly at work just because you are a woman? Please relate the incident.

T33. How was the problem solved?

T34. Are you aware of the *Sexual Offence Act of 2003*?

Yes	No
-----	----

T.35. In your opinion what do you think should be done to improve the status of women in education in Lesotho?

Thank you for your patience and time in completing this questionnaire!

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE B: PRINCIPALS

This questionnaire is aimed at investigating gender disparities in the education system of Lesotho. There are no correct or incorrect responses and all the information acquired will be treated as **strictly confidential** and will only be used for the academic purposes of the researcher. Your honest opinion will therefore be highly appreciated.

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Pr1: Place of residence

Urban	
Rural	

SECTION B: GENERAL

Pr2. What do you think about women managers in education?

Pr3. Have you ever been discriminated against because of your gender?

Yes	No
-----	----

Pr4. If the answer is “yes” please relate the incident. What steps did you take to deal with the Problem?

Pr5. If you are a female vice-principal at your school, do you think that you have not yet been appointed as a principal because you are a woman? Please motivate your answer.

Pr6. What is your school, and you as a principal or vice-principal doing to:

- Educate women of their legal rights?

- Promote practices that empower women and gender equality?

- Prevent expulsion of unmarried pregnant girls/women?

- Integrate gender-based violence issues into the curriculum?

Pr7. What links do you have with the Ministry of Gender and Sports to ensure that its policies are being implemented?

Pr8. What do you understand by gender equality?

SECTION C: THE DRAFT LESOTHO GENDER POLICY (2003)

Pr9. Are you aware of the existence of the *Gender Policy* of the Lesotho Gender Task Force?

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is “yes”, please answer all the questions in Section C. If the answer is “no”, do not answer the rest of Section C, but proceed directly to Section D.

Pr10. How did you hear about this policy?

At a workshop on gender	
At our school where it is implemented	
From the Education Department	
From the District Office	
Other source, please specify:	

Pr11. Are you aware of the content of the policy?

Yes	No
-----	----

Pr12. What do you think the objectives of the policy should be?

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

Pr13. Do you know about the Gender Mainstreaming Programme?

Yes	No
-----	----

Pr14. If your answer to question Pr12 is “yes” what do you think the programme entails? Please specify:

Pr15. Has the *Land Act of 1979*, that prohibits women to own land, been removed, as promised by the policy?

Yes	No
-----	----

Pr16. The *Gender Policy* envisages that a number of changes will take place with regard to the position of women in Lesotho. Please indicate which of the following measures have been accomplished in your area, by drawing a cross in the block for “YES” or “NO”.

Tasks of the gender policy	Yes	No
1. Has the development fund to enhance the opportunities of marginalised men and women been established in your area?		
2. Have legal impediments to women’s access to credit been removed?		
3. Are women in your area still in some cases refused employment and dismissed on the grounds of pregnancy, or breast feeding responsibilities?		
4. Have steps been taken to equalise the marital status of women and men on property?		
5. Have gender and economic empowerment issues been introduced into the curriculum?		
6. Has in-service-training on gender issues and equality been offered at your school?		
7. Has sexual health education programmes been introduced in your curriculum?		
8. Has information on gender-based violence issues been introduced in your curriculum?		
9. Has a gender-balanced National Youth Council been established in your area?		
10. Have workshops been held in your area to familiarise you with the content and strategies of the <i>Gender Policy</i> ?		
11. Do you know of the existence of <i>Gender Focal Points</i> that have been established in your area?		

Pr17. What, according to you are the main issues that the Policy should address, and why?

Pr18. Are you aware of any provisions made by the Ministry of Gender to empower women in the education sector? If the answer is “yes” please briefly indicate such provisions.

Pr19. Which Laws of the *Lesotho Constitution* do you feel oppress women the most, if you know any?

Pr20. Are you aware of any progress geared towards improving these Laws to cater for gender equality?

Yes	No
-----	----

Pr21. Do you think that the introduction of the *Gender Policy* has made a positive difference to the marginalised roles of female teachers in your area?

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is YES, please indicate how the Policy has made a difference:

If the answer is NO, please indicate why?

SECTION D: WOMEN AND THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Women are often not appointed in managerial positions in the school due to stereotypes associated with their capabilities. This section is therefore aimed at investigating the perpetuation of such stereotypes in the school.

Pr22. Indicate to what extent you agree with the following stereotypes expressed in each of the following statements by encircling the number that best describes how you feel, where:

5 = Indicates strongly agree;

4 = indicates agree;

3 = indicates not applicable;

2 = indicates disagree; and

1 = indicates strongly disagree.

WOMEN'S MANAGERIAL POSITIONS AND TASKS	5	4	3	2	1
1. Women's academic achievements do not earn them managerial positions in education					
2. Women who are turned down for managerial positions are equally or more educated than the men who are currently holding these positions					
3. Women must not be appointed in managerial positions due to their biological make-up, which makes them not suitable to be leaders					
4. Biologically, women lack the ability to be efficient managers					
5. Work done by women managers is less valuable					
6. Women are not as ambitious as men in managerial situations					
7. Women are not able to meet work challenges in managerial positions					
8. Women are not as likely to make good leaders					
9. Women managers lack the ability to be objective					
10. Female managers tend to give up easily					
11. Women are too emotional to be good managers					
12. Women managers cannot enforce discipline in the school					
13. Female teachers prefer male managers in their schools					

14. Women are not capable of holding leadership positions without problems					
15. Women in managerial positions are biased against their female colleagues					

Pr23. Answer **YES** or **NO** or **NOT SURE** by drawing a cross in the block corresponding to your choice to the statements below:

Equal opportunities for promotional appointments	Yes	No	Not sure
1 Are women underrepresented for promotional posts at your school?			
2 Do women have heavier workloads than male staff at the same level?			
3 Are women represented at your school's governing body?			
4 Is the membership of departmental committees fairly distributed between men and women?			

SECTION E: DECISION-MAKING

This section investigates the perpetuation of stereotypes regarding women's decision-making abilities.

Pr24. Please indicate your opinion by encircling a number to show to what extent you agree with the statements below, where:

- 5 = Indicates strongly agree;
- 4 = indicates agree;
- 3 = indicates not applicable;
- 2 = indicates disagree; and
- 1 = indicates strongly disagree.

WOMEN AND DECISION-MAKING	5	4	3	2	1
1. Women are not able to make meaningful decisions					
2. Women's decision-making abilities are negatively					

influenced by their hormones					
3. Women's opinions do not carry the same weight as their male counterparts in staff meetings					
4. Women teachers prefer not to make important decisions					
5. Women need men's approval to make major money decisions in the home					
6. Women are generally not good decision-makers					
7. Women's motherhood instincts negatively influence their ability to make decisions in the classroom situation					

SECTION F: CULTURAL PRACTICES THAT PERPETUATE STEREOTYPES

This section investigates the perpetuation of stereotypes associated with women in the school, facilitated by cultural practices.

Pr 25 As in other sections, please indicate to what extent the following practices occur at your school and in the society where you live, where:

- 5. indicates strongly agree;
- 4 indicates agree;
- 3. indicates not applicable;
- 2. indicates disagree; and
- 1. indicates strongly disagree.

STEREOTYPES THAT OCCUR IN YOUR SCHOOL AND SOCIETY	5	4	3	2	1
1. Women are subject to verbal violence in staff meetings					
2. Women/girls sometimes have to leave school for marriage due to economic reasons					
3. Male teachers still believe that the women's place is in the home					
4. Women cover their heads and shoulders at work					
5. Women do not wear pants and mini dresses at work					
6. Women should get married to be role models to students					
7. Women are more suitable to teach Home economics while men should teach Mathematics					

8. Women should supervise cleaning of the school premises					
9. All staff members administer punishment in the school					
10. The general conviction in your area is that all head-teachers should be men					
11. Women needs their husband's permission to use contraceptives					
12. Women cannot obtain passports for their children without their husband's/father's consent in the case of an unmarried mother					
13. Women need their husband's/father's permission to obtain passports					

Pr26. What do you see as your most important role in life? Answer this question by making a cross in the box next to your choice.

Continuity of the lineage of the family	
Getting married and having children	
Achieving your personal goals and aspirations	
Others, please specify:	

Pr27. Please indicate how you feel about the following:

- Marriage is not a union between a husband and a wife, but the whole family and community

- In marriage a woman's place should only be in the home

- Children conceived in a marriage belong to the paternal family

- Only the first born male can inherit the estate of the family

- Women do not have a say in their maternal family once they get married

Pr28. Women are legal minors in Lesotho whether they are married or not. As a woman how do you feel about this state of affairs?

Pr29. Men possess more decision-making powers in the family because they are regarded by custom as heads of families. Please give your opinion about this.

Pr30. As a woman have you ever been restricted in the instance of the death of a husband in any of the following ways:

- Black attire *thapo* and restrictions associated with it

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please give details and say how you feel about it.

- Mourning and rules associated with it.

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please give details and how you feel about it.

Pr31. Please indicate briefly your feelings about the following:

(a) Patrilocality – women moving to the husband’s family after marriage

(b) Patrilineality – male heir succession in the case of the death of a husband/father

(c) *Bohali* custom in relation to:

- *ho ngala*

- gender-based violence

- sexual violence

- minority status of women in the family

Pr32. The *Deeds Registry Act of 1967* specifies that no land shall be registered in the name of a married woman. How do you feel about this Law? Please comment briefly.

Pr33. Women are under the jurisdiction of their fathers before marriage, after marriage under their husband's. How do you feel about this state of affairs? Please comment briefly.

Pr34. What is your opinion on the belief in Lesotho that men are heads of families?

Pr35. Have you ever been discriminated against on the grounds of your gender in any of the following cases:

- Marital status e.g. not being able to enter into a contract due to the absence of your husband

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

- Pregnancy

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

- Family responsibilities

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

- Sexual orientation

Yes	No
-----	----

If the answer is yes, please briefly relate the incident:

SECTION G: THE CURRICULUM AND THE SCHOOL

This section deals with stereotypes associated with curriculum in the schools.

Pr36. Please indicate which of the following practices are still alive in your school by indicating the number of your choice, where:

1. indicates strongly agree;
2. indicates agree;
3. indicates not applicable;
4. indicates disagree; and
5. indicates strongly disagree.

G THE CURRICULUM AND THE SCHOOL	5	4	3	2	1
1 'Appropriate' gender roles are assigned to girls and boys respectively in the classroom					
2. Boys and girls are given equal opportunity to compete in all subjects					
3. Boys and girls do equally well in all subjects					
4. Girls do not do well subjects such as Mathematics					
5. Boys do well in Mathematics while girls do well in Languages					

6. Statistically in your school, boys do better than girls in Mathematics					
7. Mathematics should rather be taught by male teachers than female teachers					
8. Male teachers are better Maths teachers than female teachers					
9. Boys and men are prominent in text books					
10. Girls are steered towards more “womanly” careers while boys are steered towards more “manly” careers					

Pr37. Is the school curriculum gender biased? Please give reasons for your answer.

Pr38. What do you think should be done for pregnant girls to empower them academically?

SECTION H: GENERAL

Pr39. Have you ever been the target of gender discrimination as a principal or vice-principal? Please state the incident briefly.

Thank you for your patience and time in completing this questionnaire!

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

This questionnaire is aimed at investigating behaviour, attitudes and feelings associated with women. There are no right or wrong answers so please give your honest opinion. You are not required to give your name, all responses will be handled in strict confidence and the information acquired will be used only for academic purposes.

SECTION A: GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE STUDENTS

This section aimed at determining the geographical location of the students' homes.

S1. Do you live in the:

Urban area	
Rural area	

SECTION B: INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION IN LESOTHO

This section deals with inequalities faced by women (girls) in education in Lesotho.

S2. Which of the statements below do you agree or not agree with? Please indicate your response to the statements by drawing a cross in the column either indicating YES, NO or NOT SURE:

	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1. Boys and girls are treated equally on the school premises.			
2. Boys and girls are given equal opportunities to			

answer questions and compete fairly in the classroom.			
3. Teachers allow only boys to interrupt the class while teaching.			
4. Teachers allow only girls to interrupt while teaching.			
5. Teachers give boys the first chance to answer and ask questions in the classroom.			
6. Science and technology subjects are for boys and languages and arts are for girls.			
7. There is poor or no support and encouragement for girls once they have decided to opt for scientific and technology subjects.			
8. In most cases boys tend to follow technical and prestigious vocations such as engineering and architecture.			
9. Girls are sometimes absent at school because their parents require child minders.			
10. There is verbal abuse directed to girls by boys on the school.			
11. Girls are subjected to violence by boys on the school premise.			
12. Teachers assign girls to domestic related chores in the school premises e.g. sweeping and cleaning.			
13. Choice of subjects is sometimes done according to one's gender, e.g. Agric is for boys and Domestic science for girls.			
14. In competitions like debating, boys are trusted to deliver good speeches and therefore represent the school while girls are used as the support system for such boys.			
15. In most cases boys are assigned to science			

projects.			
16 Girls are geared towards traditional female roles and careers.			
17. There are no female or male careers or roles in your school.			
18. Boys are superior to girls.			

S3. Are you aware of the *Lesotho Gender Policy (2003)* (plan to equalise male and female rights)?

Yes	No
-----	----

S4. Have you ever been discriminated against just because you are a girl? If the answer is “yes”, please relate the incident.

S5. Between your head-boy and head-girl, who most frequently addresses students at the assembly? _____

S6. Please choose the subject you would like to do in the table below by indicating an ‘x’ in the box next to the subject of your choice.

Subject	Mark
Science	
Mathematics	
Woodwork	
Home Economics	
Languages	
Agriculture	
Accounting	
Computer Studies	

S7. Why did you choose these subjects?

S8. What subjects are you presently doing and why?

S9. What is your opinion on boys being encouraged to do Science and Technology and girls doing Accounting and Art-related subjects?

S10. Are there career guidance programmes in your school? If the answer is 'no', who chose your subjects and how were they chosen?

S11. What career do you prefer to follow when you complete your COSC and why?

S12. Are your Mathematics and Science teachers male or female?

Male	Female
------	--------

S13. Who do you prefer to be your Mathematics and Science teacher, a male or female teacher? Please also indicate reasons for your answer in the space provided below the table.

Male	Female
------	--------

SECTION C: DISCIPLINE IN THE SCHOOL SITUATION

This section deals with stereotypes associated with discipline in the school situation.

S14. Please indicate whether you agree, or disagree with the statement below, by drawing an **X** in the box next to your choice:

INEQUALITIES FACED BY GIRL/WOMEN IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1. Equal punishment is administered for boys and girls in the school			
2. Boys obey rules and regulations in the school			
3. Girls obey rules and regulations in the school			
4. Women teachers are able to administer punishment to all students			
5. Boys from the initiation school submit to punishment			

administered by women teachers also			
6. Boys are ignored when they are not wearing uniforms, while girls are punished			
7. Girls are subject to verbal abuse from boys, which goes unpunished in most cases			
8. Girls are punished for late-coming caused in most cases by their multiple roles of keeping the home while schooling			
9. Female teachers punish female students while male teachers punish male students in case of misbehaviour			

S15. What is your opinion on:

(i) expulsion of pregnant girls in schools?

(ii) How do you think this problem can be solved?

(iii) What do you think should happen to boys who impregnate girls in the school?

SECTION D: CULTURAL STEREOTYPES FACED BY WOMEN/GIRLS IN LESOTHO

This section deals with cultural stereotypes faced by women and girls in Lesotho.

S16. Please express your opinion on the following statements by drawing a **X** in the box of your choice:

	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1. Girls are treated differently from boys at home			
2. Girl's tasks at home should include cleaning, collecting wood and vegetables, plaster the house, grind the corn and other women-related tasks			
3. Boy's tasks in the home should include herding cattle, ploughing the fields, washing the car(s) and milking the animals and other men-related tasks			
4. When you complete your studies, you are expected to get married and have children			
5. When you get married, your parents are expecting <i>likhomo/bohali</i>			
6. You cannot eat certain foods because you are a girl			
7. You sometimes assume domestic chores of your family and thus get a backlog in your school-work			
8. Time restrictions set by your parents for girls differ from that of your brothers			
9. A good woman should be able to cook and have children			
10. Men are breadwinners and women are homemakers			

11. Men and women are equal therefore should share roles.			
12. Girls are supposed to play netball while boys play soccer			
13. Girls should learn to keep house while boys look after the livestock			
14. Girls should sweep the classrooms while boys should move desks			
15. You are sometimes discriminated against on the school premises and at home because you are a girl			
16. You have been treated unfairly at home because you are a girl			
17. Is it fair that a girl cannot inherit her parents' estate just because she is female?			

S17. What tasks do you perform in the family and why?

S18. What tasks are allocated to your brother(s)?

S19. How do you feel about your tasks? Do you like performing them? Please explain why you feel the way you do.

S20. Have you ever missed school or assignments because you had to perform any of your tasks? For example, looking after your younger siblings? Please relate the incident.

S21. What do you think your major role in life is? E.g. why are you here?

Continuity of the lineage of the family	
Getting married and having children	
Achieving personal goals and aspirations	
Continue your family's legacy	
Others, please specify:	

S22. According to Basotho custom, marriage is not only between the couple, but, a union of two families. What is your opinion on this?

S23. How do you feel about the following?

- *Bohali*

- *Thapo*

- *patrilocality* (living with your husband's family after the marriage ceremony)

- Basotho culture allows abduction *chobeliso* with the intent to marry. What is your opinion about this culture?

- If you were to be abducted, what would you do?

SECTION E: SEXUAL VIOLENCE

S24. Are you aware of the following?

The Sexual Offence Act of 2003, which is aimed at punishing sexual offenders?

Yes	No
-----	----

S25. Have you ever been subject to verbal violence by male teachers? If the answer is “yes” please relate the incident.

S26. Is verbal abuse a punishable offence in your school?

Yes	No
-----	----

S27. Girls sometimes let sexual violence to go unpunished because they are afraid of the stigma attached to rape victims. For example, they would be thought to have brought rape unto themselves by behaving badly. What is your opinion?

S28. Have you ever been raped?

Yes	No
-----	----

- If the answer to the previous question was YES, did you report the case?

Yes	No
-----	----

- If you did not report the case, why not? Indicate your choice by making a **X** in the box next to your choice:

1. You were too ashamed	
2. You were afraid that your parents would not believe you	
3. You were afraid of being punished	
4. You were afraid of the boy	
Other reasons? Please specify:	

- If you did report the case, was the offender punished?

Yes	No
-----	----

How were you treated when you reported the case?

1. Efficiently and with respect	
2. People believed you and supported you	
3. People made fun of you	
4. You were rejected by the school community	
5. Other, please specify:	

S29. Other than yourself, do you know anybody who has been raped? Was the case reported? If not, do you know why the incident was not reported?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND PATIENCE IN ASSISTING ME TO CONDUCT MY RESEARCH!

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE D: PARENTS

The legal system of Lesotho classifies a woman to have majority status at the age of 21, however, this status changes if a woman gets married under Common Law, according to the type of contract she enters into. Under customary law, a woman is a legal minor from birth to death. She is under the control of the father before marriage and under the husband's control after marriage (cf. *infra*: 3.3.3). This minority status of women appears to perpetuate gender stereotypes, particularly in the education system of Lesotho. The aim of this questionnaire is thus to investigate the extent that gender stereotypes exist in the school situation in Lesotho. There are no correct and incorrect answers so please give your honest opinion on the issues being investigated. Your responses will be treated with the strictest confidence.

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

P1. This section is aimed at determining the geographical location of the respondents. This was done in an attempt to compare the cultural stereotypes experienced by women.

SECTION B: CULTURAL PRACTICES

P2. This section deals with aspects of culture that discriminate against women in Lesotho. Please indicate how far you agree with the following, where:

5 = indicates strongly agree;

4 = indicates agree;

3 = indicates not applicable;

2 = indicates disagree; and

1 = indicates strongly disagree.

CULTURAL STEREOTYPES	5	4	3	2	1
1. A woman's place is in the home					
2. Women are better care-givers than men					

3. The best person to take care of the children is the mother					
4. Men are breadwinners					
5. Women are breadwinners					
6. Male teachers are better than female teachers					
7. Married men make better role models than unmarried men.					
8. Married women make better role models than unmarried women.					
9. Boys are gifted in Mathematics while girls are gifted in arts/languages					
10. It is bad luck to refuse to wear <i>thapo</i> when your husband is dead					
11. Men are the rightful heads of families					
12. Women should be heads of families					
13. Women are bad decision-makers					
14. Men should administer punishment for boys in the home while women should punish girls					
15. Punishment should be administered by both parents regardless of the sex of the children					

P3. The initiation school is becoming popular again in the country especially amongst boys. Why do you think this is the case?

P4. Give your opinion on the following statements on Initiation schools by marking the column of your choice, where

5 indicates strongly agree

4 indicates agree

3 indicates not applicable

2 indicates disagree; and

1 indicates strongly disagree

Initiation schools	5	4	3	2	1
1. Initiation schools facilitate gender roles.					
2. Initiation schools promote stereotypes (specific set roles of the sexes) through emphasis on manhood or womanhood.					

3. Initiation schools could cause gender violence.					
4. Initiation schools encourage patriarchy (the idea that men are superior to women).					
5. Boys from the initiation schools tend to dislike disciplinary measures in ordinary schools, especially if it is administered by women teachers.					

P5. What is your opinion about:

The Land Act of 1979, which specifies that women cannot be allocated land?

P6. What do you think about the *Deeds Registry Act of 1967*, which indicates that married women cannot have property registered under their name?

P7. What do you think of the *Inheritance Law*, which indicates that male children must inherit their family's property in the case of the death of their father?

P8. Give your views on:

- *Patrilocality?* (moving to your husband's home after matrimony)

- *Thapo?*(black attire worn by the bereaved family)

- *Bohali?* (bride-price)

- *Women's minority status?* (being under the guardianship of your father when single, your husband when you are married)?

P9. What roles do you give your girl children in the home?

P10. What roles do you give to your boy children in the home?

SECTION C: WOMEN'S SEXUALITY

P11. This section deals with women's right to their sexuality. Please indicate how far you agree with the following "myths" about why women are raped in Lesotho by indicating the number that express your opinion, where:

5 = indicates strongly agree

4 = indicates agree;

3 = indicates not applicable;

2 = indicates disagree; and

1 = indicates strongly disagree.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE	5	4	3	2	1
1. Women of "questionable" morals get raped					
2. Women who wear see-through clothes, mini skirts, tied pants and dresses calls for rape					
3. Women use rape to call for attention					
4. Women who are raped must have led on the men who raped them					
5. Women cry rape when they are caught in the act					
6. Women who are drunk call rape unto themselves					
7. Accepting a lift from a man justifies rape					
8. Walking alone at night calls for rape					
9. Agreeing to be bought alcohol by a man calls for rape					
10. Agreeing to be visited by male friends calls for rape					

P12. Are you aware of the existence of the *Sexual Offences Act of 2003*, which is aimed at punishing sexual offenders?

Ye s	No
---------	----

P13. Have any of your girl-children been victims of sexual abuse or rape?

Ye s	No
---------	----

P14. If the answer to question **P12** was "yes", please indicate whether these incidents were reported?

Yes	No
-----	----

P15. If you did not report the incident, why not? Indicate your choice by making an X in the box next to your choice:

1. You were too ashamed of what the people would say.	
2. You were afraid that the authorities would not believe your child.	
3. You were afraid that your child would be	

punished.	
4. You were afraid of the boy.	
5. You did not believe your child.	
6. Others, please specify	

SECTION D: DISCRIMINATION IN THE SCHOOL

P16. Have your girl-child ever been discriminated against in the school because of her sex?

Ye s	No
---------	----

If the answer is "yes" please relate the incident in the space provided below

P17. Have your girl-children ever been subject to verbal or physical violence by either boys or male teachers in the school?

Yes	No
-----	----

If yes, please relate the incident(s) in the space provided below:

P18. Were the incidents reported to the authorities or the police? If not, please indicate why it was not reported.

Yes	No
-----	----

P19. What do you think about women teachers?

P20. Do you prefer male or female principals at your children's schools?

Male principals	Female principals
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Please give reasons for your answer.

P21. What do you think about women wearing pants (*borikhoe*) to work?

Please give reasons for your opinion.

P22. Do you think that female teachers should get married in order to be good role models to students?

Yes	No
-----	----

Please give reasons for your answer

P23. In your opinion who should discipline students, male teachers or female?

Male	Femal e
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Please give reasons for your answer.

P24. Who should chair the school's governing body? A male parent or a female parent?

Male parent	Female parent
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Please give reasons for your answer.

P25. What subjects do you think **girls** should take at school? Please indicate your opinion by drawing an x in the column of your choice. In the space provided below the table, please give reasons for your choices.

Subjects	Boys	Girls
Mathematics		
Science		
English		
Sesotho		
Agriculture		
Woodwork		
Home Economics		
Accounting		
Computer Studies		

Reasons for my choices

P26. Please indicate by drawing an x the subjects you think should be done by **boys** at school, and in the space provided below the table, give reasons for your choice.

Subjects	Boys' subjects
Mathematics	
Science	
English	
Sesotho	
Agriculture	
Woodwork	
Home Economics	
Accounting	
Computer Studies	

P27. What career do you wish your **female** child should follow, and why?

P28. What career do you wish your **male** child should follow, and why?

P29. Do you think boys and girls should be treated differently in the school due to their gender differences? Give any two examples of incidences when this **should** be the case.

P30. Which roles do you think girls should assume in the school and why?

P31. What do you think about gender equality?

SECTION E: THE DRAFT *LESOTHO GENDER POLICY (2003)*

This section deals with efforts made to move towards gender equality in Lesotho through the implementation of a gender policy. Please answer the following questions.

P32. Are you aware of the existence of a gender policy in Lesotho?

Yes	No
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If yes, please indicate briefly what you know about the policy.

P33. Do you know anything about the Ministry of Gender?

Yes	No
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P34. What issues do you think this Ministry should deal with, with immediate effect? Please give examples.

SECTION F: GENERAL

P35. Do you think your Church promotes gender equality? Please give reasons for your answer.

P36. What do you think about the rights of women in the country in general?

P37. What do you think can be done in Lesotho to achieve gender equality?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION AND PATIENCE IN ASSISTING ME WITH THIS IMPORTANT RESEARCH!