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**CULTURE AND RELIGION CONSTRAIN WOMEN IN
THE ACADEMIC SPHERE: THE CASE OF LESOTHO**

BY

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Yours sincerely

Signed by candidate

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ABSTRACT

The subjugation of women dates back to ancient times. Through the centuries the suppression of women has taken different forms. With a few exceptions most African societies are patriarchal in character. They relegate women to a minor position and subject them to the guardianship of male partners. Traditionally, men were regarded as senior to women irrespective of age. This tradition of men regarding themselves as superior to women has its roots in our socio-cultural norms in Lesotho. Culturally men are regarded by society as superior to women. This perception of men is transferred to the work situation. Consequently, even at work, men are perceived as 'strong' and 'powerful.' In the higher institutions of Lesotho, there is now awareness that the proportion of academic women in senior positions remains small by comparison to that of men. A large number of women are found at the lower end of the scale. Despite the fact that Basotho women are more educated than their male counterparts

The study argues that women's slow progress in upward mobility in the employment sector is attributed to a combination of factors. This study therefore, seeks to:

- Explore the factors which constrain women to occupy the senior positions of the academic hierarchy and senior administrative positions within the academy.
- Investigates the framework of attitudes and beliefs that undermines the status and the role that women have and continue to have in Lesotho in general, the academic sphere in particular.
- Suggest steps, which could be taken towards the amelioration of the present undesirable situation in the academic sphere.

Feminist research was chosen as the theoretical /conceptual framework of the study. The importance of this framework is that it uses the concept of gender as an analytical category. Feminist construction methodology through the use of

qualitative paradigm was used as an appropriate tool for the purposes of obtaining in-depth information of the situation in Lesotho. As qualitative method comprises different methods, case study method was used to provide an in-depth examination of women's experiences as well as to provide the meaning of their experiences in the academic sphere.

For data collection the study used both the primary and secondary methods. The primary includes the method of interviewing techniques. The interviews were in a form of a semi-structured schedule using open-ended questions. The documentary sources include documents relating to the government, public records and reports. Secondary methods include the literature, internet, and journals. A total number of sixteen women were interviewed using an in-depth interview schedule. The analysis of data was informed by the grounded theory.

The findings of this study are that discrimination against women is a norm and that women perceived themselves to be oppressed by the patriarchal relations. Women have been brought up in such a way that they feel they are socially inferior to their male counterparts and tend to have a low self esteem. Basotho customs and religious practices all play a role in reinforcing the lower status of women. All these are transferred to the workplace. In the academic sphere there is that great disparity of sex segregation between men and women.

It is indeed possible that the most effective way of influencing employment behaviour is so far as it relates females may be to concentrate on modifying the sex in family rather than by means of legislation directed to the operation of the labour market itself on which government have traditionally placed reliance and emphasis.

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
LPTC	Lerotholi Polytechnic College
NTTC	National Teachers College
NUL	National University of Lesotho
SADC	Southern African Development Countries
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

The idea of this dissertation emerged out of the researcher's interest in women in the academic world. The researcher has, for a long time, been intrigued by the deep divisions in gender relations between men and women in academic circles. These are mirrored by the discrimination against women and the under-representation of women in academia. The researcher was a student at the University of Lesotho, where for a long time she asked herself about the lack of female representation in the higher levels of administration in the university, as well as in the other academic institutions in Lesotho. Women's participation in the top academic areas is extremely low compared to men. Lesotho, unlike the other African societies like Botswana, and Namibia, has more educated women than men. The student population has always been in favour of girls at all levels of education. From this, one might think that Basotho women are the majority in high positions of the academic sphere in Lesotho. However, they are the most disadvantaged people. Their male counterparts have entirely different experiences when going through professions. All the advanced education and training domains in Lesotho are led by men. That is the reason why in Lesotho, most of the doctors, lawyers, professors at the University, at college, and technikon are men. Thus, work and development opportunities available to women are less than those available to men, despite their majority graduate numbers.

This issue of gender inequality has been in the world agenda for almost three decades. The greatest concern, among other things, is unequal power sharing and representation by men and women in public life (Mapetla 2001:1). When scrutinizing the area of employment in Lesotho, women are channeled into certain types of work reflective of their low status and lack of power in the society. For instance, the ratios of women to men in the health services are as follows, in the Lower Grades, 73% are women and only 27% men; and 92%

are men in the Higher Grades only 8% of the positions are held by women (Letuka 1997: 17). From the researcher's own observation, large numbers of women are found in professions like: nursing, teaching, and social work. Within these professions the workplace is structured in such a fashion that most women are further relegated to a lower status, lower paying job categories and never achieve managerial positions in proportion to their numbers in the professions. Those who achieve a directorship in a profession are likely to achieve it in small institutions. A woman who achieves a leadership, management or administrative position, especially one which is associated with masculinity like engineering, being a magistrate, or a professor typically performs certain categories of work that are normally linked to lower rewards and are perceived to require less skill. Men, on the other hand, achieve higher ranks in the bigger and more important institutions.

However there is a feeling that women have lost power in the private domain as a result of the developments of individualism, capitalism and an ever more intrusive state. If women have lost in the private domain, how do they fare in the public domain? The answer given by Stacey and Price (1981:134) is that, in terms of prestige and influence, they have not fared at all well, although women's involvement in the public domain has undoubtedly increased but Stacey and Price do not indicate their level of participation and the specification of the portfolios that women are allowed to occupy. Women have entered the public world but have not been accorded equity with men in that world. Furthermore, Stacey and Price argue that it is more visible on married women. This is due to the institution of the family in its patriarchal form which prevents women's full entry as individuals into the public arena.

In Lesotho this is due to our culture and religion. There are traditional and cultural practices that have a tremendous impact on African women in general and Basotho women in particular. These can be positive or negative. More often they tend to be negative because most African societies have unequal laws that govern men and women. Adding to this point Arigbede (1997: 40) argues that, "most of these traditional values, although African, unfortunately

are the ones that fight against the African women's equal place in society." Therefore the study is going to use culture and religion as the working definition.

1.2. KEY TERMS

1.2.1 Culture

Culture refers to the beliefs, traditions, habits and values controlling the behaviour of people, each and every society behaves according to its culture. Culture is defined as "the complete way of life of a people: the shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterize a group; their customs, art, literature, religion, philosophy, etc; the pattern of learned and shared behaviour among the members of a group" (www.digonsite.com/glossary/ag.html.)

1.2.2. Religion

Religion is an ambiguous and pervasive term. It cannot be defined in a single referent. However, a good definition of religion is that which is neither too inclusive nor too exclusive, but it should be a definition that is enough to be applicable to all traditions. Different theorists have tried to define religion. For instance,

Johnson (1975:134). defines religion, "as a virtue, as founded upon the reverence of God and expectation of future rewards and punishment. To know God and render Him reasonable services are the two principal objects."

Spiro (1966:96), on the other hand, formulated the definition of religion by saying that, "religion is an institution consisting of culturally patterned with culturally interaction."

Mbiti (1975:10) defines religion as "a way of life."

Manyeli (1975:4) said that, "religion is an attitude of man towards a certain power or towards an object thought to have some force."

Durkheim sees religion as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things."

Reviewing the definitions, each person defines religion according to his/her own experiences and desires. The definition the researcher finds it applicable to the study is that of Geertz where he defines religion as

as a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men (sic) by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic

Geertz (19: 97) elaborates further by explaining what he meant by moods and motivation. According to him motivations are 'made meaningful' with reference to the ends towards which they are conducive, whereas, moods are 'made meaningful' with reference to the conditions from which they are conceived to spring. This definition does not review religion as a category on its own but integrates it with cultural institutions and practices. As far as the title of this research is concerned, this researcher intends to look at religion in terms of culture. By unfolding these cultural institutions and practices the researcher will be able to debunk the myths, facts and ideologies, that are underlying the social relations and construction of both men and women. This exposure will throw light on the problems faced by women in the academic sphere.

1. 3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Stacey and Price (1981) have shown that even though women's participation has undoubtedly increased in the public sphere, however, they have not fared at all well in the domain. From the fact that Lesotho has more educated women than men, it is expected that more women hold higher positions in the academia. However, they are the minority in the upper echelons of the administration and their number decreases with each step up the hierarchical ladder. For those who have succeeded to occupy higher positions, their contributions are lowered to be secondary or inferior to those of men.

Evidence in the academic sphere in Lesotho, points to the fact that institutions of higher education are masculine institutions with limited and rigid career patterns in the representation of women in the academic sphere. In the

University of Lesotho, National Teachers Training College and Lerotholi Polytechnic College, the targeted locations of the study, men hold the higher positions in the academic hierarchy, for instance, positions like directorship in the college and vice-chancellor in the university. From all the higher institutions since they started there is no woman who has ever held a position of vice-chancellor in the university, and also no woman who had ever held the position of directorship in a college. Chapter two illustrates the clear picture of the position of women in the academic sphere in Lesotho. Thus, the following questions evolve to form the basis for the research and direct the investigation.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Why are women under-represented in the upper echelons of the academic hierarchy, and in senior administrative positions within the academy (deans, heads of departments, vice-chancellors/directors)?
- Those who participated, why are they discriminated against and experience subordination?
- What are the perceived barriers to women's progress to achieve the higher positions in the academic sphere in Lesotho?

1.5. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The lack of female representation in the upper echelons of the academic hierarchy and in senior administrative positions within academy, despite the fact that they dominate the teaching profession, is a very disturbing fact which must be addressed. Therefore, the study intends to:

- Explore the factors which constrain women from occupying the higher positions of the academic hierarchy and senior administrative positions within the higher institutions of academic
- Investigate the framework of attitudes and beliefs that undermines the status and role that women have and continue

to have in Lesotho in general, and in the academic sphere in particular.

- Suggest steps, which could be taken towards the amelioration of the present undesirable situation in the academic sphere.

1.6. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

According to the statement of the problem, gender relations are hierarchically organized and Basotho women are under-represented in the upper echelons of the academic hierarchy and in senior administrative positions within academia. Therefore the significance of this study lies in its potential to make a modest contribution to boosting Basotho women's pride in the academic world by inspiring action for social transformation towards gender equality and women's empowerment. The present study responds to and upholds the integrity of women in this sphere. It holds that, it is when equality in the academic sphere has been achieved that a true dialogue, which might suggest a way forward for all Basotho women, both in the academic and non-academic sphere, can take place.

1.7. LITERATURE REVIEW

Beyond Inequality in Lesotho is a profile which gives qualitative and statistical data on gender characteristics in Lesotho. In this profile Letuka et al (1997) study the position of women in political, social and economic development of Lesotho. In their argument the authors point out that women experience subordination and are a vulnerably marginalized group to their male counterparts. As a result, they are poor, illiterate, and landless. Concerning education, the authors argue that in Lesotho, unlike other developing countries in Southern Africa, women are more educated than men. When analyzing this situation, the authors reasoned that due to the migrant labour system most of the Basotho adult male migrated to the mines of South Africa. Also the drop-out rates of boys in the school is increasing because of animal herding. As a result, student populations have always been in favour of girls at all levels of education. When analysing the participation of women in leadership and management posts, the authors points out that women are

misrepresented. They come across factors that hinder women to attain leadership and management posts. Among those factors they argue that:

- From the history of Basotho nation women were considered legal minors, marginalized and excluded from public sphere. As a result this makes them develop a low self- image and makes them reluctant to accept leadership or management posts even when opportunities become available.
- Basotho women continue to look to men to play leadership roles in the public sphere because of the existing socio-cultural attitudes and practices. This perception becomes deterrent for women to participate in roles which are regarded untraditional. As a result women lack confidence to take up challenging roles.
- Women tends to concentrate on subjects that are non-technical and this results in lower paying jobs such as primary teaching, nursing, commercial studies and home-economics. Males, on the other hand, tend to follow technical prestigious vocations such as engineering and architecture. For those who are in the teaching profession they tend to study for senior qualifications.

The Situation of Women in Lesotho, (1994) is a report which exposes the social, cultural and economic facets which directly impinge on the life of women in Lesotho. In its discussion it points out that there are cultural and practices that affect women negatively in their lives. According to the report, practices such as mourning practice limits women's movements and some social activities. Giving an example such as entertainment activities, the report points out that even though a woman is content to entertain herself custom forbids her to rejoice while mourning. A mourning woman is expected to be home before sunset. The report indicates that this impinges negatively on a woman especially if the woman is working and is heading the family. The law forbids a woman to leave her husband's village. She has to marry within her husband's extended family while her counterpart is allowed to marry a woman of his choice.

The report also discusses the consequences of female circumcision. This practice has been viewed by the report as a practice that affects a woman's health. The operation helps to enhance a male's pleasure during sexual intercourse as it is believed according to Basotho culture, that sex is a man's monopoly. Cultural practices of food distribution within the family, the report points out that males were supposed to be given the choicest bits of food and they are the first people to eat while women and children eat the remains. Girls are taught to defer to men and obey their orders.

Going further the report discusses the political structure of Lesotho, that in the past only men assumed the role of leadership. It argues that if a woman assumes that role, she should be attended by a male guardian, emphasising the legal theory that a woman is perpetually a minor under customary law.

The report states that, due to social and cultural factors women, when it comes to the public sphere, are not self-assertive and they seem to be content with the inferior positions accorded to them the society. The existing socio-cultural attitudes and practices marginalised and excluded women from the public sphere even though women have advantageous of literacy they remain and they still remain under-represented in positions of power and leadership.

Regarding the cultural practice of mourning, The *Moeletsi oa Basotho* (a newspaper) under the title "Basali ba imetsoa Bofiffi" (Women Burdened by the Black Mourning Cloth) (2003) studies this cultural practice. According to the newspaper this custom compels widows to wear a mourning cloth for about nine months, after losing their husbands or their child. In addition the woman is subjected to a ban on shouting or arguing. She is also prevented from visiting other families. Furthermore, she is expected to be indoors before sunset. In contrast, men do not wear mourning cloths for the same length of time when they lose their wives or children. Men only put a piece of cloth around their necks or on their forearms and are not expected to be indoors at stipulated times. The paper portrays these experiences as a form of torture of women since adherence to the practice will not bring the spouse or the child

back from dead. According to the paper's perspective this raises critical social and economic issues because when the movements of a woman wearing a mourning cloth are restricted, she cannot participate fully in the development activities of her family, her community and the nation at large. The paper therefore, challenges the public to engage in a debate of negative practices which impinge negatively upon women. According to the report this is a critical for changing mindsets.

Kimane et. al. (1998) conducted a study on *Socio-cultural Phenomena Related to Population and Development in Lesotho*, among whose other objectives was to identify and make an effective assessment of socio-cultural beliefs, values and practices pertaining to such issues as child abuse, female genital mutilation (FGM) and gender inequality that impact on the lives of children, women, the family and the community at large. The researchers' analysis is that some of the idioms, and proverbs are often used as reinforcement during the gender role socialization process. They observe in their conclusions that a lot of myths, beliefs and stereotypes are entrenched through gender socialisation at home, in school, and other institutions. They further observe that there is gender biases in teaching and instructional materials. In their recommendations, among other things, they say that research should be undertaken to change learning materials for gender biases and advocate for change in attitudes and practices.

Letuka et. al. in the *Family Belonging for Women in Lesotho* (1998) study the position women in the family. They discuss several issues related to the subordination of women in the family. They locate the subordination of women as the central concept of patriarchy. According to them, "Patriarchy is an ideology which supports and justifies the subordination of women by men and regulates relation between them It also influences the definition of what constitute a family because of its assumption that there be a family there will be a male head," (1998: 38). Being a dominate structure of organization in the family, the authors argue that patriarchy legitimizes the subordination of women and enhances men's supremacy.

When analyzing most of the societies life the authors argue that Lesotho is the “patrilinean and patrilocal society”. They argue that patriarchy is apparent in Sesotho marriage where a woman does not quite belong to her natal family. She is expected to be married and join her marital home. Again patriarchy is found in the family tradition like women taking her husband’s name and children always follow the father’s name.

The authors conclude that patriarchy is the dominant structure and it affects women negatively. They argue that male tends to have more power and control over women, and this obscures the real power that women may have. Moreover women are not enjoying full membership rights and privileges in the family that are enjoyed by men. They are limited to certain functions therefore this situation puts them in insecure positions because they feel they do not have full place in the family.

Seeiso (1986) discusses the factors that constrain women in the development of the country. In her argument she indicates that the position of women under the customary law perpetuate women to the subordinate position. She points out that a woman under the customary law is a perpetual minor and always under the guardianship of someone always a man. As a result, she does not own property and she is answerable to the father. When addressing the position of women in relation to marriage, she begins by discussing the three types of marriages that prevail in Lesotho; marriage by ante-nuptial contract; marriage in community of property and customary law marriage. In her argument she says that in all these marriages, the husband acquires marital power and the woman is reduced to a legal position of a minor. The husband on the other hand has “the sole power to administer the property of his wife, to deal with assets forming part of the joint estate or his wife’s separate estate and to make donations to third parties to her prejudice.”

In examining the laws and the legal position of women under the law, she argues that these laws hamper the progress of women and they are inhibited by all kinds of restrictions bestowed upon the provision of the law. She points

laws such as “The Deed Registry Act of 1968 and the Public Service (Amendment) Regulation of 1983.” According to her these laws discriminate against women and also deny equity and equality to women. She concluded that women are forced to depend on their husband for survival and this may constrain women in their progress.

In the book *Academic Women*, Brook (1997) investigates the gap between the model of equality and academic fairness and sexist reality in the academy. She is intrigued by the question of what effects equal opportunity policies and practices really had on women in the academy. She argued that women are under-represented in the senior levels in the academy and they are predominantly in low status, low paid, temporary, and part-time jobs. Comparing two countries the UK and New Zealand, countries with overlapping but also different traditions, Brook found that in both countries the experiences of women in the academic arena and their position were broadly similar to each other.

In the discussion of the position of women in the UK she points out that the UK has more educated women but they are under represented in senior positions. Using both literature and background data outlining the historical position of women academics in the academy in UK she finds out that in UK there are colleges for women giving the example of London University. As a result women hold the senior positions there. However, in the higher senior positions academic women remain small compared to the proportion held by academic men. The reason she gave for this is that women lack experience for senior positions. In terms of subject areas Brook shows that there has been an increase in the number of women academic in some subjects are such as; psychology, social studies, language based studies, and education. However, though they outnumber men in those areas mentioned above, the situation is complex and uneven in that, where the increase occurred the number of women in the senior positions and throughout the grade still remains small compared to their male counterparts.

Discussing academic women in New Zealand, Brook points out that some of the findings do parallel the findings in the UK except for the emerging issues which are specific in the academic community in New Zealand. Among them she argued that New Zealand is part of colonialist heritage which led to a fragmented identity for women. As a result it is characterized by the diversity and differences where the interests of academic women are concerned with the analysis of their own particular culture. However, the issue of under-representation affects them all.

When analysing the situation, Brook shows that even though these two countries are incompatible there are parallel comparable differences and similarities in patterns of discrimination and disadvantaging of women based around the diverse and differentiated experiences of academic women. On the issue of the gendered nature of power in leadership positions in the academy, she argues that women in both countries reflect a similar view. She points out that women under-representation in the senior positions of leadership in the academy is the result of power, patronage and prejudice although academic women revealed these issues as more systematically related to the sexist and patriarchal character of the academic world. In her analysis Brook also identified a number of factors that contribute to the under representation of academic women at senior levels in the academic. Among many factors they include:

- *The attitude of academic men in positions of power and decision making.*
- *The system of promotion which identifies and defines productivity in terms which disadvantage academic women.*
- *The greater likelihood of academic holding doctorate*
- *The lower productivity level (defined by research and production) of academic women.*
- *The heavier teaching workload carried by academic women. The failure of the academy to recognize the primary caregiver status of many academic women (1997: 120).*

Stancey and Price (1981) in their discussion on Women in the professions, argue that women have long had a place in senior positions in those areas concerned with women's affairs which are most closely associated with their

assumed “natural” role of caring for and serving others. They further argue that even where women are in a substantial proportion or even a majority, senior and management posts go disproportionately to men, such is the case in social work, nursing and teaching. They give an example that in Britain in 1975, out of 116 Directors in social services departments only eleven were women.

Jorgan (1998) presents the results of the opinion research which was undertaken at the University of Slovenia in 1996, on the position of academic women. In this presentation Jorgan discovered that the expression of sexism which exists in their everyday life is the common characteristic of the position of women in the university. In her argument she stresses that andocentric culture no longer prevails but academic women find academic careers harder and in comparison with male colleagues their achievement of equal results is connected with greater investment and renunciations (especially in their personal life). She says this is due to the discrimination against women which may be expressed in a hidden and/or even obvious forms. Giving examples of the discrimination she says “negative prejudices against women in science, stricter control of the efficiency of work, overburdening with ungratifying, unpleasant and routine job.” To emphasize her argument she points out that these obstacles academic women meet in their career.

Androcentric social order and the marginal position of women in science were factors that have been discovered. Jorgan indicates that androcentricism is still present in all spheres of everyday life and in all fields of human activity. She argues that these days it is less blatant and obvious but it exists at least as a powerful hidden source of social regulations and integrations. Taking science as an example she points out that andocentric culture in science is expected and understood as an inherent ingredient of a male dominated social order. Furthermore, she argues that an important character of androcentric determine social order is the hierarchic gendered division of labour into public and private sphere, whereby activities assigned to women are low evaluated. On this basis the domestication of women has been shaped and justified, resulting in their exclusion from socially relevant public

sphere and the limitation of the social role to that of wife and mother as their natural role. She indicates that due to the androcentric and marginal position of women women's access to education as well as specially to the production of scientific knowledge, have been strictly controlled and prohibited through centuries. Jorgan points out that the in the universities women found difficulty to be enrolled as student and later as members of the academic staff. If they succeed their academic disciplines is humanities and social sciences. Where they are largely equal to men they are particularly discriminated against and experience subordination. In her conclusion she indicates that the traditional division of labour and woman's hood was considered as the most important obstacles because family burdening contributes to worsen conditions for women's academic promotion.

1.8. CRITICISM OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

All the authors have done good work in their studies. They have raised interesting considerations. The studies conducted by Letuka (1997) and Brook (1997) have revealed the factors that constrain women from occupying senior positions in the academic sphere. Looking closely to the factors, the researcher found that the authors concentrated only on the factors that are on the surface of the situation. Factors like:

- Women lack experience of senior positions
- Women are weak
- Women concentrated on lower productive level of academic
- Women concentrated on subjects that are non-technical

The authors however, failed to go deeper to find out what it is behind these existing factors, given the fact that women are more educated than men in Lesotho. Why are women concentrate at low academic levels? Why do they lack experience? This is what this empirical study is going to unfold. The study intends to get to the causal factors which have perpetuated the existing situation in Lesotho. To show how the culture and religion of the Basotho impacted heavily on both men and women in Lesotho.

In the literature review most of the authors have discussed the culture of Basotho. Letuka et.al (1998) for instance, have discuss several issues related to the subordination of women. They argue that Lesotho is a patriarchal society, and patriarchy supports and justifies the subordination of women. The "Moeletsi oa Basotho " (Newspaper) has shown how the practice of mourning impinges negatively upon women. Authors like Debby (1994) and Seeiso (1986) have discussed the situation of women in Lesotho in relation to economic, political and social structures. In their discussion the authors spent most of their time describing the position of women under the law and custom. Seeiso (1986) for instance, discussed the situation of women in three types of marriage that prevail in Lesotho. She indicated that from all these marriages a woman is reduced to a legal position of a minor husband's guardianship. As a result the man has all the sole power to control the property of his wife.

Thus, from the researcher's viewpoint the authors have approached this issue of marriage in a materialistic view, where their argument is based on the ownership of the property. The current study however, is not going to base itself on the materialistic perspective. It is going to deal with marriage as a partnership or companion where a woman is incorporated in the life of a man and the man's family. In Sesotho, marriage is communicated between two families. The bride leaves her natal family and joins in the groom's family. While married she has to behave in the dictation of the groom and the groom's family. The study is going to analyze this issue from this point. In the analysis this study is going to show how these institutions of marriage and family as the key attributors shape men's and women's behaviours. Furthermore, it analyzes what kinds of individual men and women are meant to be, as indicated by these the institutions of marriage and family.

Even though the authors have not discussed culture and religion in relation to academia, this study goes further to explain how the culture and religion constrain women from occupying senior positions in the academic sphere.

1.9. THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK

The theoretical/conceptual framework is the major determinate of the methodology that a researcher adopts to investigate a social problem within the context of a given culture. It is a way of thinking about how to approach the project. In any academic work it is essential for a researcher to establish a theoretical framework or conceptual framework as a prerequisite for the effective investigation of the phenomena. This is what Patton (1990) has noted that in any credible research, there must be a model that guides the researcher to interpret the results of the study. A model from which the researcher can discover knowledge from the results of a carefully planned study. Paisley (1968) provides the advantages and disadvantages of using a theoretical/conceptual framework. He indicates that the framework gives the study some kind of focus and orientation and also it helps the researcher to consider alternative perspectives and formulate the problem that is being investigated. He further indicates that the absence of appropriate theoretical /conceptual framework may result in a researcher ignoring the important factors of the study.

1.9.1 Feminist Research

To better deal with the undesirable position of women in the academic sphere in Lesotho, the feminist research perspective has been chosen as the conceptual framework of the study. Stanley (1991) found it difficult to pin down what distinctly constitutes feminism in research. Her argument indicates there are many varying and diverse interpretations of what feminist research is and should be. She argued that, even though the feminist critiques came in various formulations they generally contained one or more of the following propositions that characterised what is feminist research, that are;

- *Feminist research was defined as a focus on women., in research carried out by women who were feminist, for other women.*
- *There was a distinction between male quantitative methods and feminist qualitative ones.*
- *Feminist research was overtly political in its purpose and committed to changing women's lives. (1991: 21).*

Cook and Fonow (1991: 2) made it clear that feminist research is not a research about women but it is a research for women to be used in transforming their sexist society. It has come into the recognition of the authors that patriarchal gender relations and a source of radical insight are the influences of feminist research. Therefore, “feminist perspective has been used as a lens through which to view the process of inquiry and its social, history and political context.”

Feminist research comprises different approaches, therefore, Marxist-feminist was chosen as an appropriate approach to the study. The reason for choosing this approach is two fold: Firstly, this approach is more concerned with the situation of women in both the labour market and social relations. According to Dex, (1985: 16) Marxist-feminism is not seen as an attempt to add on a discussion of women to Marxism, however, but as an attempt to transform it by a consideration of the sexual division of labour in all its aspects.” Secondly, Marxist feminist is concerned with women as the oppressed group by making their knowledge valid and useful. It is aimed at liberating women from dependence on men.

This study adopted the feminist research as the conceptual framework, therefore, the feminist beliefs and concerns are used as the guiding framework to ground the research process. Like most feminist research, the current study aims to;

- Uncover and understand what causes and sustains the under-representation of women in the academic sphere in Lesotho.
- The study takes women as the starting point, seeking to explore and uncover patriarchal dynamics and relationships from the perspective of women.
- The study is also committed to social change in the academic sphere

The importance of feminist research is that it relies heavily on the gender concept as an important and useful analytical category to unpack the

assumptions and generalisation embedded with it. Thus in the issues raised in this study, the gender factor is considered the major variable. As mentioned earlier that the study is concerned with the position of women in the academic world and their under-representation in the upper echelons of the academic hierarchy the notion of gender is central to and relevant to understanding the social relations, institutions and process within academia. Gender is a social and cultural construction of femininity and masculinity. Supporting this view Freud (1994) indicates that gender is primarily a social construction and that its use as a major organizing principle of the whole social world and of person's identity is an historical process and not based on the inevitability of biology. Through socialization process, people to a more or lesser degree internalise these gender role expectations. In order to encourage people not to deviate too much from cultural norm, positive and negative sanctions such as rewards or social ostracism are exercised. Boyarin (cited in Tylor 1998) argues that, "gender is the set of social roles, symbols, functions, and so on, that are assigned to the anatomical difference between the sexes in different cultures/societies," (1998: 117).

1.9.2. METHODOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

Most theorists Cook and Fonow 1991; Michele le Doeuff, 1987 (cited in Cook and Fonow 1991) have pointed out that at the heart of feminist research lies two concepts that are 'epistemology' and 'methodology'. In their argument they indicate that these two concepts claimed challenges to the practices and theories of human sciences within the academy. The study intends to explain these concepts. Cook and Fonow (1991) define methodology as the study of actual techniques and practices used in the research process. While epistemology is one of the principal branches of philosophy. Harding (1987: 3) emphasises that "epistemology answers questions about who can be a knower, (can women?) what tests beliefs must pass in order to be legitimated as knowledge (only test against men's experiences and observations?), what kinds of things can be known (can subjective truths count as knowledge?) and so forth." In the definition Mbilinyi (1994: 32) says, "Epistemology concerns different theories about knowledge, and specifically about how knowledge is

produced, distributed and consumed.” Hawkesworth (cited in Falco 1987: 5) indicates that “epistemology is the branch of philosophy concerned with theories of knowledge, constitutes the inescapable ground for methodology, the assemblage of techniques devised to attain knowledge.” It is therefore, the basis of knowing, what kind of knowledge it is that people come to know what they know

1.9.2.1. Feminist Methodology

Harding (1987) has indicated that methods have been produced as the result of the traditional theories which have been applied in ways that make it difficult to understand women’s participation in social life or understand men’s activities as gendered. The feminists therefore produced a feminist version of traditional theories. The methods produced discuss “how phenomenological approaches can be used to begin to understand women’s world, or of how Marxist political economy can be used to explain the causes of women’s continuing exploitation in the household or in wage labour.” Ramazonoglu (2002) is of the opinion that the emergence of feminist methodology is the result of abstracted debates on science, truth and epistemology. Rooted within those scientific methods, feminist methodology acts as a means to produce an authoritative knowledge of social reality. Emphasising this, Cook and Fonow (1991) indicate that the feminist epistemology and methodology arise from a critique of each field’s biases and distortions in the study of women.

In the definition of feminist methodology, Cook & Fonow (1991: 92) maintain that feminist methodology or the feminist perspective on methodology can generally ‘refer to a much broader theory of how to do feminist research.’ They indicate that feminist methodology does not prescribe any single research method. Due to the different viewpoints, there is only the discussion of the merits and disadvantages of a particular approach to feminist research. Even though there are varied methods of feminist research, they share the same characteristics of using women’s experiences as the starting point, and also support changes that will improve women’s status. The authors did not make any distinction between the feminist research and feminist methodology

because there is an interrelation. They indicate that this can be seen in Harding's (1987) suggestion on the distinction between method (particular tools of research), methodology (theorising about research practices), and epistemology (the study of how and what we can know).

Even though the authors have argued about the development of feminist methodology, there is however, not one feminist method or universal theory of feminist method. The denial of the existence of feminist methodology was emphasised by Clegg (cited in Stanley 1991: 26) that "those promoting it have hijacked feminism within a discipline" In her argument she has shown that the proponents of feminist methodology are completely misguided. Her dismissal of feminist method indicates that the methods that have been mystified as feminist methodology are the products of feminist research process.

In similar view, Harding (cited in Stanley 1991) made it clear that feminist methodology does not exist. To her, method is often used to refer to all aspects of research which are methods, methodology and epistemology. She argues that methodology has been intertwined with each other and epistemology and treats them as a base-line for all feminist research. Harding focuses upon epistemology as the foundation of methods and methodology. When examining the various materialist feminist writings she identifies two distinct transitional epistemologies which are feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint.

1.9.2.2. Feminism and Epistemology

Alcoff and Potter (1993) maintain that the term feminist epistemology does not have a single referent. As the result, feminist theorists have used it differently to refer to, "women's ways of knowing, women's experience or simple women's knowledge. However, this knowledge related to women issues was regarded as alien to a theory of knowledge which was considered as an epistemological account of dominant knowledge, The emphasis has been the result of the critique of philosophy where the feminist epistemologies were concerned with the problems that have vexed the traditional epistemology. For instance, the nature of knowledge itself, epistemic agency, justification,

objectivity and whether and also how epistemology should be naturalized. This led the authors to draw some relations between feminism and feminist epistemology that both of them are sharing the same motive of engaging in political movement. The authors argued that the adherents of feminist epistemology are engaging in a struggle with traditions in the history of epistemology and they have the varied mainstream which involves respect, criticism and rejection.

This assumption evokes Fowlkes (1987) to associate feminist epistemology with political action. In her argument she indicates that in feminist epistemology, like in politics, there is no obvious or absolute concept or proposition. She uses the term androgynous where she argues that there is no agreement on the meaning of androgynous. What it seeks to do is to unite the dichotomy, not to dissolve it. Like feminist epistemology it seeks to unmake the web of oppression and reweave the web of life. According to her, "Feminist epistemology recognizes the political nature of our attempts to know and accepts the responsibility for carrying on a politics of knowledge of reality as well as a politics of reality itself" (1987: 2).

Feminist epistemology developed as a critique of traditional epistemology and its dominant narratives. These are the views of Cook and Fanow (1991) where they argued that feminist epistemology and feminist methodology is the result of a critical analysis of biases and distortions in the study of women. It refers to knowledge creation from a point that values the experiences of women which are discarded or ignored by dominant epistemologies. These experiences do come from the recognition of gender as a central influence on society and are usually articulated by women. When defining feminist epistemology, Narayan (1989) says

Feminist epistemology is a particular manifestation of the general insight that the nature of women's experiences as individuals and as social beings, our contributions to work, culture, knowledge, and our history and political interests have been systematically ignored or misrepresented by mainstream discourses in different areas (1989. 256).

Falco (1987: x) sees feminism as a tool to breakdown the barriers that hinder women's full recognition for the quality and value of their participation in and contribution to the social life of the mind. Their aim is to redefine the very essence of humanity as an inclusive rather than an exclusive concept. According to her, "They have attempted, in other words, to overcome the long-standing Aristotelian bias of Western thought which has traditionally denied women the status of being fully human."

Feminist epistemologists argue that our identity affects how we view the world. According to the feminist, the women's view of the world is traditionally ignored in the social construction of knowledge. In social sciences, issues in the debates about women, their experiences and self-understanding are sharply criticized and rejected. Feminist epistemology is the illustration of the multiplicity of women's voices, integrating women's knowledge and their experiences in social-science.

This theory is related to the current study, in that the study argues that the feminine view of the world is traditionally ignored in the construction of knowledge. Women have been often excluded from prestigious positions in the academic sphere, and this has often made these positions seem clearly male. The institutions of higher education are masculine with limited and rigid career patterns for academic women. This has been emphasised by the evidence in the academic sphere. Chapter three outlines this in detail. From the higher institutions of Lesotho, that are the National University of Lesotho, National Teachers Training College and Lerotholi Politechnic College, only men are holding the higher positions in the academic hierarchy. Since they started there is no woman who has ever held the position of directorship in the college and also no woman who has ever held the position of vice-chancellor in the university. This prompts the study to argue that there are general structural mechanisms in the higher institutions which produce a patriarchal order that restricts academic women to lower positions or which act to subordinate them.

There are three approaches that feminist epistemology fall into; feminist empiricism; feminist standpoint and feminist postmodernism. All these approaches have influenced this study.

1.9.2.2.1. Feminist Postmodernism

Postmodernism remains a powerful current in feminist epistemology due to the acknowledgement by all feminists that a plurality of situated knowledge appears to be an inescapable consequence of social differential and embodiment. Postmodernism and poststructuralism are terms that are being used interchangeably. Lacan (cited in Seibold 2002) has argued that postmodernism is a broad term that includes poststructural currents, most particularly the way poststructuralism looks at the structure and use of language by social agents and deconstruction of language and discourse. When differentiating them he indicates that postmodernist is a term that conveys the assumptions of postmodernism, reject grand generalisations, and objective reality while poststructuralist is a term that is associated with the linguistic to convey the meaning.

Feminist theory is influenced by postmodernist thinking. Daly (cited in Turner 1998) is of the opinion that the ideas of postmodernism emanate originally from the critiques of feminist theories. In her argument she indicates that a genuine feminist research composed of postmodern thought. She maintains that postmodernists thoughts are ultimately extremely radical in that they call into question the traditional notion of truth, structure and reality. Furthermore, theories of postmodernism have also had a strong influence on the construction of independent feminist methodologies and epistemologies. Daly is supported by Denise Relay's (cited in Stanley 1991: 40) discussion which operates at the level of theory that feminist postmodernist epistemology "offers few clues as to how a substantive feminist research process concerned with actual living, breathing, thinking theorizing should proceed at the level of methodologies."

Feminist theorists Barrett; Bordo; Flax (cited in Seibold 2002) have argued that postmodernism is comprised by a number of unifying themes. The authors hazard the responses of feminist postmodernism that it rejects grand theories such as Marxism; throws into doubt objective and rational concept of truth and knowledge; questions the Enlightenment view of the subject as rational, centred and purposive; and views subjectivity or self identity as a discursive construction. Flax (1993: 48) is of the opinion that “postmodernists challenge Enlightenment ideas about truth, knowledge, power, history, self, and language still predominant in the West.”

1.9.2.2.2. Feminist Empiricism

Harding (cited in Stanley 1991) indicates that, feminist empiricism is identified as the main feminist response to the biases and problems of traditional disciplines. Harding (1991) is of the opinion that the traditional biological and social sciences' work has been shaped by androcentric and sexist epistemologies which made it impossible to 'add woman' in the disciplines of scientific research. She points out that, “it was impossible to see how women's lives could be recognized as legitimate grounds which true beliefs – or at least 'less false' one's – could be generated” (1991:19). The criticisms she made consist in exposing their androcentric and sexist bias in scientific research especially in theories about women, sexuality, and gender difference. She gave the example of the women's situation in social structure of science that in traditional science many women have made important contributions however they are ignored or devalued in the androcentric literature. Therefore, for Harding (1991: 48), “feminist empiricism is an attempt to bring the feminist criticisms of scientific claims into the existing theories of scientific knowledge by arguing that, “sexist and androcentric results are simple consequences of 'bad science.’”

1.9.2.2.3. Feminist Standpoint.

Hartsock (cited in Harding 1987) outlines in detail the origin of feminist standpoint. In her argument she indicates that feminist standpoint emerged out of Marxist standpoint, which is working on behalf of the standpoint of proletarian. The feminists therefore, adopted Marxist ideas. They also expand

the Marxian account to include all human activity. Rather than focusing only on activity of males in capitalism, they focus on gender relations.

Harding (1987) is of the opinion that the standpoint is directed by both the intellectual and political struggles, and to some extent the standpoint aims at recognizing and shifting the power realities operating within our social, intellectual and political system. It is a position from where women's subjugated position provides the possibility of more complete and less perverse than the dominant position of men. Harding ((cited in Stanley, 1991: 27) maintains that:

To achieve a feminist standpoint one must engage in the intellectual and political struggle, necessary to see natural and social life from the point of view of that disdained activity which produces women's social experiences instead of from the partial and perverse perspective available from the ruling gender experience of men,

Hartsock (cited in Harding 1987: 171) maintains that the main claim falling under the standpoint is that the female experiences form the basis on which to expose abstract masculinity construction. According to her, "the standpoint argues that women's material life activity has important epistemological and ontological consequences for both understanding and construction of social relations." Hartsock further sees women's experiences invert that of male, because they have important ontological consequences for both understanding and construction of social relations. Therefore, their presentation of social phenomena reveals rather than mask the truth. The reason she puts forth is that women as the oppressed group, have the direct experience of their oppression unlike men whose privilege enables them to ignore how their action affects women as a class. Moreover, she continues to argue that "the standpoint carries with it the contention that there are some perspectives on society from which, however well-intention one may be, the real relations of human with each other and with natural world are not visible."

Thus, the relevance of this approach to the study is that in the study women's experiences are highlighted and used as material for acquiring knowledge.

Hartsock (cited in Harding, 1987) argues that “the articulation of a standpoint based on women’s relational self-definition and activity exposes the world men have constructed and the self understanding which manifests these relations as partial and perverse,” (1987: 157) Thus the standpoint that starts with the experience of women is seen as less partial and distorted because it gives the view of the oppressed.

The study is therefore, aiming at a broader examination of patterns of institutionalised discrimination against women in the academic sphere and also to reveal unexamined assumptions influencing science and knowledge that constrain women from occupying the senior positions of the administration and management. Feminist standpoint by becoming an integral part of social and intellectual inquiry offers a means of unpacking the assumptions that many if not most of the people in Lesotho hold to be true about gender enactment. Harding (1987) indicates that the engagement of feminist standpoint epistemology raises questions about the production of knowledge and also examines by what means someone becomes a knower and the means by which competing knowledges are adjusted and some rejected in favour of others. This scrutinization of knowledge uncovers the myths surrounding men and women and its attendant power structure. In Lesotho there are myths that surround both men and women. Among the many, there is a belief that science and knowledge are the domain of men. A woman who is thinking scientifically and objectively is associated with a man, or the other way around, the man who is not thinking scientifically or objectively is associated with a woman. This identification of science with masculinity is clarified by Fox Keller (1979: 185) in her argument that “Most culturally validated intellectual and creatively endeavours have, at all, historically been the domain of men.”

Feminist Standpoint offers methodologies that can be used when conducting a feminist research. According to Harding (cited in Alcoff and Potter 1993: 56) the researcher must engage in the intellectual and political struggle necessary to see social life from the point of view of that which is subjugated instead of from the point of view from the perspective of the ruling order. The reason she

puts forth is that, “ Starting off research from the women’s lives will generate less partial and distorted accounts not only of women’s but also of men’s lives and of the social order.” The purpose of the research should be characterised by multiple, heterogenous, inconsistent and incoherent knowledge. The knowledge should be situated not to construct grand generalizations. That is the standpoint should work closely with people in various situations and enhance their understanding and ability to control their own reality. The relationship between the researcher and the participant should not be detached but engaged. The methodology, recommendations and advocacy work around this study attempts to fulfill these conditions.

1.9.3. CRITICISM OF THE THREE APPROACHES OF FEMINIST EPISTEMOLOGY

This study utilises the methodologies advocated by these three approaches of feminist epistemology: feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint and feminist postmodernism, to explore the factors that contributed to the under-representation of women in the senior positions of the management and administration. While these theories complement one another and have similar objectives there are certain areas where they are in tension with each other. The reason Harding (1991: 20) puts forth is that, “these tensions, conflicts, and contradictions emerge because so many of the familiar assumptions about science and even feminists make, are grounded only with the narrow, partial, and frequently unrealistic pictures of the scientific enterprise that prevail in conventional thought.” The tension between feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint is illustrated in the differentiation of the causes of sexist and androcentric results of scientific research. Thus, feminist empiricism theories seem to rely heavily in the context of justification for eliminating social biases and contribute to partial and distorted explanation and understanding. Alcoff (1993) in her criticism indicates that the grounds for knowledge produced by this approach are based on ideas without having a practical existence as the result they are unrealistic in the expression of social life (1993). Supporting this view, Harding (1991: 116) maintains that, “Individual biases and differences in assumptions can be identified and

eliminated by routine scientific methods, but the culture-wide ones require different methods of detection.”

From the researcher's view feminist empiricism, even though it is not skewed by androcentricism bias, lacks a stronger standard of maximizing the objectivity. Feminist empiricism theorists do not focus on the direct social relation of observation. In this case the theorists abstracted themselves from the social relation. Acknowledging this view, Harding (cited in Alcoff and Potter 1993) indicates that the theories of empiricism concentrate only on rigorous method of testing the hypothesis rather than engaging with the social lives of the oppressed. This prompts theorists to focus only in the effects politics has on the production of knowledge. Feminist standpoint on the other hand, according to Harding (cited Alcoff and Potter 1993: 56) “sets the relationship between knowledge and politics at the center of its account in the sense that it tries to provide causal accounts – to explain – the effects that different kinds of politics have on the production of knowledge. Furthermore she points out that feminist standpoint aims at maximizing objectivity. Therefore, the researcher found the feminist standpoint yields a more moral and comprehensive understanding than feminist empiricism by achieving a standpoint based on women's struggle against oppression.

Concerning feminist postmodernism, the theories of postmodernism reject the grand generalisation and objective reality. In their argument, they indicate that these grand theories reflect masculine bias. Therefore, they place emphasis on highlighting plurality and difference on the category of woman. They accept that knowledge and truth are socially constructed. Furthermore, postmodernist theorists are inclined to question the truth or knowledge based on ideas or facts. Game (cited in Seibold, 2002: 5) points out that, “Postmodern feminists engaged in deconstruction ask the question: ‘Where is the feminine in this text? ...and if the feminine is repressed how does this contribute to pretensions of truth and identity.’”

From the researcher's view, postmodernism exposes the differences between male and female and also advances more open and responsive discourses.

Unlike feminist standpoint theorists who do not take into consideration the power differential among women, the postmodern theorists however, even though they recognize power differences between women, they reject the notion that women as a category share the same experiences as a group.

Feminist standpoint is useful to the study as it encompasses the methodology used by both the feminist empiricism and feminist postmodernism. It also goes beyond that to offer an explanation on how a research related to culture-wide and political agendas can be conducted so as to produce empirically preferable results. The most importance of the feminist standpoint is that it puts knowledge and politics at the center of its accounts. Its engagement in the social and political struggle exposes a true image of social reality and a more true knowledge production. The results of this feminist struggle may help to change the situation of male domination and also empower women's knowledge to better conditions of their lives.

The purpose of this study is to challenge culture and engage in social and political struggle to liberate women from the oppression they perceive in the academic sphere in Lesotho. The study starts from the premise that the culture and religion of the Basotho constrain women from occupying senior positions in administration and management. To deal with this situation, the adoption of feminist standpoint is of good vantage because this approach, according to Harding (cited in Alcoff and Potter, 1993: 57), "...the grounds for knowledge are fully saturated with history and social life..." Thus, to discover the factors that constrain women, the researcher has to deal with the history and social life of the Basotho in general so as to unpack these myths surrounding the production of knowledge and the situation of women in Lesotho in general and the academic sphere in particular.

Even though Harding (1993) has indicated that the good standpoint advocates plurality as opposed to universalism, according to her the standpoint should be characterised by multiple, heterogeneous or incoherent knowledge. However, from the researcher's view, moving beyond the posited

homogeneity of women this would create a difficulty for the standpoint to engage in intellectual and political struggle between women, due to their diverse positioning and politics. Mohanty (1988: 65) who insists on the issue of homogeneity indicates that, "in any piece of feminist analysis women are characterised as a singular group on the basis of shared oppression." That is the failure of the standpoint to consider the power differential among women resulted in placing women in the same critical plane of victimization of oppression, exploitation and discrimination. She further argues that, "the discursively consensual homogeneity of women as a group is mistaken for the historically specific material reality of groups of women. She is against the issue of homogeneity of grounding women on their oppression status, as there are other women who are not oppressed.

1.10. METHODOLOGY

Erasmus (2003: 4) argues that methodology is a way of conducting a research. She points out that, "methodological procedures include research design, data collection and analysis." Babbie (2001) states clearly that research design occurs at the beginning of a research project. It is a plan of how the researcher intends to construct the research. According to him, this plan involves all the steps of a subsequent project. While Erasmus (2003) indicates that analytical procedure are part of the research design but apply during data collection and analysis. In this part, the researcher intends to explain clearly how the research has been and conducted.

1.10.1. Research Design

1. 10. 1. 1. Qualitative Method

The overall aim of this research is to identify the cultural and religious factors that have contributed to the under-representation of women in the upper echelons of the academic sphere. To achieve this aim, the researcher uses qualitative research method. This method is best because it is used for problems requiring depth of insight in understanding actions and meaning in their social context. Most authors advocate the use of qualitative method.

Smith (cited in Cresswell, 1998) sees the qualitative paradigm as a method used to access underlying cognitions, such as beliefs and attitudes, which might help to throw light upon a person's behaviour and experience. With a similar view, Strauss and Corbin (1990) emphasise the use of qualitative methods to uncover and understand what lies behind a phenomenon about which little is known. As qualitative research comprised various methods, case study was chosen as the method to provide an in-depth examination of women's experiences as well as to provide the meaning of their experiences in the academic sphere. Yin (1984: 23) defines case study method "as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon with the real-life context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources are used. Thus, by asking women to present their cases this will shed light upon a person's behaviour, attitude and their experiences in the academic sphere.

1. 10. 1. 2. Sample Size and Selection

It would be impossible for the researcher to study all women in the academic sphere in Lesotho, as a result she found it essential to select a group out of the population to act as a sample which will represent the larger population of women in the academic sphere. Babbie (2001: 164) defines sampling "as the process of selecting observations." He suggests some steps to be taken into consideration by the researcher when selecting the population under study. According to him the unit of analysis informs the sampling selection. The sample design should select all or a sample that accords with the research question.

Therefore, in conducting this study, the conceptualization of 'gender' as a social factor shaping the lives of both men and women influenced the researcher in selecting respondents. This study focuses on women, trying to conceptualize how and where women fit in senior management and administration positions. As a result, the researcher's sample comprise only women. The criteria for selection was not based on any statistical or random sampling but on the purposive sampling. Babbie (2001: 166) defines purposive sampling as the selection of the sample on the basis of the researcher's "own knowledge, its elements, and the nature of the researcher's

aim: in short, based on the researcher's judgment and the purpose of the study." The rationale behind using purposive sampling is on two fold: First, It is the purpose of the researcher to choose women from different levels of the hierarchy so as enable the participation of women on every level of the hierarchy to be represented. The sampling included secretaries, lecturers, those who are holding positions in administration and management. Second, the researcher ensured that she captures experiences of women in every institution of higher learning in Lesotho. The reason of selecting different variables such as NTTC, NUL and LPTC is to get an in-depth situation of women in the academic sphere. Furthermore to be able to generalize her findings.

1. 10. 1. 3. Research Sites

National University of Lesotho, National Teachers Training College, and Lerotholi Polytechnic College were the chosen research sites for the study.

1. 10. 2. Description of the Methods of Collecting Data

In conducting this study various methods of collecting data were used. These methods include archival/historical, (documentary) literature and questionnaire interviews.

1. 10. 2. 1. Interview Schedule

The interview schedule was chosen as the most appropriate tool for gathering data from the respondents. Viz-Kim (1997: 198) indicates that the interview "is the best method of capturing the feelings, attitudes and perceptions of the participant under study." Smith (1983: 18) indicates that questioning procedures can be divided into self-administered questioning methods and interviewing techniques. He indicates that "these are methods suitable for obtaining data on a wide range of phenomena and for providing data on the values, expectations and behavioural relationships of an individual." For this reason the method of interviewing techniques was preferred over the self-administering method. The reason is that, the researcher wants to cover areas which require some-intro-spection responses rather than Yes –No

responses, therefore this method enables and encourages the respondent to respond fully. The interview will be in a form of a semi-structured schedule. Willig (2001) in the description of this method states that this method is guided by the researcher's questions, the questions posed by the researcher function as triggers that encourage the respondent to talk. The researcher adopts this style because it provides the opportunity to probe questions in an open-ended manner. Also it is advantageous since the respondent is free to explore and expand questions which might yield significant information for the research.

1. 10. 2. 2. Archival/ Historical Method

Cohen & Manion (1980: 31) define the historical method as "the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about the past. The researcher wanted to reconstruct, evaluate and interpret what was done in the past in particular respects, and also exploring the whole realm of Basotho's past from the perspective that greatly accents their social, cultural, economic and intellectual development. This method was chosen because according to Kum-Kum (1994:48) "the historical approach facilitates answers to such questions as 'Why' a particular issue is investigated at a particular time, and also facilitates the posing of questions such as 'How' such a knowledge is produced, that is who produces it and how it becomes privileged."

On the basis of the historical/archival materials the researcher will be able to trace and expose the roots of the Basotho religion and culture. The main aim of exposing this historical information is that the fundamental social relations are held in this area, that is the relation and construction of both men and women. It is only such an exposure of the underlying historical material relations that can throw light on the problems which the Basotho women are facing in the academic world. This method is not expensive and demanding because the information needed is documented and accessible, what the researcher has to do is to expose and interpret it. Concerning documents Viz-Kim (1997: 203) argues that "Documents provide valuable information because of what the researcher learns directly by reading them." The researcher will review documents relating to government laws and legislatures

of the country, public records which revealed the history of Basotho and the UN reports and laws.

1. 10. 3. Data Analysis

1.10.3.1. Analysis of Qualitative Data

To analyze data, this study will be guided by a 'Grounded Theory Approach. This theory derives its name from the practice of generating theory from the corpus data. Miles and Huberman (1994) and Coffey & Atkinson (1996) indicate that in qualitative research the focus is on surplus meaning, or in sensitizing concepts that can be interpreted in many ways. The authors argue that whatever method is used, the data requires coding into a manageable format in order that it can be analyzed and conclusions presented. Coffey A. & Atkinson (1996: 30) made it clear that coding in general "is used to break up and segment the data into simpler, general categories and is used to expand and tease out the data, in order to formulate new questions and levels of interpretation." This method of coding is suitable for data reduction or simplification.

1.10.3. 2. Generating Categories, Themes and Patterns

As indicated earlier that the analysis of data will be guided by qualitative data analysis methods, thus, when analyzing data the researcher followed Dey's (1993) suggestion on the procedures of analyzing qualitative data. According to Dey (cited in Robinson, 1998: 409), "Analysis of qualitative data can involve reading, annotating, creating categories and organising information with respect to the theoretical framework so that it creates understanding of events and actions is generated. The researcher transcribed the recorded data verbatim, or near verbatim. She started generating categories. Matched similar sets of data that share the same central features or characteristics with one another and placed them under one category. Then she compared and contrasted these categories and interpreted the data according to the research questions objectives of the study and the theoretical framework.

1. 10. 4. Research Administration

The researcher visited the targeted areas of the study to make appointments for the interviewees. On her arrival at the scene (from all the institutions), the researcher introduced herself in detail to the administrator, and the purpose of the study was explained. She was given the documents of the institution to review. She then selected the interviewees. The women were asked for permission to be interviewed and were informed about their right to refuse, if they feel not comfortable. A copy of the arrival at the scene is attached in the appendices (see the appendix G). The promised that all interviews will be treated as confidential and the agreement was that the participants would remain anonymous. The interview schedule was developed before the field work took place. The schedule was kept relatively simple in order to prevent potential translation problems of the key concepts set out in the interview schedule. It was broken down into four sections: demographic information, social relations questions, issues related to the workplace and attitudes and beliefs questions. The interview view schedule is attached in the appendices (see appendix F).

1. 10. 4. 1 Interview Phase

- Interviews were conducted from July to August in 2003.
- Most of the interviews were conducted at work place but few of them were done at home. The reason was that the institutions of higher learning in Lesotho usually close and open in the middle of August.
- An interview schedule was administered by the researcher herself to the sixteen women.
- The interviews were done in one-to-one semi-structured in depth sessions.
- Permission to use the tape recorder was requested in order to record the interviews.

1.11. Summary

This chapter introduced the study. The nature of the problem was identified that Basotho women are more educated than their male counterparts. However, they are the under-represented in the upper echelons of the management and administration positions. This study argues that this is the result of the culture and religion of the Basotho. Therefore, this study aimed to a broader extent to investigate those cultural and religious factors that contributed to the under-representation of women in the senior positions of the academic sphere. The literature review was conducted through separate but connected themes: women and culture, culture and religion of Basotho, the position of women and their legal constraints in the development and women in the academic sphere. The literature review is followed by the discussion and analyses of the specific theories of feminist research which informed this study. This framework is based on the intellectual and political agendas and focused on the Feminist Epistemology. The framework was further enhanced by theories of feminist postmodernism/poststructuralism, feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint. From the researcher's view point, these theories have similar objectives of this study. That is they study the formation of power and knowledge, and also they are designed in the service of an emancipatory political agenda, specifically the liberation of women and equal rights, benefits and opportunities for everybody in the society. The study intends to use the qualitative paradigm and chooses case method. The reason behind this is that, qualitative methods are essentially descriptions of people's representations and constructions of what is occurring in their world, case study is therefore, the most suitable approach to provide an in-depth examination of these subjective experiences, as well as to provide the meaning of these experiences. The study intends to use both primary and secondary methods respectively for data collection. Below is the outline of the following chapters. The analysis of data was informed by the grounded theory.

1.11. Outline of the Study

Chapter Two: is divided into two parts. Part one outlines the situation of Lesotho by showing how religion and culture has been constructed. Part Two is the analysis of the position of women in the academic sphere in Lesotho.

Chapter Three: reports on the results of the study and analyse the findings.

Chapter Four: reviews the theoretical context of the study and summarises the main findings.

Chapter Five: offers some conclusions and recommendations of the study.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN THE ACADEMIC SPHERE IN LESOTHO

2. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into two different parts, part one and part two. Part one is the discussion of the history of Lesotho and the legal position of women. It also examines the culture and religion of the Basotho. This part is divided into three sections. The first section is the brief history of Lesotho. The second section discusses the Sotho Tradition. The third section is the construction of Sotho masculinity. Part two critically analyses the position of women in the academic sphere in Lesotho. In the analysis the researcher reviews data outlining the management, administrative and academic structures in the higher learning institutions and also examines the differentiation of positions of both men and women in those institutions. The purpose behind this, is to provide evidence of the under-representation of Basotho women in the senior positions of administration and management. Despite the fact that these institutions of higher learning differ in the number and variety of function they fulfil still women are under-represented. To achieve the analysis of women in the higher institutions of education, gender analysis method was used as a framework to analyse the position of women in the academic sphere. Thus, this part begins with the discussion of the framework adopted. The first section briefly outlines the program for educational system that is adopted in Lesotho, discusses the higher institutions and the pattern in the enrolment of women in those institutions. The reason for discussing women's enrolment in the institutions is to portray how they perform educationally and how well they are equipped with the skills that meet the development goals of their country. The second section outlines in details the position of women in the higher institutions in relation to their appointment in senior positions and subject areas. The third section is the discussion of the position of women in the academic. A summary of this chapter then follows.

2.1 PART ONE

2.1.1 History of Lesotho

Wyk (1967) indicates that Lesotho has been ruled by the Paramount chiefs through tribal chiefs, until 1868 when it was annexed by the British. In 1871, Lesotho became a Colony. From there things changed dramatically. The tribal chiefs were replaced by the magistrates and their powers were pruned. They were disarmed. However, the Basotho protested against these changes to the extent that the changes were never put into practice. By virtue of the Order in Council of February 1884, Lesotho was put directly under British High Commissioner, and this enabled the British to take over direct responsibility for the territory. All the legislative and administrative authority was transferred to the British High Commissioner. In his argument Wyk states that, "The result was the development whereby the High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner were responsible for the general administration of the territory, while the Paramount Chief was responsible for Bantu administration" (1967: 8). According to him this situation is reflected clearly in the Declaration No.1 of the Laws of Lerotholi which states that, "the Paramount Chief has a full power and authority over the natives resident in Basotoland (1967: 8). Furthermore, he maintains that, although Lesotho was a British protectorate it did not follow the English common law, instead it followed a system that was practiced in South Africa. The British policy was not to integrate Basotho institutions of authority into their administration, but to develop the territory in such a way that Basotho traditional institutions of rule were preserved. They aimed to adjust them to modern circumstances.

As a result of this, Lesotho in the area of law, practiced a dual legal system and this system is still in operation today. The existence of two systems, the Customary Law administered by the chiefs and Basotho courts, along side a modern civil code based on the Roman Dutch Law administered by the magistrates courts, governing one country has not been a problem because the British supported the traditional institutions of authority with their authority. Therefore, the Basotho continue their traditional heritage of male supremacy. Seeiso (1987) in the report discusses the position of women under the

customary law. She indicates that when married a woman becomes a minor under her husband's guardianship and her minority position continues even after her husband's death, in which she can fall under the guardianship of her elder son or her husband's brothers. Upon marriage, a woman loses her pension rights and has no security of tenure in any employment. Even though she may have some discretion over the use of her earnings but, as a legal minor, theoretically all her possessions are under the control of her husband.

In Lesotho the Customary Law applies only with respect to people still leading a customary way of life and Roman Dutch Law applies to people who are deemed to have adopted a European way of life. From this system of dualism there is a sharp distinction between religion and culture. As has been mentioned earlier, the British policy was not to make the Basotho converts to their religious institutions but to preserve their traditional institutions and to adjust them to modern circumstances. What comes through is that their religious institutions have played the role of what Berger (cited in Rezaein 2003: 211) called "Plausibility Structures," whose function was to provide people with an alternative social and political identity."

In Lesotho, these religious institutions have brought alternatives which are somewhere opposite to the political and cultural norms set by the society and its ideology. These alternatives favoured women. They include; a shift from polygamy to monogamy, the introduction of legal divorce and the ending of forced marriage, ghost marriage and marriage without the bride consent. Furthermore, these religious institutions are against initiations and the circumcision of girls. All these practices and customs impinged negatively on women, they perpetuate the subordination of women. Avey, Ekjert & Hall (cited in Rezaein 2003: 213) argued that "Both as a unifying discourse and an institutional space not entirely occupied by the state, religion provided resources for resistance, collective protest movement and constructing alternative social identities." Those who adopted the European life look up to these religious institutions to resist the political and cultural norms set by society and its ideology, while those who remain traditionalist continue to follow their cultural heritage.

Despite this distinction, however, both culture and religion impinged negatively upon Basotho women by perpetuating the status of women as minors whose entitlement to citizenship, support and property are still defined by the women's position as daughters in their fathers' patrilineage or as wives to their husbands. In Lesotho, all opportunities and prestige are modelled on males as heads of families and as the inheritors of the family resources. This affects women negatively because it results in women's lack of access to family resources. It weakens their position.

2.1.2 Sotho Religion and Culture.

Africans have their own religion. Their religion is an inborn religion, a religion that one cannot be converted to. Mbiti (1975: 10) argues that, "African religion affects the African way of life. It is found in five aspects such as, beliefs, practices, ceremonies and festivals, values ad morals and religious official leaders". Thorpe (1992: 107) outlines African religious pattern by saying;

Belief in a transcendent creator is one of the more apparent tenants, which African peoples hold in common...ancestors and other spirit mediators are the custodian of the community and its continuing well being. They function to permit this desirable balance to be maintained. Their visible representatives are the traditional diviners and healers, who are especially selected for the task of mediation between the spiritual and the physical world. Rites, rituals, sacrifices and prayers are the means by which a harmonious relationship is maintained. Between the visible and the invisible community.

Being Africans, the Basotho are no exception to this way of religious pattern. The Supreme Being is a major religious thought of the Basotho. They subscribed to a belief in a supreme deity called 'Molimo.' 'Molimo' is superior to all other beings. Manyeli (1995), an expert of Sotho religion, detailed this pattern of Basotho religious thought. According to him, Basotho subscribe to a deity called 'Molimo' [God]. This term is used to designate the divine existence among the prayers of the ancient Basotho. The name 'Molimo' appeared at times in its denuimative form of 'Molingoana' and it appeared to plural forms of 'Melimo and Balimo' [ancestors]. Yet ancestors existed in the

spoken language, and it is still commonly heard today. He has cited a prayer for ancient Basotho, to show how They praised 'Molimo.'

Molimo ak'u utloe rea rapela
Oh, God listen we pray
Melimo e mecha rapelang ea khale
New gods, pray the ancient one
...se rapeleng rona le rapele Molimo
Do not pray to us, but to God
Rammoloki liatla li maroba
The Father of the Saviour's hands are scurried [1995:45]

Etymological the meaning of 'Molimo' expresses the real meaning and the idea of divinity that the Basotho had. It means a Being or some one who occupies an elevated position or a high place. "Molimo' is defined in terms of the sky. This superiority is attributed to the reason that he is inaccessible and He is far away, up the sky, superior to all other beings, elevated, inaccessible, and infinite, just like the sky. He is the Highest One, the Sky-Divinity, and the Sky-God. The concept 'Superior to all other beings' is closest to the meaning of 'Molimo.' It does not only mean the high but above any other being or prominent. Manyeli further emphasises this point, "One deduction from this concept "Superior to all' first with, one above, is that God cannot be reached from behind, but only from front. So God cannot be taken by surprise. He sees us coming. He is all seeing, all knowing. Everything is in front and visible to Him." Therefore in Lesotho, 'Molimo' is known and honoured as the great Ancestor, as the Primal Ancestor, Ultimate Source and Sanction of the traditional that sustains and nourishes the people. God possesses certain moral qualities.

Life among the Basotho people revolves around the ancestors. Ancestor worship is an important religious thought. The Basotho define ancestors as, the dead relatives who believed to have entered the glory of ancestorhood and so continue to influence the destiny of their living relatives. According to the Basotho, when someone is dead, they do not say that a person is dead,

but he/she has transferred his/her dwelling. According to this perception therefore, ancestors are the living-dead. They act as the mediators between God and the living people, because God, in Lesotho is regarded as distance from people's moral affairs. As a result of this the ancestors normally perform the work of moral retribution and of the maintenance of essential moral norms. It is believed that they derive their authority from the high God, because they are close to Him. People pray and make sacrifices to the ancestors with the hope that the ancestors will pass their prayers to 'God' According to Basotho, when someone is dead, they do not say that a person is dead, but he/she has transferred his/her dwelling. According to this perception therefore, ancestors are the living-dead. They act as the mediators between God and the living people, because God, in Lesotho is regarded as distance from people's moral affairs. As a result of this the ancestors normally perform the work of moral retribution and of the maintenance of essential moral norms. It is believed that they derive their authority from the high God, because they are close to Him. People pray and make sacrifices for the ancestors with the hope that the ancestors will pray God on their behalf.

Ancestors act as intermediaries or intercessors between the living and 'Molimo.' The relationship between God and the people is one of solicitude on the part of God. To associate God with anything that is not good, pure, just and honourable is ridiculous. This expression according to (Magesa 1998: 23) "It is God's will, uttered when Africans have difficulties from which they cannot escape, delineates this belief" According to Basotho, they know that misfortune can does happen, but they believe that it is always with the permission of God through the ancestors. Then people will use this expression, 'his or her ancestors have dissected him/her. In Lesotho, (O furalletsoe ke balimo) ancestors are never blamed for this. A person has to do something as to pleas them, so that they may be God on their behalf. Or on the other hand, when a person has escaped a danger or succeed, the people will use this expression, "his/her ancenstors are with him/her (balimo ba hae bana le eena).

They act as the reinforces of morality. Magesa (1898: 50) calls them, “the direct watchdogs of moral behaviour of the individual, the family, the clan and the entire society within which they are associated.” No serious misbehaviour or anti-life activity among their descendants, in thought, word or deed, escapes their gaze.

Morality is a normative ordering in terms of perceive meanings, values, purposes, and goals of human existence, of the lives of persons with regard to the ways in which they choose to relate themselves to reality. Coetzee & Roux (1998) are of the opinion that morality is a good way and generous way of acting towards another. According to him this can be achieved through the observation of rules for harmonious adjustment of the interests of other people. Thus, Morality is probably universal to all human societies through most certainly not to all known individuals, that is every member in the society is expected to consider himself or herself as an integral part of the whole and to play an appropriate role towards achieving the good of all. Morality therefore, is a matter of both character and behaviour. This has been acknowledged by Coetzee (1998) that morality, as the behaviour of many in society is in fact governed by social custom in African tradition. This custom is usually ascribed to the positive command of an ancestor or a god.

Myth and mythology act as the foundations of morality in African religion. Myth can be explained as an expression of man’s understanding or reality. Manyeli (1995: 147) in the definition of myths argues that

Myths are a way of contemplating the universe. They are an explanation of what meets the eye and what is beyond the reach of human observation and knowledge through the external sense of sight, bearing, smelling, taste, and touch. They are explanation of mysterious existence, activities, life and related problems

In Lesotho myth are fundamental cultural and incorporate religious ideas. Myth can be conceived as an example or a warning. Most of the myths in Lesotho are found in tales, folklore, fictions and imaginary funny stories (Manyeli1995).

The role of myth is manifestation and at the same time creative and exemplary, since it is the foundation of a structure of reality as well as of a kind of human behaviour. Among the Basotho for instance myths and mythology were used as a measure of moulding a child. In his/her developing stages the adults narrate the story of the deeds of someone considered as having a moral character in the society. Believing that a child in his/her growth will adapt and imitate some of the deeds of the person in the story.

In Lesotho both culture and religion are related. Basotho treat religion and culture as an integrated package, a kind of thing that encompasses special experiences, beliefs and practices. In Lesotho, no one can differentiate between culture and religion because, religious activities are integrated within the culture. For instance, initiation, 'bohali', marriage and mourning practices are all an embodiment of the customs and religion of the Basotho, unlike the Westerners who isolate religion from their culture and whose lives evolve along the lines suggested by the model of their religious adherence.

According to the Basotho, culture gives a framework of morality. It deals with the global view of human life. It is concerned with the totality of a human community's life. Manyeli (1995: 258) expresses culture as perceived by the Basotho. According to him

Culture is characterised by its holistic approach by which it concentrates in a special way on the foundation of society at the rudimentary stage of its history. It is the function of culture to build the tribe into what it should be through principles that can promote tribal unity of thought and beliefs, action and religious means of worship, conduct and moral life guided by collective conscience.... Internalised culture becomes an intrinsic rule or criterion. That rule is called 'ke-Sesotho' (is Sesotho way of living)

In this way culture internalises tribal concerns, attitudes, and common thinking. Culture forms morality which in turn forms a specific community. In that way traditional Basotho culture forms specific Sesotho morality which ultimately forms Basotho nation. Therefore, according to Manyeli this expression of the rule 'Ke-Sesotho' is applied and sued by the Basotho as it

is their culture. For instance, if one dares to ask a typical Mosotho questions such as, why does a child wear a nail of porcupine hung from a necklace? Why should a woman respect the name of her father-in-law? Why Basotho believe in ancestor worship? The recurring answer will be 'Ke-Sesotho' and it is a Sesotho culture, that is the Sesotho way of living. This answer, 'Ke Sesetho' cannot be questioned further because it is their culture. It is authoritative.

Sesotho culture produces a moral system, which means that the characteristic of good or bad in human conduct are determined by culture, that is particularly geared to repercussion of human conduct on the entire society. This cultural system is, undoubtedly, an extrinsic principle. It is designed for living and plan that adapts to physical and social environment according to particular needs of society at a given historical moment. It embraces all fields of human concerns and provides norms of conduct to each field contained in it. Human concerns covered by culture are for instance, religious belief, that according to the traditional Basotho religion, human behaviour acquires this quality from the Sesotho culture. Social beliefs which include pre-natal period, birth, education, initiation, marriage, death and burial, political activities. Culture is above all these special fields of community life. Without culture they are all valueless and powerless not necessarily objectively, but to the traditional community. Furthermore Manyeli, indicates that "culture penetrates all human concerns by being their inspiration, spirit controller, and a higher law. As such culture overrides the individual and his conscience or practical judgement" In Lesotho what is more important is culture and the societal conscience.

2.1.3. Construction of Sotho Masculinity

Masculinity is a social constructed concept which is associated with male gender. Roper and Tosh (1990: 2) argue that, "...masculinity (like femininity) is a relational construct, incomprehensible apart from the totality of gender relations; and that is shaped in relation to men's social power. Segal (1990: 288) states clearly that,

'Masculinity'...is best understood as transcending the personal as heterogenous set of ideas constructed around assumptions of social power lived out and reinforced or perhaps denied and challenged, in multiple a diverse ways within a whole social systems in which relations of authority, work and domestic life are organized, in the main along hierarchical gender lines

Sotho construction of masculinity is based on the structure of power and the social division of labour between men and women. The framing assumption of masculinity in Lesotho is that males are expected to be rational, dominant and objective. Due to this assumption, the work performed by men in Lesotho is valued more highly than the feminine work. This view is obvious where a male moves in the in the women professions, there is the discrimination there. A man is empowered, treated differently from a female co-worker because he is a man. Using William' s (1995) view, he indicates that a man who is doing women's work the society puts him in 'glass escalator' which encourages him to advance quickly. He gets better pay, more promotions and respect, while a woman experiences a 'glass ceiling', meaning that she cannot achieve the senior positions. She gets low pay and is devalued. Lesotho, being a patriarchal society, supports a hegemonic masculinity. Boys are constructed in such a way that they acquire those traits that do with control, responsibility and achievement in terms of self, environment and the others.

Even though Christianity with its Western values has brought changes in Lesotho, it however, did not change the fact that men are superior to women. Christian social construction of masculinity does not differ from the traditional roles associated with women in Lesotho before the arrival of missionaries. Kwenda (1997) supports this view that Christian beliefs continue to take a form of African Traditional Religion which works against the interests of women. There are biblical teachings which legitimise the subordination of women both in the public and private sphere. Acknowledging this view Durkheim & Mauss (cited in Synnot 1993) argue that the myth of creation is an ideology of gender. They give an example about the Genesis myth that Adam was created first and Eve created from him. As a result Adam was socially superior, the boss. Also morally superior because Eve committed a sin. They argued that, "the creation myth has legitimised Christian

patriarchalism and even misogyny, male dominance and the subjection of women (1993: 39). They indicate that Christianity is a religion of dualism.

2.1.4. Construction of Sotho Femininity

Femininity is the quality or condition of being a feminine. Roper and Tosh (1990) have indicated that femininity is socially constructed. As each and every society creates its own feminine, in Lesotho a little girl in her growth is expected by the society to be a woman who in a special way is to be kind, compassionate, sensitive and tender. The framing assumptions about femininity is that women are expected by the society to be submissive, respect, depend on men for survival, docile, sacrifice, patient and manage the household. Failing to follow these assumptions a woman becomes a threat to her husband, the family and the society at large. This subordination of women in Lesotho stemmed from several sources such as; Customary Law, under this law women are considered legal minors, subject to the will of their husbands. As children women could not make any independent decision about the property. Even widows who are given greater latitude for autonomous decision are limited to dispose of their deceased husband's relatives, (Seeiso 1986). Furthermore, Lesotho is a patriarchal society which supports a hegemonic masculinity.

2.2. PART TWO

This part is the analysis of the situation of women in the academic institutions of higher learning in Lesotho. Gender analysis method has been chosen as a tool to analyze the situation of women in the academic sphere.

2.2.1. Gender Analysis Method

Gender analysis is the method used to understand the relationships between men and women and their different pattern involving their behaviour. Therefore, gender analysis questions were used to search for information on women in the academic sphere. Imam and Sow (1997) state clearly that, Gender analysis does not look only at women as it also focuses on both women and men. Most people associate it with women studies, however, it is not synonymous with women studies. What it does is that it puts more

emphasis on women because worldwide women experience inequality especially in sharing wealth, employment opportunities, participation in public life and access to services such as health and education. According to them “gender analysis is used to neutralize and soften the challenges posed by the direct accusation of bias against women and demand for the recognition and rights of women posed by feminist theory” (1997: 6). As the researcher wanted to look at how masculinity and femininity were constructed and how men and women were expected to behave within the society and even the workplace, gender analysis as an integral part of social analysis, offers a means of showing how deeply our social world is. This method questions power relation between male and female human beings who have been allotted engendered roles in their society. Mbilinyi (1994) argues that gender analysis examines the multiple layers of social relation among women and men, individually and collectively and the complex interconnection among gender, class, race and ethnic relation (1994). According to the stakeholder analysis,

...Gender analysis is about understanding culture, expressed in the construction of gender identities and inequalities, and what that means in practical terms is also political. It aims to uncover the dynamics of gender differences across a variety of issues. These include gender issues with respect to: social relation; activities; access and control; and needs. (DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets, 4.3. www.livelihoods.org).

2.2.2. Educational System in Lesotho

The Educational Statistics of 1998-2002 has outlined the structure of education in Lesotho. It shows that the education system in Lesotho is structured in accordance with the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) recommended to member states by UNESCO. It shows the levels of education from level 0 to level 5. According to the Educational Statistic

- Level 0 is the education which provides early Childhood, Care and Development Education. It is a pre-primary education. The Educational Statistics shows that the education offered at level 0 builds a strong educational foundation in the early years of child's development as it is regarded as the basis for further learning.
- Level 1 provides a 'basic education, it entails reading, writing and arithmetic with an elementary introduction to other subjects. It has seven programs designated in standard one through standard seven
- Level 2, is the second stage of basic education which is known as the Secondary and Vocational Education. It covers the three years from form A to form C. The Vocational Education is designated to introduce students to education that will enable them to meet the needs of the labour market.
- Level 3 is the upper secondary education. At the end of this education students obtain a Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC).
- Level 4 provides post-secondary non-tertiary Education. This is divided into Teachers Training Programs and Technical Program Education.
- Level 5 is the National University of Lesotho

2.2.3. The Higher Educational Institutions of Lesotho

The World Bank report (cited in Hollos. 1998: 248) indicates that education has been considered by the researchers and policy-makers as a remedy that provides a solution for many problems, as well as a societal investment which guides the significant changes in the productivity and quality of life for those who live it and also improves women's status. Level four and level five are the higher levels of education in Lesotho and the education from these levels are offered in the higher institutions. Those institutions are: The National University of Lesotho, National Teachers Training College and Lerotholi Polytechnic College. These institutions consist of different educational routes taken by individuals from different social backgrounds. These routes lead

them to different positions in the labour market. In Lesotho, it is believed that these institutions can make a potential contribution to the reconstruction and development of the country. They offer individuals skills to participate effectively in the society. Most of the authors have shown the importance of higher education. Brenner (1998) indicates that tertiary level of education is a prominent stage where the learners are prepared for future positions of responsibility in policymaking and decision making in government. He quoted the world Bank Report on education in Sub-Saharan Africa, which argues that the higher institutions are the potential sources that are engaged in the creation and transmission of knowledge. "Africa required both highly trained people and top-quality research in order to be able to formulate the policies, plan the programs, and implement the projects that are essential to economic growth and development." (1998; 68) Irwin (cited in Brenner 1998) goes further to indicate that higher education is the education comprises which of educational programs which require the completion of approximately 12 years for admission. The institutions of higher learning in Lesotho require the student to complete 12 years for admission in the institution. The National University of Lesotho offers the full four years degree while The National Teachers Training College does not offer four years degree, it limits its offerings to programmes that can be completed in three years, and Lerotholi is a technical institution which specialises in science and technology. It also offers a programmes that can be completed in three years.

2.2.4. The Enrolment of Women in the Higher Institutions of Lesotho

Both boys and girls have the opportunity to attain education in Lesotho. However, due to geographical situation of Lesotho boys usually leave school at an early age and become cattle herders. This makes it easier for the girls to continue with their schooling. As a result, the student population has always been in favour of girls at all levels of education. The table below illustrates this;

Table: 1. Enrolment at all levels by number and gender

Enrolment at All Levels by Number and Gender, 1990			Table 9
Level	Female	Male	Total
Primary	192,453	159,199	351,652
Secondary	28,000	19,000	47,000
National Teacher Training College	520	102	622
Tech/Vocational Training	787	773	1560
University	716	644	1160

Source: Gill, D: "Lesotho & Gender Analysis", 1992.
as cited in Letuka, 1997: 26

2.2.4.1. Women in the National Teachers Training College

In Lesotho, most of the teachers are females. Female enrolment has been mostly dominant in every year. For instance, between 1998-2000, the total enrolment was between 970 and 2000. The proportion of male student was only 27.4%. Male enrolment remains lower every year even though enrolment has been increasing, (Educational Statistic). The table below highlights this point;

Table: 2, Enrolment of the National Teachers Training College by Course, Sex and by Year of Study – 2000.

Name of a Course	First Year		Second Year		Third Year		All Years		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
P. T. C.	0	0	1	17	36	136	37	153	190
S. T. C	38	96	30	55	34	76	102	227	329
Dip. in Prim.	9	35	8	40	7	54	24	129	153
Dip. in Prim. Education	31	119	26	75	0	0	57	94	251
Dip. in Tech Education	16	1	16	0	14	0	46	1	47
Total	94	251	81	187	91	266	266	704	960

2.2.4.2 The Enrolment of Women in Lerotholi Polytechnic College

The enrolment at this college shows a different pattern in comparison to the other educational institutions. In this college, males participate more than females do especially in technical aspects. The Educational Statistic 2002 (p. 85) points that

Table: 3 Enrolment in Technical/Vocational School in Course, Year of Study and Sex – 2000.

Course	Duration (Years)	Minimum Entry	First Year		Second Year		Third Year		All Years		Total
			M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Architecture	3	COSC	15	4	12	19	-	-	28	6	34
Business Studies	3	COSC	11	17	18	2	-	-	23	36	59
Civil Engineering	3	COSC	13	5	10	3	-	-	31	7	38
Electrical Engineering	3	COSC	18	2	40	5	16	3	44	8	52
Electrical Install'n	3	COSC	34	7	15	1	43	6	117	18	135
Mechanical Engineering	4	COSC	17	3	30	5	12	3	44	7	51
Plumbing	2	COSC	32	7	12	3	-	-	62	12	74
Welding	2	COSC	-	-	8	-	-	-	8	-	8
Auto Electrics	1	COSC	8	2	-	-	-	-	8	2	10
Marketing & Sales	2	COSC	7	13	15	27	-	-	7	13	20
Secretarial & Sales	2	COSC	-	30	-	24	-	-	-	57	57
Total											

2.2.4.3 The Enrolment of Women in The National University of Lesotho.

The University is the fifth level of education in Lesotho. It consists of all the faculties that are found in Lesotho. In the university, females are more than males. The available statistic reveals that the number of males was lower than that of females between 1998 – 2002 in all years of the study, (Static p. 8) Most male students were mostly found in the faculties of Social Sciences and Pure Science while female students were mostly found in faculties of Humanities and education. The table below shows the enrolment in the university from 1998 – 2001.

TABLE 4 Full-time Students at the National University of Lesotho by Course Faculty, and Sex a –1999 – 2000. Quoted in Table 79

Lesotho Faculty	Diploma Certificate	First Degrees	Post-Graduate	All Courses	Total
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					Courses				
	M.	F	M.	F	M.	F	M.	F.	
Education	17	21	170	396	7	24	194	441	635
FSS	19	25	311	395	7	3	337	423	760
Humanities	5	19	133	162	-	5	138	186	324
Law	-	-	138	120	1	2	139	122	261
Science	-	-	215	113	1	1	216	114	330
Agriculture	-	-	44	41	1	4	45	45	90
Total	41	61	1011	1227	17	39	1069	1331	2400

2.3. THE STATUS/POSITION OF ACADEMIC WOMEN IN THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF LESOTHO.

Assessing the enrolment of women in the higher learning institutions of Lesotho, the number of female students enrolment is continuing to grow more than that of male even in those fields which are regarded as male. The question that arises is 'How do women fare in the academic sphere? To address this question, Stacey and Price (1981) argued that despite their increased involvement in the public domain women have not fared at all well. According to them, women have entered the public world but have not been in equity with men in that world (1981). Estler (cited in Hollos, 1998: 245) is of the opinion that the male dominance pattern continues in educational administration. She indicates that, "Though women are the majority of the employees in the education they are the minority of the administrators and their number decreases with each step up the hierarchical ladder. This part is therefore, presents the status/position of women in the higher learning institutions of Lesotho.

Manson (cited in Hollos, 1998) made it clear that Women's status is a multidimensional concept, and there is more than one dimension on which it is both theoretically and empirically possible for the sexes to be unequal. These dimensions may be defined as prestige, the respect or esteem accorded to women; wealth, access to or control over valued resources; and power, freedom from control by others. Sanday (cited in Hollos 1998: 250) is of the opinion that when we talk about the status of women we should differentiate between "the degree to which women are respected and revered" and the degree to which women hold power and/or authority". Thus the professional positions of women in relation to their male counterparts in the

academic world will be presented using the gender analysis method so as to portray the clear picture of the women's status in the higher institutions of Lesotho.

2.3.1. The Status/Position of Women in the National University of Lesotho

The following part highlights the status/position of women compared to men in the University of Lesotho. The management, administration and academic structures, (Taken from the Strategic Plan 2002 – 2007 see appendix of the structures) are as follows:

(a) Management Structure

The management structure incorporates the Executive Deans and directors of support services

The executive branch of the management is composed of the two pro-vice chancellors for day to day managerial matters.

Vice-Chancellor is a male

Pro-Vice Chancellor Academic is a male

Dean Library and Information Service is a female

Dean Institution of Research is a male

Dean IDCS is a female

Dean Faculty of Humanities and education is a female

Dean Faculty of Law and Social Sciences is a male

Dean Faculty of Science is a male

Pro-Vice-Chancellor Financial/Administration is a male

Director Building and Facilities Infrastructure Facilities is a male

Director Student Affairs is a female

Director Finance is a male

Director Human Resources is a male

Corporate Secretary is a female

(b) The Administrative Structure

The administrative structure incorporates the Pro-Vice Chancellor Finance/Administrative for superintending the directorate of finance (University Bursar)

Director Human Resources to superintend personnel management, training, development and labour relations

The Corporate Secretary which is responsible for matters of corporate governance, student records, legal issues and general services.

Vice-Chancellor is a male

Pro-Vice-Chancellor Finance/Administration is a male

Director Human Resource is a male

Personnel is a male

Training and Development is a male

Labour Relations is a male

Director of Finance is a male

Finance Management is a female

Payroll is a male

Stores and Assets is a male

Director Student Affairs is a female

Counselling is a female

Health is a female

Recreation is a male

Accommodation is a female

Director of Building & infrastructure Facilities is a male

Design and Physical Planning is a male

Transport & Fleet Management is a male

Estate Management is a male

(c) Academic Structure

The academic structure proposes the three faculties headed by an Executive Dean with schools and programmes within them.

The Institute of Research headed by an Executive Dean coordinating all matters of research and professional services.

Vice-Chancellor is a male

Pro-vice-Chancellor Academic is a male

(1) FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND HUMANITIES

Executive Dean is a female

(a) School of Education

Head of School is a male

Total teaching and research staff members	33
Males	14
Females	19

(b). School of Humanities

Head of the School is a male

Total Members of the staff	37
Males	16
Females	21

(2) FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND LAW

Executive Dean is a male

(a) School of Social Science

Head of the School is a male

Total Members of the Staff	33
Males	24
Females	9

(b) School of Law

Head of the School is a male

Total Members of the Staff	21
Males	13
Females	8

(3) FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND AGRICULTURE

Executive Dean is a male

(a) School of Science and Technology

Head of the school is a male

Total Members of the Staff	10
Males	7
Females	3

(b) School of Agriculture

Head of the School is a male

Total Members of the Staff	6
Males	5
Females	1

(C) School of Health Science

Head of the School is a male

Total Members of the Staff	12
Males	8
Females	3

2.3.2. The Status/Position of Women in the National Teachers Training College.

The following part highlights the status/position of women compared to men in NTTC. It Presents the management, administrative and academic structures (see appendix)

(a) Management Structure

The management committee is made up of the Director, deputy Director, human resource, Bursar, librarian and student affairs.

Director is a male
Deputy Director is a male
Human Resource is a male
Bursar is a female
Librarian is a female
Student affairs is a female

(b) Academic Structure

There are three faculties each headed by a coordinator

(1) Faculty of Social Sciences

Department of Language

Language	Male	Female	Total
Sesotho	3	5	8
English	2	6	8
French	1	1	2

Commercial Studies

Male	2
Female	2
Total	4

Development Studies

Male	3
Female	6
Total	9

Department of Religion

Male	3
Female	4
Total	7

(2) Faculty of Education the coordinator is a male

Male	3
Female	6
Total	9

(3) Faculty of Science the coordinator is a male

The faculty entails department of pure science and department of Technology

Department of Pure Science is divided into Primary Science and Secondary Science

Primary Science

Male	1
Female	3
Total	4

Secondary Science

Male	4
Female	2
Total	6

Department of Technology and Science

Male	7
Female	0

Total	7
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2.3.3. The Status/Position of Women in Lerotholi Polytechnic College

The following part highlights the status/position of women in LPTC. It presents the management, administrative and academic structure, (see appendix)

(a) Management Committee

Director is a male
 Deputy Director is a male
 Bursar is a female
 Registrar is a female
 Librarian is a female
 Director of Student Affairs is a male

(b) Academic Structure

Director of Studies are 2 males and 1 female

(1) School of Technology the director is a male

Male	16
Female	6
Total	22

(2) School of commercial and appliances Studies the director is a female

Male	8
Female	15
Total	23

(3) School of built and environment the director is a male

Male	6
Female	0
Total	6

2.4. Basotho Women Face 'Class Ceiling' in the Academic Sphere in Lesotho

'Glass Ceiling' is described as an invisible barrier which prevent women from reaching senior positions. It is an artificial barrier which is socially constructed due to the prejudices held against women. The emancipation of women in the public sphere, due to the educational parity and changes in social attitudes towards gender roles, arouse an assumption that women fared well in their career ladder. To obstruct women to the top, the prevalence of male executive influence applied class ceiling so as to make it difficult for women to find themselves with the right mix of corporate experience required for senior positions, (www.online.ethics.org/glossary.htm). The Educational Statistic of 2002 shows that more women received degrees from institutions of higher learning than men did. (refer to the table cited by Letuka). However, their status in the academic sphere is undesirable. The women with their highly desirable skills, all graduates of prestigious schools are being pushed onto the lower track of hierarchy, while their male counterparts have an entirely different experience when going through the leadership positions. Evidence in the higher institutions of education proved that they are masculine institutions with a limited rigid pattern in the representation of women in the academy. For instance, from all these institutions the senior positions of management, and administrative positions are occupied by men. Women occupied only positions below these. A similar situation was discovered by Acker, (cited in Brook, 1997, 23 –24) when assessing the universities in the U. K. that;

The impact of the imbalance on the British academic life is extreme, especially when it combined with tendencies towards hierarchy and elitism still found with many of the universities. Professors in British universities are people who head departments, represent the university to government, serve on working parties, act as external examiners, make hiring and promotion decisions. In many universities, the number of women professors can literally be counted on the finger of one hand

Of the same view are theorists Boserup, Fapohunda (cited in Hollos, 1998) indicate that women are experiencing subordination in the academic sphere. They argue that women with education equal to that of males find it difficult to occupy similar occupations as males and also to keep their jobs. Most

frequently women are relegated to lower-paying teaching and clerical jobs, while men hold the higher-level administrative positions. The theorists claim that there is a tendency in secondary and higher levels of educational system that channel women into particular fields, primarily the humanities, resulting in little access to higher-paying technical jobs

2.5. Summary

This chapter was divided into two sections. Section one outlined a brief history of Lesotho. It goes further to detail the religion and the culture of Basotho. It showed that Sotho people treat both religion and culture as an integrated package. They do not isolate religion from culture. Section two outlined the position of women in the higher learning institutions of Lesotho in relation to their access in the institutions, subject areas and also their appointment in senior positions. The Gender analysis method was used as a framework to analyze the situation of women in the academic sphere. Being part of social analysis, the method has helped the researcher to explore the social relations within the academic area. As this method can tell us who has access, who has control, and who is likely to benefit from the initiatives, the researcher was able to find out that the proportion of academic women in senior positions remains small in comparison with male academics. In terms of subject areas, such as Education and Humanities, the increase of female outnumbered that of male. Other areas like Science and Engineering remain resolutely male dominated. What is surprising from the researcher's observation is that, where the increase of women have outnumbered that of male, the number of academic women in senior positions and throughout the grades remains small.

Arising from this situation, the following questions evolve. Why should the opportunities available to a woman be less than those available to a man, given that both have the same educational levels and degrees? Why have women been successful in other professional careers? What is it in the education of women that has prevented them from taking other professions? What problems and constraints do women face for occupying certain positions? These are some of the concerns of this study. Chapter three is

going to provide the answers to these questions. As there is too little literature on women in the academic sphere in Lesotho, women's experiences are taken into consideration.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS OF THE STUDY

3. 1. INTRODUCTION

Moshi's (1998: Preface, x111) suggests that a volume that looks at education in Sub-Saharan Africa does the following,

examines the strengths and varieties of children's and adults' educational experiences both in and out of school settings. Women's health and nutrition training programs, adult literacy programs, and agricultural education training are all important components of education within the African contexts. Similarly, apprenticeships within the home, community settings, religious schooling, and in community rites that involve initiation ceremonies for adulthood all involves forms of education and training for gendered division of labor and experiences..

This chapter elaborates the results of the study regarding the under-representation of women in the senior positions of the management and administration respectively. The themes that emerged from the corpus qualitative data include; (a) patriarchy, (b) traditional roles, (c) socialization, (d) the status of women in the society and (e) religious and cultural practices. These themes are the embodiment of culture. No one can learn any culture of any society without consulting these themes. The results of this study are discussed around these themes. The researcher examines these themes and indicates to what extent they are affecting and influencing women in the academic sphere in Lesotho. In the discussion the data from the interviews will be analyzed and also interpreted so as to bring the intent meaning of the experiences of the women. This study also attempt to draw on the verbatim extracts from the interviews to promote the discussion and also to give a clear picture of the situation under discussion. As mentioned earlier in chapter two, that women's experiences are going to be analyzed as a single case. The presentation of the views and experiences of women therefore, will be done randomly not as a cross-section of women from a particular institution. The reason behind this presentation is that, women from all the higher learning institution share the same feature of under-representation of women in the

upper echelons of management and administration. Part one presents the demographic data in tabular form. Part two presents women's thoughts supported by extracts from the interviews. Then the summary of the findings will follow.

3.1. PART ONE:

3.1.1 Demographic Data of the Respondents

Demographic information shows the state of an individual. The demographic method was used, and the respondents were classified into groups according to their gender, age, occupation, educational level and marital status. Data is presented in the form of tables. The tables reflect the actual number of women, and their percentage representation in the sample. After each table a summary follows.

3.1.2. Gender

All the population interviewed were females, the researcher chose this sex because they are the ones who experience the under-representation in the upper echelons of management and administration.

3.1.3. Age

AGE In years	FREQ	%
30-39	3	
40-49	6	
50-59	5	
60-and over	2	
	N = 16	100%

Table 1: Age of Respondents

3 of the respondents were between 30-39 and they were the least among the population. The majority of the interviewees were thus represented by the middle age group 40-59 years made up of 11 women. The old age group of 60 and over was represented by only 2 women.

3.1.4. Marital Status

MARITAL STATUS	FREQ	%
Single	2	
Married	7	
Divorced	4	
Widowed	3	
Total	N = 16	100%

Table 2: Marital Status of Respondents

The majority of the women interviewed were without husbands viz. 9, among them 2 were single, 4 were divorced, 3 were widowed. 7 were married. The researcher found out that this choice of the respondents marital status has implications for generalization of the results in that a representative exist from each status.

3.1.5. Educational Qualifications

EDUCATION	FREQ	%
Diploma	3	
Bachelors Degree	6	
Honours Degree	1	
Masters Degree	4	
PhD	2	
	N = 16	100%

Table 3: Educational Qualifications of the Respondents

The population group was represented with those diplomas viz 3, those with Bachelors Degree viz 6, with those Honours viz 1, those with Masters Degree viz 4, and those with PHD Degree viz 2.

3.1.6. Position at Work

POSITION	FREQ	%
Secretariat	2	
Lecturer	6	
Senior Lecturer	2	

Deputy Dean	2	
Dean	2	
Administrator	2	
	N = 16	100%

Table 4: Position of the Respondents at Work

The sample included 2 secretaries, 6 lectures who comprise the majority of the group. 2 senior lecture, 2 deputy deans, 2 deans and 1 administrator.

3.2. PART TWO: Thematic analysis

3.2.1 Patriarchy

The major theme that emerged at all institutions is patriarchal ideology. All women argued that patriarchy is a dominant structure of organization that is found everywhere in every sphere of social life. The study indicates that women perceived oppressive patriarchal relationships in their lives as well as in the academic sphere. According to the study the culture of the Basotho is patriarchal. It is organized in such a way that men acquired privileged positions in the society and women are made to depend on men. When it comes to the academic sphere patriarchal relations also continue. Men occupy all the senior administrative and management positions.

3 elderly women (50-62 years) made it clear that Lesotho as a society controlled by men. The society expected men to be the leaders of the community. That is what patriarchy is all about. According to them the public job schedules were designed for men and the private jobs were designed for women. The women mentioned that men have been in that role of occupying the senior positions of administration and management for so long that our country cannot believe it is possible for a woman to administer or manage the community. Since women now are participating in the men's world, the expectation of society is that they remain under men's authority. One of them says:

I have been in this sphere for so many years. From all the academic institutions that are: NUL, NTTC, and LPTC which are regarded as the higher institutions in Lesotho, no woman had achieved the position of directorship in the institution or vice chancellor at the university. Here in the university since it started

only two women had achieved the position of pro-vice chancellor, beyond that position no! look at the leaders of the country, are not men? Women are certainly as capable as men to occupy the senior positions of administration and management, yet they are not and probably won't be because of the patriarchal ideology which relegates women to the lower status.

Another woman confirmed the belief that women are not considered for occupying the positions of management and administration. She says:

Teaching is dominated by women throughout all the years. However, from this institution no woman has ever been a director of NTTC. All the directors have been and are men. There are more women in the management and administration committees, but when it comes to management and administration it becomes a problem that only men are found at the top of the hierarchy.

Another respondent commented that women have moved as far as the middle management and administration positions. When they try to move further, men prevented them, as they see women as a threat to their position. Her resentment is illustrated in the following passage: she commented:

"Women are there in the committees of management, but up the hierarchical ladder their number decreases"

This study shows that the level of occupational segregation by sex remains remarkable within the academic sphere. An unmarried lady argues that sex segregation is obvious in the management and administrative committees. She indicates that in the institution the positions held by men and women are divided into their sexes. Males are occupying the senior positions of authority while women are found in the lower scale. According to her sex-segregation is labeled as the expression of patriarchy. She explained the sex-segregated structure that disadvantage women as follows:

The management, administrative and academic structures have a large component of women. When scrutinizing those structures, you do find out that women are invisible in the positions of authority. For those who are present in those

committees you do find that the jobs they have been allocated are less valued and related to their femininity.

This study also argues that the prevention of an individual to do any activity is discrimination. According to the study discrimination against women is a permanent feature of patriarchy. Therefore, there is discrimination against women in the academic sphere. A senior lecturer argues that the university is discriminating against women. Theoretically there is no discrimination because there are no written statutes that say women cannot or can do this. But practically there is discrimination in the university. The woman indicates that she once experienced discrimination. Even though she argued the discrimination was not direct but she felt that she had been discriminated against. The discrimination was based on the promotion to head of the department position. She says;

In the institutions there are opportunities for senior positions. However, even though women have applied for them, they are not appointed. Last year the head of the department In Humanities resigned. Women in that faculty are more than men. Myself for instead, I was qualified for the position of head of the department. I applied for that position. We were three. There were two women and a man. You know what happen, me and the woman were not appointed to the position. More women do not bother even to apply for senior positions because they know that they will not be appointed to those positions.

3.2.2. Traditional (Cultural) Roles

Traditional roles are a major factor that has been indicated by women as one of the factors that constrain them from upward mobility in the academic sphere. Women argued that as they are now in the domain of men they have a dual role that is the burden of caring for the home as well as occupying a position within the labour market.

This has been emphasized in answers given to the questions related to social relations such as

- (1). Who is taking care of the family,
- (2). What role do women play in the family

(3). What role do your husbands play

(3). Does your role as a woman within the family affect your work in the academic sphere

The distribution of the answers is as follows:

3.2.2.1. Q. (1).

Who is taking care of the family	FREQ	%
Me alone	8	
Me and husband	3	
Me and my mother	2	
My parents	1	
Not sure	2	

3.2.2.2. Q. (2).

Role		FREQ	%
See that the family is surviving	Me alone	4	
	Me and my husband	5	
	Me and my mother	4	
Looking after the children, adults and the sick	Me alone	5	
	Me and my husband	2	
	Me and my mother	3	
	Me and the maid	4	
	Me and my children	2	
Doing all family chores	Me alone	5	
	Me and my husband	2	
	Me and my mother	3	
	Me and my maid	5	
	Me and my children	1	

3.2.2.3. Q (3). This question was reserved for the married women.

ROLE OF HUSBANDS	FREQ	%
Control and make rules	7	
Helping with childcare	3	
Helping in Domestic work	2	

3.2.2.4. Q. 4

12 respondents agreed that their cultural/traditional roles affect them in their academic sphere.

On the basis of answers to all the above questions related to social relation the findings are that, more women are taking responsibility for the family. Even though most of the respondents have their domestic workers they are still involved intensively in the domestic sphere. Father's inclusion in the child care and in the performance of domestic roles is the least that can be identified in the table above.

This study reveals that women in the academic sphere are dominated by their traditional role as wives and mothers, and on the other hand, they are expected to perform well in the work place. When it comes to work and home, most women are seen as regarding the home role as primary and academic work as secondary. When they go to work, they have a lower commitment to work than men. One woman tells her experience that:

I have a husband who is working, we have three children. We stay together with his mother, that is my mother-in-law. I am taking care of the family, managing and controlling what is going on within the family. When a child is sick, or his mother, even himself, it is my responsibility to take care of all members within the family, therefore, I am taking off work look after the sick. Even though I have a maid I have to instruct her, and sometimes it is me who is doing the work. My husband never took off his work He would show some responsibility to take care for the children only in his free time and during the weekends.

A divorced responded that:

All the work is mine. I have two children and no maid to help me.

The elder woman among the group indicates that the married women who work are problematic in a way that men are not. Women experience the high level of absenteeism from work due to family matters. Managerial and leadership work needs a person who is committed to the work. From women's experiences it seems that men are more committed than women. Women's

reproductive role for instance, the fact that women bear children and are responsible for caring for them takes women out of the power sphere and limits their influence of action in the public sphere. The woman says:

work and family responsibilities are incompatible. It is the role of a woman to have children, stay at home rearing children. During that time the woman has to stay at home take time off work. As a woman you can not jump that step. Here at the university the promotion of women is going in accordance with publications. To get a promotion you need to satisfy the promotion criteria of researching and publishing, because of the diversity of roles played by women, they can not carry out the publishing. Their male counterparts, on the other hand seize, this opportunity and grab the chance because they do not have as many problems as women. As a result women end up in the lower levels of the hierarchy.

This study reveals that despite the fact that women have more roles to perform, the employers at work are reluctant to hire women for leadership and managerial positions on the assumption that the reproductive role of women would coincide with a period in their working lives. Also, there is the fear of absenteeism of women from work. Therefore, when it comes to interviews and promotions men are highly recognized than women. Supporting this view another woman says:

The employers favour men over women because of the work faced by women. Most of the senior vacancy position clarified that the employers are looking for a man to occupy that position.

3.2.3. Socialisation

The respondents indicate that socialisation is a factor that has contributed to the under-representation of women in the upper echelons of management and administration. All the respondents agreed that their invisibility in the senior positions is perpetuated by socialisation. The women point out that the family, the school and parents, are the major agents having significant roles in socialising individuals into traditional roles.

This study indicates that people are being socialised throughout their lives. It reveals that the family, parents and school have significant roles in socialising

people into their traditional roles. These gender-stereo-type roles are internalised by the individuals to their future lives. When it comes to the academic sphere most of the boys and girls know exactly what the society expects from them. This study also points out that women are expected to be good mothers and boys are trained to be creative men. Therefore, they want to prove this ideology. In their selection of courses they try to choose courses that fall in with their areas.

Concerning the family, this study reveals that the family of the Basotho is hierarchically organized, the workplace as a community remains bite inequalities of power relations between men and women, which is characterized by occupational segregation. According to the findings of the study the workplace is seen as an extension of the family. Whatever happens within the family is happening in the workplace. One respondent talking about the family says:

Socialisation takes place within the family. Our family is hierarchically structured. You may find that boys and men are treated in a special way. For instance, we women we are suppose to cook and care for men. In the distribution of food men are the ones that eat first so that if there is a shortage of food, this could happen to us. In the family women and girls are taught to defer to the males. It is from the family where the children differentiate their gendered roles.

3.2.4. The Inferior Status of Women in the Society

68% of the respondents find that women's status in the society constrains them from occupying senior administration and management positions. However, there is still 32% which has a problem with the status of women. This study reveals that; men have a superiority complex and always regard themselves as better than women in all respects. They also see women as minors because of the culture which relegates women to a minor position. Men undermine some women's intelligence. On the other hand there are some women who are acting in defiance and this has resulted in a lack of appreciation between the sexes. One woman says:

While I was at the administration council I usually argued and disagreed with men in the council. The way they were operating they did not take into consideration my opinion. Realizing that they did not take me seriously, I became more defiant. They show that prejudice against me, claiming that I am not a good woman because of my behaviour. In Sesotho, women are taught to accept their inferior status to be submissive to men. Whenever, I give an advice or say something I was devalued, then I would argue and not accept their orders.

This study reveals that even though women are fulfilling those positions it is a constant struggle for the ones who are able to achieve that success with men having much more power just as it is natural that they should control. With that in mind and those beliefs instilled in Basotho culture women do not stand a chance at gaining strength for their gender and its potential in Lesotho. Thus they remain submissive to men. One of the respondent says:

Here at work is difficult, the higher position you hold the more problems you encounter with men. To rule men and being in man's domain is difficult because of the traditional view that a woman is always under men's authority, she is like a child. Men always influence you so that you are under their control and follow them. By doing this, you are a good woman.

3.2.5. Religious Tradition of the Basotho

About 78% of the respondents indicated that within the culture of the Basotho, there are customs and religious traditions that prevent academic women from occupying equal rank positions with their male counterparts. They mentioned some of the Basotho religious institutions such as the initiation, marriage and mourning customs.

About 50% of the respondents indicate that the initiation rite has contributed to the subordination of women. The respondents argued that the initiation is the living source of learning tribal, customs and principles of morality, it equips young people with the ethics of life, how should they behave within the society. One of the women indicates that:

Initiation is a traditional school where the youths are being introduced in the culture and religion of the Basotho. They are taught how to behave within the society. In the initiation for boys and girls, the novices are taught their different roles, boys are taught that their responsibility is to protect both women and children, they are responsible to protect their household and the country, while women are taught to defer to their husbands, take care of the family and children and also to please their husbands sexually.

This study reveals that at the initiation the youths are made aware of the two separate worlds of men and women. A woman's world is the home while the world of a man is outside the home. At the initiation men are taught that they are heads of the households. They are taught how to support the family and how to protect it. While women are taught virtues of the ideal Mosotho woman, these include being patient, passive, submissive, to sacrifice, and to be respectful to her husband.

When it comes to the academic sphere the study argues that the knowledge imparted at the institution is put into practice. Men are found in the top most positions while women are at the bottom. The respondent quoted below comments that even though some of them did not attend the traditional school their grand parents imparted this knowledge to them and they internalized it. It is like a norm for a man to be in control, even if the woman possesses those qualities.

Both men and women have internalized their responsibilities, from their family, society and this pursues them even from the workplace. It is the nature for man to control the system. Women only get opportunities to the positions related to their feminine work. Even here in the institution when we women vote for leadership, you find that the majority of us are voting for a man. You can not say that we do not trust ourselves, it is the way we have been brought up.

Concerning marriage, 64% of the respondents maintain that marriage constrains them in the academic sphere. The study reveals that men have power over women. Most women are deprived of academic progression due

to family matters. This affects women to the extent that most of them seek jobs that allow flexible time to fulfil these obligations. One of the respondents comments that she was forced by her husband and the family needs to reschedule her career for the sake of addressing the domestic needs. One of the respondents indicates that,

After I was married I joined my husband's family. I had already finished my matric. I was good in Mathematics and Science, and my high school teacher advised me to apply for technical school. After marriage I decided to pursue my education and applied to Lerotholi Polytechnic College to do engineering. My husband was reluctant to allow me, he told me to apply to National Teachers College to be a teacher of science. He emphasized on the issue of the family. He pointed out that his mother is old and sick so she needs support, and that we are a newly couple and looking forward to have children. The reason he put forth was that the technicians are always transferred from one place to another. Unlike the teachers who are having a plenty of time. I could not argue with him because he had a point. Then I applied at Teachers College.

Another woman who is a widow compares marriage with slavery:

In marriage, the woman has no saying, what you have to do is to listen. I am a widow, one might think that I am in control of the family. However, I am not. Two years later my daughter was married. I was not in charge of all the wedding arrangements. My husband's brothers were in the fore front. I was only told what to do, and how the decision was proceeding. The law, the church and the society legitimized the subordination of women by men. In marriage a woman has no possession. The children are not yours, the benefits you get from work are controlled by men. Here in the institution we are working hard but the rewards are given to men.

Concerning the cultural practice of mourning, this study indicates that this practice impinges negatively on women by restricting their movement. An elderly woman who is a widow points out that the senior positions of management and administration require a person who is committed to his/her work. According to her a woman during this time of mourning, has to take time

off from work. This restriction affects her progress especially for a woman who is looking for promotion. The woman says:

3.3. Summary of the Findings

This study has discussed the themes that emerged from the qualitative data. All women from different institutions say similar things about the influence and impact of cultural orientation on their lives. First, all women argue that they are forbidden to hold higher positions in the academic sphere, those who have achieved those positions through their struggle, are discriminated against consequently under the authoritative male headship. The reason they put forward is that our culture is patriarchy. The operational practices privilege male academics to occupy senior positions. This results in the unwillingness of women to apply for senior positions as they will not be appointed. Second, most of the women indicate that the pressing issue on working women is that, women are trying to bring together the motherhood role with the demands of their career. The majority of them opt for less involvement positions so that they can be able to address the family needs. Third, the perception of women's inferiority has affected women negatively to the extent that they have come to believe that they have inborn inabilities that make it difficult for them to operate in senior positions in the academic sphere.

This study attempted to expose both the social construction of maleness and femaleness. The women argue that the way our society socialized both male and females, it legitimizes the subordination of women by men in all activities. Concerning initiation and marriage, women argue that cultural ideas about marriage and initiation that a woman should be under the control of her husband and that a woman should be passive are internalized by women. When it comes to work most women are still holding to the belief that it is the nature of a man to be in control. So, instead of voting for women they would rather go for a man.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the factors that constrain women from occupying senior positions in the academic sphere, by drawing on the literature and the results of the study. These factors are deeply entrenched in the culture and religiosity of the Basotho as well as in the psyche of men and women who are in the academic sphere. The findings have constantly stressed the problems and issues faced by women in the academic sphere. The chapter starts first by discussing the situation of Lesotho, followed by the discussion of a study and the summary.

Africa's women are among the least advantaged globally in terms of access to education, gainful employment and equality in their families. Although many regions of Africa have adopted measures to alleviate the situation, change is too slow and is compounded by the complexities of the serious situations these nations are facing economically, politically and socially. Additionally, as these countries become further marginalized in the world's economy, girls' education attainment suffers and women's participation in the workforce is negatively impacted. Sutherland (cited in Heather, 1997: 51) argues that it is rare for a woman to occupy a position of authority, even if a woman is appointed into such a position there is still a negative perception from either her male or female counterparts. This comes out clearly when she argues that;

- *A woman seems incongruous in occupations where we are accustomed to seeing men:*
- *It is asserted that men would not work for a female boss:*
- *going further, it is argued that women also prefer a male rather than a woman's authority."*

Lesotho is no exception to this situation where the position of women is frequently undermined. Chapter two outlined in detail the position of women in

the academic sphere in Lesotho. From this assessment presented in chapter two, women's involvement in this area has been increased more than the involvement of men. However, even though women are the majority in the academic sphere they are under-represented in the senior positions of management and administration.

New policies are being formulated in Lesotho, in order to facilitate the incorporation of women in the public sphere. Lesotho has signed the Declaration of Gender and Development; noting that:

- (i) Member States undertook in SADC Treaty Article 6 (2) not to discriminate against any person on the grounds of gender, among others;
- (ii) All SADC member states have signed and ratified or acceded to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), or are in the final stages of doing so; (Gender and Development: 1997).

However, the report on Gender and Development (1997) has raised concern that

- (i) some SADC members states have made some progress towards gender equality and gender mainstreaming, disparities between women and men still exist in the areas of legal rights, power sharing and decision making, access to and control over productive resources, education and health among other;
- (ii) Efforts to integrate gender considerations in SADC sectoral programmes and projects have not sufficiently mainstreamed gender in a coordinated and comprehensive manner.

Lesotho is among those states where the division between men and women is still deeply entrenched. The Gender planning Strategy 1992 (one of the approaches adopted by the government to facilitate the planning and strengthen participation of women and men performance in the civil service), has revealed some underlying socio-economic political factors in the country

as the major constraints towards women's slow progress upward mobility.

These factors include:

- The historical situation of Lesotho: During that time the senior executive positions were the reserve of white colonial men. The colonial structure generally portrayed women as powerless, dependent minors, relegated strictly to domestic roles. During that time of colonial governance, there existed a clear discrimination of jobs where by the white women were relegated to support services. They were engaged mostly in clerical jobs, nursing and teaching. The blacks notably the Basotho were made the messengers. After the independence, the Basotho men occupied the positions of the white colonial men and this opened the doors for women in the civil service. Following the colonial governance, the Basotho women were relegated to support services. Thus the colonial legacy and the legal aspect has greatly influence the status and the position of employment women in the civil service to the present day.
- The cultural influence about the position of women, that a woman's place is within the home and that she occupies a subordinate position. This brought stereotypical attitudes and discouraged equal leadership in the matrimonial setting which favour male patriarchy and female subordination. According to the report, "A Mosotho woman has still not yet been accepted as equal civil servant despite her educational status, capability, performance and experience" (1992: 16).
- The gender blindness of the general bureaucratic environment and the conditions of services. For instance, in the work environment there are differential for both men and women. Men receive a pension and gratuity on retirement, while women are non-pensionable and receive half of the gratuity on retirement. All this result from the basic fact that women are legally disadvantaged as they legal minors.

- The in-built of male chauvinistic attitudes and negative perception of female labour by both men and women.

Although the Gender Planning Strategy (1992) has identified broad socio-economic, political factors as the major impediments towards women's progress, this study will only concentrate on the cultural factors as they emerge from the main themes of the study in relation to the field work. Below are those cultural and religious factors that constrain women from occupying the senior positions of management and administration. When looking at these themes which are regarded as the factors, even though they are under different headings, they are related to each other.

4.2. Cultural and Religious Constraints

4.2.1 Patriarchy

Sweetman (1995: 27) indicates that patriarchy is the cultural creation of a certain epoch in humanity, not based on an inevitable necessity of human biology Sweetman outlines clearly the critics of patriarchy, as follows:

Patriarchy turns on the many ramifications of the literal meaning of its name – 'rule by the father.' Two elements dominate the discussion: on the one hand, patriarchy is a system in which rulership, power over, is quite central; on the hand, by definition, men have power over women. The variety and oppressiveness of men's power over women was the first element of the complex to be thoroughly recognized and described. Men received preferential treatment, monopolizing or dominating all the roles and pursuits that society valued and rewarded, so that inequality became one of the first patriarchal demons to be named. Furthermore, men literally ruled over women, setting the rules and limits by which and within which they operate. Women who did not conform, and many who did, could be subjected to another form of male dominance – physical coercion (1995: 29).

Supporting this definition, Letuka et al, (1998: 38) argue that, "patriarchy is an ideology which supports and justifies the subordination of women by men and regulates relation between them. Patriarchy is a philosophy of male

supremacy, it presents a male domination and male control of society. The authors argue that patriarchy influences what constitutes a family, due to the assumption that for the family to exist there should be a male head. Lesotho is a patriarchal society. Due to the patriarchal influence Lesotho is structured in such a way that male dominate social relations.

In the academic sphere, the higher institutions of learning in Lesotho are hierarchically organized. The domination of men continues. The evidence from the higher institutions of learning in Lesotho prove that the management and administrative committees are structured in such a way that the senior positions are occupied by men and women are found at the bottom rung of the hierarchy. For those who have achieved those positions are assigned the positions related to their femininity. For instance, in the senior management committee from all the institutions of learning, are men and women only compete in the positions of bursar, director of student affairs, librarianship (chapter two outlined this in detail)

Sweetman (1995: 30) sees patriarchy as the existence of gender roles. According to her, "Patriarchy depends, in the final analysis, on fixed gender roles". Lesotho being a male dominated society the gender roles are designed in such a way that they give men a privilege of advancement and women do not. The society expects men to achieve in both the society and the workplace, while women are expected to focus on the domestic sphere.

Jacobs (1995: 3) maintains that sex segregation is characterized as the expression of patriarchy in the workplace. Jacob goes on to state that, "The segregation of men and women at work refers to the degree to which men and women do different work." She indicates that sex segregation is connected with the different ways for men and women, where women earn less than men. For her to measure sex segregation at work one has to use index of dissimilarity. This dissimilarity and its effects to the lives of women

has been identified by Harding quoted Smith in her argument of incorporating women's experiences that:

...if we start from thinking from women's lives, we (anyone) can see that women are assigned the work that men do not want to do for themselves, especially the care of everyone's bodies – the bodies of men, babies, children, old people, the sick, and their own bodies. And they are assigned responsibility for the local places where those bodies exist as they clean and care for their own and others' houses and work places. This kind of 'women's work' frees men in the ruling groups to immerse themselves in the world of abstract concepts (1993: 55)

Emphasizing the notion of segregation Jogan (1998) indicates that the position of women in the university is the expression of gender discrimination. According to her women are assigned the inferior and marginal positions while their male counterparts are assigned the higher positions. She identifies the obstacles like: traditional division of labour, women's motherhood and family duties, that they impinge negatively upon women in their career. The report on the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against women (CEDAW) indicates that:

The term 'discrimination against women' shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field (1999:4).

The women of Lesotho, especially in the field of education, experience discrimination. The report further continues that more women tend to achieve higher levels of education than men. However, they are still not likely to attain senior management and administration positions. They are likely to have the day to day management of their household with little interference from men. Brook (1997:50) indicates that "discrimination is frequently covert and often results from the application of male standards, priorities and practices." In the research she was conducting she came across the significant areas of

discrimination. Among the many she identifies: low pay, recruitment, promotion, admissions/appointments, rights of publications etc. This prompted her to argue that, "Academic women's experiences of discrimination reflect issues of 'subjectivity' and 'difference' around academic status/position, age, nationality, parenthood and feminism." She maintains that academic women experience both direct and indirect patterns of discrimination in the academy. The findings of this study confirm that discrimination in the institutions are overt due to the influence of patriarchy. Women are discriminated from authoritative positions; They are assigned work related to their femininity, The promotion/appointment favours men over women, A women is not allowed to sign any contract without her husband/male guardian's consent.

Thus, this empirical study argues that the constraints placed by patriarchy, hinder women's involvement in higher positions of the academic sphere and also obscure the power that women may have. In the patriarchal society men get to create women's reality. Masculinity is also valued over femininity. This has been indicated in the findings of this study that, at work women who have gained inclusion in the upper echelons still must conform to narrow sexist standards set by patriarchal discourse to avoid being completely ostracized from the higher positions. Sweetman (1995: 30) supports the findings that, "in patriarchy, women are feminine and silent...while men are masculine and articulate."

Despite the remnants of patriarchy, Basotho women continue to stand their ground and strive to change their position in the academic sphere. They are there in the upper echelons of the academic sphere, albeit in limited numbers.

4.2.2. Traditional/Cultural Roles

Roles are the embodiment of the cultural expectation for individuals' behaviour. Many authors support this view. Bee (1992) maintains that any role is a description, a socially-defined collection of behaviours and traits that a person occupying that role is expected to display. According to Van Rooyen (1980: 14) "norms are roles of behaviour, and roles are patterns of norms associated with social positions. Roles are associated with positions in that

they specify the kinds of behaviour that are expected of people in those positions.”

Role relations are one of the key relations that structure the position of women in Lesotho. These role relations are found within the family and are reproduced into the society at large. In her argument Goode (1988: 12) notes that “In all known societies, almost everyone lives his life enmeshed in a network of family rights and obligations called role relations.” A family is the mirror of the nation, what is being perceived within the family is being perceived in the public sphere. In Lesotho, within the family women are regarded as the minors, this status continue even in the society and in the workplace. This is the reason why Basotho people have a traditional view that the position of women in the labor market is determined by their position in the family. Stereo-types of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers has conceded a more complex reality, and when it comes to work, this is taken into consideration. The findings of this study support this view that in the academic sphere, the upper echelons of the administration and management are areas in which men derive their authority or prestige. As a result, women have very little chances of becoming involved in these areas. For a woman who desires to occupy that position or who has already occupied that position her power is reduced to that of a minor position or she is assigned the role only women can fulfill. This can be seen clearly in the management and administration structures of the higher institutions of Lesotho. Women are assigned less challenging positions like the positions of bursar, librarian, and students affairs director, while men are at the top.

This situation evokes John (1986), although she is writing in an economic perspective, to argue that the division of labor by gender is a cultural universal. She emphasizes that the asymmetrical division of labor is typical in the traditional working class of a family economy, where the labour powers are hierarchically organized along the lines of sex. In her argument she notes that women hold the responsibility for childcare and house chores, so they do not participate in paid labor on equal terms with their husbands. According to her, “ The incorporation of the gender division rooted in the family into the

social division of labor confirmed, reinforced and extended the subordinate position of women both within the family and in the labour process” (1986: 57). However, Oakley (cited in Robertson,1992) does not believe that biological factors can obstruct women’s employment, and she insists that women’s roles are a cultural construction. In her argument she maintains that, gender roles stereo-typing begins at birth and progresses through life.

In Lesotho, the girl, from her childhood, is trained into the only socially acceptable role that of wife and mother. She is made aware of the two separate worlds of both men and women. Both the literature review and the findings have indicated the roles of women and men. According to them, a woman’s world is her home while the man’s world is outside the home. *The Report on the Situation of Women and Children in Lesotho* (1994) states clearly that it is the responsibility of the women in Lesotho to run the domestic side of the household. It maintains that due to migrant labour women have the sole responsibility for running the household and bringing up children. According to the report, child bearing and rearing in Lesotho is very much bound in traditional values and the status of women. It is important for a woman to have children and to be a mother if she is to be valued and respected by the society. The findings of this study are that Mosotho woman is responsible for the care of children and maintenance of the household for providing its material needs. She is also the organizer of the family, while men negotiate with the outside world. The responses in this empirical study correlates very closely with the views shown by the literature.

Most of the literature ignores the effects of the traditional role on women in the academic sphere, the findings show that even though women are able to manage or to lead, they are not appointed to senior positions, for those who achieve the positions are subordinated to the power of a man or allowed to control the power of only a small community.



4. 2.3. Socialization

Socialization is a long life process where an individual learns the culture of the society in which he/she belongs. It depends entirely on what the needs of the society are and who defines those needs. Moore & Moschis (1982) define socialization as “learning the values, norms, language and behaviours needed to function in a group or society; socialization agents often include mass media, parents, peers at school. Doff (1992) in her definition points out that socialization is learning overtime how to function in a group or society by assimilating a set of paradigms, rules, procedures and principles that govern perception, learning and development.

This empirical study demonstrates that the process of socialization begins at home, enters the school and spreads to the workplace. Thus the construction of femininity is continuous and girls and women are molded in a subtle way so that their educational and employment choices are limited and their environment is directed. The findings of the study confirm that the society has moulded women and girls in such a way that they are socially inferior to their male counterparts and also have a low self-concept and esteem. Furthermore, the findings indicate that in her growth the girl is introduced to the home as her place of belonging. The roles assigned to her are those associated with motherhood and family chores. She is taught at the beginning the characteristics of the good mother: docile, obedient, submissive. Boys on the other hand are trained in such a way that they become creative, are exposed to the outside world, and are also to be brave. In their socialization both boys and girls are aware of their role expectations fostered on them in their homes. According to the findings of this study, this kind of role play foster gender stereo-typing, and for many this is the norm as they see it happening everyday in their homes and community.

This study argues that the way society socializes women and girls is sexist, biased, and stereotyped. It favours men over women. It renders female human beings voiceless, faceless and powerless in the public sphere. The Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995) supports this view that the gender-bias of the curriculum and teaching materials are rarely



sensitive to the specific needs of girls and women. They reinforce traditional female and male roles that deny women opportunities for full and equal partnership in society. According to the report, girls are often deprived of basic education in mathematics, science and also technical training. The education which provides knowledge they could apply to improve their daily lives and enhance their employment opportunities. Fox-Keller (1979: 188) shows clearly why women are denied basic education. According to her, there was a belief that women cannot be scientists because they “lack the strength, rigor and clarity of mind for an occupational that properly belongs to men.” She invokes the sexual metaphor, in which ‘hard’ is associated with masculine, and ‘soft’ with feminine. She argues that, “feminization has become synonymous with sentimentalization.”

When it comes to education and employment, the findings show that there is a disparity between boys and girls. Girls are influenced by their educational background to choose courses that accord with their femininity like Education, Humanities. Boys choose courses like Sciences and Mathematics, the most prestigious courses, which give them advantages in their careers. Letuka supports the findings by stating that women tend to concentrate on subjects that are non-technical while men on the other hand, follow technical prestigious vocations. As a result the institutions are unable to change either of these directions or to provide more options to them. What they do is reinforce these values and women are found at the lower stage of the academic hierarchy.

Concerning the family: The family is one of the key socio-cultural institutions. It is one of society’s substructures of socio-relations. Ashton (1967) argues the family is the single social unit in human society inextricably linked to all other systems. For the purpose of this study, the family is looked at as a social unit that plays a role in social regulations and the overall maintenance of social order. Supporting this point, Boulding (1972) argues that the family represents a “play community” by which culture is created and transmitted, thus producing wide ranging social adaptation. Thus the family is the basis of the society, that is how the society should live and society’s expectations about



the behavior of its members. Ashton (1967) when describing the family in Lesotho, argues that a family is a big unit consisting members of a kinship family rather than biological parents and children. In other words the family is extended rather than nuclear. Furthermore, he indicated that this unit owed obligations towards all membership including support.

For each individual the family gives them their identity and defines their roles. In Lesotho, men are generally perceived and expected to be the central determinants of the household survival while women are expected to manage the household and also do domestic chores. Letuka et. al (1998) argue that in Lesotho for the family to exist, there should be a man to steer the organization and also to guide other people in lower positions. According to them, "This seems to reflect an ideology that it is normal when a man is in charge of a family" (1998: 33). In their argument, Letuka et. al. have shown that a household headed by a female lacks dignity and the woman encounters many problems when it comes to decision-making and she lacks the support of a man in the wider families to which she belongs. This situation can be evidenced in the decision-making relating to children and funerals, in which women can not make any decision without consulting the family, but a family led by a man is qualified to do so.

This study argues that the family incorporates the social norms, teaches its members to internalize the rules and norms of the society in which they belong, so that they can practise them. By doing so it became an agency of the society passing its norms to generations. Supporting this point, Moshi (1998) is of the opinion that "the home remains the source of the acquisition of social and cultural values, including gender identity and division of labor based on gender," (1998: xi). In the comparison of the school and home environment, Moshi indicates that there is no difference, the school has become an extension of social values imparted in the home. What the school does is to allow those roles, activities and goals that have been shaped by the home social order to reign (1998).



4.2.4. Marginal Position of Women

The status and position of the married and unmarried women in the Lesotho social structure is most difficult to define. Women in general do not enjoy the full membership rights and privileges in the family and workplace enjoyed by men. Lewis (cited in Letuka et al, 1998) argues that the assumption that women are oppressed, backward and marginal is among the prevailing views about women in Africa. According to Lewis, attitudes, customs and some legal acts legitimise the unequal status of women and the rights guaranteed in the laws do not guarantee equality. In traditional Sotho society women did not have the political rights enjoyed by men. They did not have a place in the public sphere. Customary law treated and still treats women as minors who remain subject for life to the authority of male guardians. Debby (1992: 5) in the report states clearly the position of women under customary law that, "a woman is a minor all her life. Before her marriage she is her father's responsibility, upon marriage she becomes her husband's responsibility and on her husband's death she is the responsibility of her husband's heir, normally her eldest son." In other words women's capacity as social actors is severely limited. This situation puts a woman in an insecure position because she has no place either in her home or in a marital home.

The findings of this study indicates that traditionally a woman's inferior status has been underlined within the context of rigid systems of marital role allocation that uphold separate male and female worlds. This traditional outlook towards women, that they are inferior to men, has hampered their rise to reasonable jobs and also has encouraged men to suppress them.

The effects of this in the academic sphere is that some women end up believing that they have such limitations that they cannot manage to execute the functions of positions that are deemed to be outside their culturally defined sphere of influence in the home and the family. They undermine their potential as human beings to operate in positions of responsibility in the public sphere. This results from their unwillingness to apply for the senior post.

4.2.5. Religious Traditional Practices.

Mensah (cited in Kirk 200: 2) defines rites of passage as “categories or rituals and ceremonies by which individuals in a group come to know who they are and what they are all about and the purpose and meaning for their existence as they proceed from one clearly definite state of existence to the next state or passage in their lives. Basotho culture and religion are characterized by rituals which are known as the rites of passage.

Most of the literature has indicated the importance of rites of passage. Manyeli (1995) has written a major study on the rites of passage in Lesotho. He indicated the importance of rites of passage for the youths. Despite the importance of the rites of passage however, this study revealed that these rites of passage impinged negatively upon women especially their academic sphere in particular. Below are the rites of passage and how they impact upon women in the academic sphere.

Initiation: according to the Basotho, initiation is the living source of learning tribal institutions, customs and principles of morality. It is a custom that marked the transition from childhood to adulthood, therefore, it is considered as a cornerstone of the Basotho tradition, history and religious thought. Manyeli (1995) an expert in Basotho culture and religion, indicated that the primary goal for the initiation rite is to equip young people to use their sexuality responsibly as individuals and family members in their present and future lives and be responsible future husbands and wives. He argues that:

...This rite gives enlightening information about secrecy of fecundity and sexuality; about religious traditions, about customs of a tribe. It introduces novices into the culture of the archaic society as well as the human community and the world of the spiritual values (1995: 225)

However, Manyeli did not indicate how this rite affects women in their academic sphere. The findings of this study indicate that in the initiation boys are taught to be real men while women are taught to be good wives. In Sesotho to be a man one has to possess these traits: power, achievement, competency, wealth and objectivity. To be a good woman one has to possess



these traits: to be submissive, passive, intuitive, and subjectivity. When it comes to the academic sphere the knowledge obtained from the institution is now put into practice. Men have complex attitudes towards women. They still hold to that doctrine that women are inferior.

Marriage: marriage in Lesotho is a communal event that deeply involves two stages and is effected in stages of which some permit cohabitation. According to 'bohali' (a stock dowry given by the groom's family to the bride's family) as a form of marriage, the bridegroom's family gave an agreed herd of cattle to the bride's family. That was understood as a token for the incorporation of the bride into the groom's extended family as well as a means of legitimizing her offspring. In this type of marriage the bride is expected to live according to the wishes and dictates of the groom and the groom's family. It is probably due to this understanding that Africa in general, Lesotho in particular, marriage is negotiated between the two families, that of the bride and that of the groom.

It is from this custom of 'bohali' where the Basotho men retain control over married women's economic and reproductive powers. Chidester (1992: 24) acknowledges this view by indicating that, "the different roles assigned to males and females were also embedded in marriage ritual particularly the ritualised payment of bridewealth (lobola, lobolo, bohali)." He identifies the importance of 'bohali' that it meant to interlock interests in sealing marriage agreements between the two families of both the bride and the groom. Furthermore he indicates that 'bohali' was paid as a compensation of the bride's family for their loss of labour power. However, Chidester argues that the "overarching interest at stake in this marriage transaction was male control over female power and reproductive power." Bohali affected women throughout their lives. Even in the academic sphere the subordination of women still continue. The higher institution of learning usually offers its employees the benefits, for the married woman whatever benefits they obtain, they are expected to remit resources home to their natal families. Also a woman who has been married gained access to resources through the



alliance with their husbands. A woman cannot sign any contract without the consent of her husband.

This study argues that these socio-cultural beliefs about marriage impinged negatively upon women to the extent that most women in Lesotho, especially academic women choose to remain single. The reason put forth is that these women wanted to obtain these resources by themselves and also set themselves up as heads of independent households by claiming inheritance and education of their own. This view is supported by Moshi (1998: x) in his argument that educational achievements are described as a precursor to social and culture in which marriage is relegated to a secondary tier of women's priorities, even though having children remains central as the ultimate accomplishment in a woman's life. A decision to have children without the benefit of marriage appears to be an option for many educated women.

Concerning mourning practice, the report on the *Situation of Women in Lesotho* (1994) argues that this practice impinges negatively upon women especially the working women. It indicates that the mourning period is long and during that time a woman's movement is restricted. According to the report this limitation of movement is very inconveniencing to the widow who in actual practice is involved intensively in her work.

The findings of the study are that, this custom restricts the movement of a widow. She cannot participate fully in the academic sphere because at this time of mourning the widow has to take time off work.

Below are cultural and religious factors that are drawn from the literature.

4.2.6 Divinity

Ngubane (1976: 275) argues that "...women are more often associated with mystical experiences than men." When discussing divinity Ngubane indicates that divinity is a positive mystical force because the woman is mostly involved in the religious life of their people, as ritual specialists and upholders of the moral values of the community. Due to women's intimate knowledge and



experience of the spiritual world they become the instruments of human life. She sees divinership as a state of light and purity. She maintains that when a woman becomes a diviner she has to go through phases. The first phase is the manifestation of her contact with the spirits. The second phase is when she becomes a neophyte. The third phase is when she graduate as a diviner. During the process of divinity the woman withdraws from society almost completely. This issue of divinity usually occurs in Lesotho. Most people who have this intense religious experience are women. They are called 'Mathuela' or 'Sangomas.' Rakotsoane Such religious experience is of a possessional nature. The person invaded or seized by the spirit. At the starting point of becoming a 'sangoma' an individual experiences madness, nearness to death and austerities. This behaviour is often accompanied by dissociative mental phenomena such as visions, compulsive actions such as shouting and vigorous dancing, shaking and trembling of the body. In Sesotho when a person is in such state we say that she/he is possessed by the spirit. In the vision an individual is introduced to the traditional healer who will initiate her/him to the process of divinity. This process in Lesotho takes about one year or six months to complete.

This study argues that even though this process of divinity is good. It however, affects women in the academic sphere. For the woman who is looking for promotion, she has to work hard to qualify for the position. For instance in the university mostly promotions go in accordance with the publication criteria. Also and the work performance and commitment. As this process of divinity comes unexpectedly an individual has to take time off from work to go a perform this process. On her return she is no longer committed the way she was before. The reason is that, she is now working as a religious person because she possesses skills of divinity and diagnostic skills. People in the community turn to them for both public and private consultations. This work adds to her previous work in the institution. Sometimes this divinity work takes an individual completely out of her career.



4.2.7. Communal Life

Africans are known world-wide for their love of community life. The Ubuntu Philosophy which forms the basis of African life teaches and maintains that 'Umuntu, Ngumuntu Ngabantu' that is a person is a person through other persons (Shuttle, 1994: 46). This simply means one is first and foremost a member of the clan, tribe or community. He/she is considered nothing in of himself/herself, but everything as a member of his/her community. This way of life is summarized by Cassel (1982: 642) that:

No person exist without others; there is no consciousness without a consciousness of others, no speaker without hearer, and no act object or thought that does not somehow encompass others. All behaviour is or will be involved with others, even if only in memory or reverie. Take away others, even if only in memory or reverie. Take away other, remove sight or hearing, and the person is diminished..

This understanding of Basotho communal life can affect women from occupying senior positions in the academic sphere. To be a human means to be actively involved in the life of the community to which one belongs and to be in communion with every other member. This perception of communal living tends to discourage the personal gender of the individual whilst promoting and enhancing the social gender role. According to society's perception men are expected to govern and control the system while women have to be subordinate to men. Even though a woman can qualify for the position, but because of the community's expectations she would not be appointed. This rejection of an individual may affect an advanced woman because she would be placed in the same category with the rest of her group. A woman ought to live in such a manner that her whole life is geared to the common good of the community. Failing to adopt that cultural expectation she becomes a threat and is looked upon by the society as a 'bad woman.' This assumption restricts women in challenging their male counterparts for the positions of authority.



4.3. Summary

This chapter discussed the factors that constrain women from occupying senior positions in management and administration. The discussion was around the themes: patriarchy, cultural roles, socialization, women's status and religious traditions. These themes are identified as the factors that inhibit women from occupying senior positions in the academic sphere. Lesotho is a patriarchal society. Therefore, the existing inequalities and discrimination in the institutions of higher learning are due to the influence of patriarchy. The Basotho culture and religiosity discriminate against women by favouring male patriarchy and female subordination. These social values and attitudes are reflected in the education and socialization of girls and also in the institutional arrangement of the society. The courses and curricula offered to women is not designed to equip them with specialized training for a job or career. Even though divinity does not favour men over women it constrains women in the academic sphere a 'sangoma' has to do a religious work. This results in the heavier workload carried by a woman.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will reflect back on the research questions and to what extent they have been answered. The research questions that evolved to form the basis of this study were:

- Why are women under-represented in the upper echelons of the academic hierarchy, and in senior administration positions within the academy?
- Those who participated, why are they discriminated against and experienced subordination?
- What are the perceived barriers to women's progress to achieve senior positions in the academic sphere?

The purpose behind this research was two fold:

- To explore the cultural and religious factors that constrain women from occupying senior management and administration positions.
- To investigate the framework of attitudes and beliefs that undermine the status and the role of Basotho women in general, and in women in the academic sphere in particular.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is the summary of the study. In this section the situation of women and the problems they face are discussed. The second section describes benefits of the methodology and perspective of the research. The third section is the explores the results and their implications. In this section the researcher will not go into detail as the findings have been discussed in the previous chapter. The fourth section deals with the limitations of the study. The fifth section gives the recommendation for further research.



5.2. Summary of the Study

The study discussed the situation of women in the higher institutions of Lesotho. From the evidence it can be seen that in the higher institutions there is a progression in the lives of the Basotho women. The number of women has increased tremendously. Women have progressed towards equal educational enrolment rates with men at all levels of schooling. The presence of women is felt even in the fields which were regarded as the domain of men albeit in limited numbers. The higher institutions of learning incorporate women in their management and administration committees. Women, are therefore, have created options for themselves which did not exist previously. For a long time in the past women's participation in social issues was confined to home related matters and public life participation was reserved for men.

Despite the fact that women are more educated than their male counterparts, however, they are under-represented in the senior management and administration positions in the academic sphere. Miller (1988) has noted that:

Many women along with male allies have tried to change political, economic, social, cultural and religious institutions but these powerful structures do not yield easily; they respond with powerful counter-reaction. Each new step reveals the necessity for analysing more deeply the cultural and political forces impinging on us (1988: 16).

This study found that Basotho people, even though they have adopted the Western culture, are still holding on to the culture and religiosity of Lesotho. According to Tugessur (1991: 2) "traditional culture englobes not only the fine art, but all human activities based on folk tradition, beliefs and rituals that affect the daily lives of people." Basotho perceptions are shaped by and deeply rooted in their culturally shared religious and philosophical heritage. These religious traditions, beliefs and practices are shaped by and perceived from the perspective of gender. In her argument Ashworth (1996: 1) indicates that, "the lives of women and men, the work they do, the income they received, the roles they are given and the relationships that they share are all shaped by social norms and traditions which treat women and men differently. This study found that these cultural norms, religious traditions, and the ideas



that underpin women are manifested in the laws, institutions, economic and social structures such as the family and the workplace.

The higher institutions of Lesotho are operating the same way as the society. The higher institutions are self-autonomous institutions which do not depend on the government. They are able to make their own laws different to the government. When it comes to the laws regarding the status of women, they also reflect the fact that women are inferior to men. Most of the respondents in the University confirm that there is no discrimination, because the management and administration committees incorporated women. This study noted some areas where there is discrimination: Women are not allowed to sign any contract in the university without the consent of the male and also women are denied accessibility to credits. This is what Manyeli (1994) refers to when he defines education as “an act whereby ideas, skills, culture, social beliefs and values are transmitted” (1994: 116). He indicates that all these values, culture, ideas and social beliefs emanate from the philosophy of the people. To him it would be impossible to visualise education without consulting philosophical backgrounds or inspirations. If the philosophical principle is realist, idealist, positivist, pragmatist, existential or otherwise, education therefore, goes along those specified lines of the philosophy of the people. This study argues that it is not surprising that the institutions of Lesotho followed the suit. Most authors in the previous chapter have shown that the school is an extension of the society and family. Education reinforces what has been taught in the family.

5.3. Exploration of the Results and their Implications

The findings of this study have shown that Lesotho is a patriarchal society. The features of patriarchy have been accepted as a natural thing and are indispensable for order and progress. These features are justified by the law, institutions, the social structures, culture and the church. In a patriarchal society men are assumed to be the norm. That is culturally men are regarded by the society as superior to women. They are expected to govern the family, social and political institutions, and also to be rational to women. Women on the other hand are expected by the society to be submissive, passive, to



sacrifice and also to manage the household. In the academic sphere patriarchy is characterised by the job segregation and discrimination against women. In all the higher institutions of learning only men are in governing positions. They are found at the top of the hierarchy of the management and administration positions, while women are in the lower levels of the hierarchy. This situation confirms that even though women are educated in an advanced manner status quo still remains the way it has been conditioned by the culture, law and the church. The evidence in the institutions prove that women who are in the management and administration committees, their positions are in accordance with their traditional roles in society. Therefore, this study argues that women's limitations are not the result of innate inferiority but of social convention and family education. Women appear to be irrational because they are trained in sensibility rather than rationality. This socialization of children into acceptable roles and behaviour legitimises sexist stereotyping.

Religious beliefs have also played a major role in positioning and reinforcing the idea of the public sector as the domain of men and the home as the domain of women. The religious institutions have themselves excluded women from the leadership roles. For instance marriage and initiation play a role in reinforcing ideas that men are associated with power, associated with the public sphere of work and also control of others, while women are expected to be submissive, associated with the home.

This situation affects women to the extent that most of them are striving to change the situation. This results in a gap and contrast between the traditional social expectation of women and their own aspirations. According to Miller "We are in a period of flux, a time of transition, with the trends in several diversions" (1988: 16). Due to the culture and religion which denied women the basic social principles of justice, equality, equity, and common humanity, it is not surprising that academic women show the antagonism against their culture and religiosity. For instance:

- Women display roles of behaviour that are incongruent with their society's expectations. Women believe in definite, independent, organized and hard-working, despite the recognition that the society ' expectation of traditional role behaviour to women to be docile, dependent, submissive.
- Regardless of the society's disapproval of unmarried, divorced and childless women, more academic women opt for renouncing marriage, divorce and not having children, as these will constrain their progress in the academic sphere.

5.4. Limitations of the Study

- The literature review was a difficult one probably because of the narrowed scope of the study, as it was confined only in the academic sphere. Most of the produced a large of amount of the literature on the general information about the position of women in Lesotho, women in the development and women and culture. Narrowing this topic down to women in the academic sphere rendered much of the irrelevant to the study. As a result women's experiences are the center of analysis.
- This was the first research study undertaken by the researcher, as a result her lack of experience in this field might be evident.
- The research is a problematic one because sometimes the respondents were using Sotho language and this could have led to misinterpretations on the part of the researcher.
- Because of the time factor, the study could not be extensive in terms of the size of the sample. Consequently, not every woman was involved.

Recommendations of the Study

- The position/status of women in the academic sphere is different from that of men in all academic institutions, what women require is the opportunity to demonstrate their capability in the management and administration positions. Therefore, a greater



representation of women at the higher levels of decision making is necessary.

- This study has recognized that in the academic sphere the service jobs were designed with men in mind, since traditionally men were the only employees on a full time basis. Such sexism has to be abolished as there are now more women in the academic sphere. That the present attitudes towards the working women should change and women's legal status and regulations which discriminate against women should be improved by reviewing laws adversely affecting women.
- This study also recognizes that there is a change taking place in Lesotho. For instance, the country's ratification of the SADC and UN agreements claiming that it intends to abolish discrimination in all its forms. This study, therefore, recommends that there are powerful structures that need to be challenged first, structures like the family, society, school, also the philosophy of the people. Manyeli (1994:121) mentions the implementation of the new educational policy that, "a relevant educational policy should be oriented to the person's involvement in all these institutions" (1994: 121)

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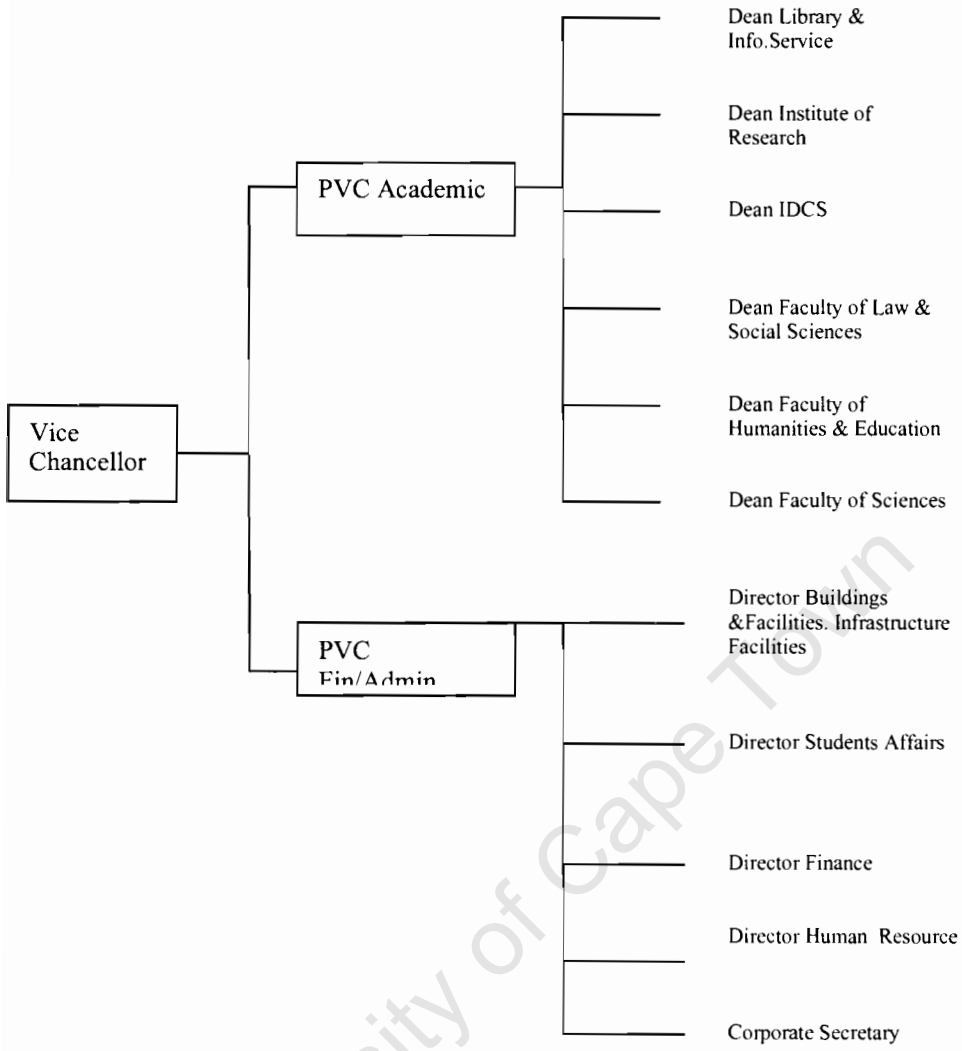
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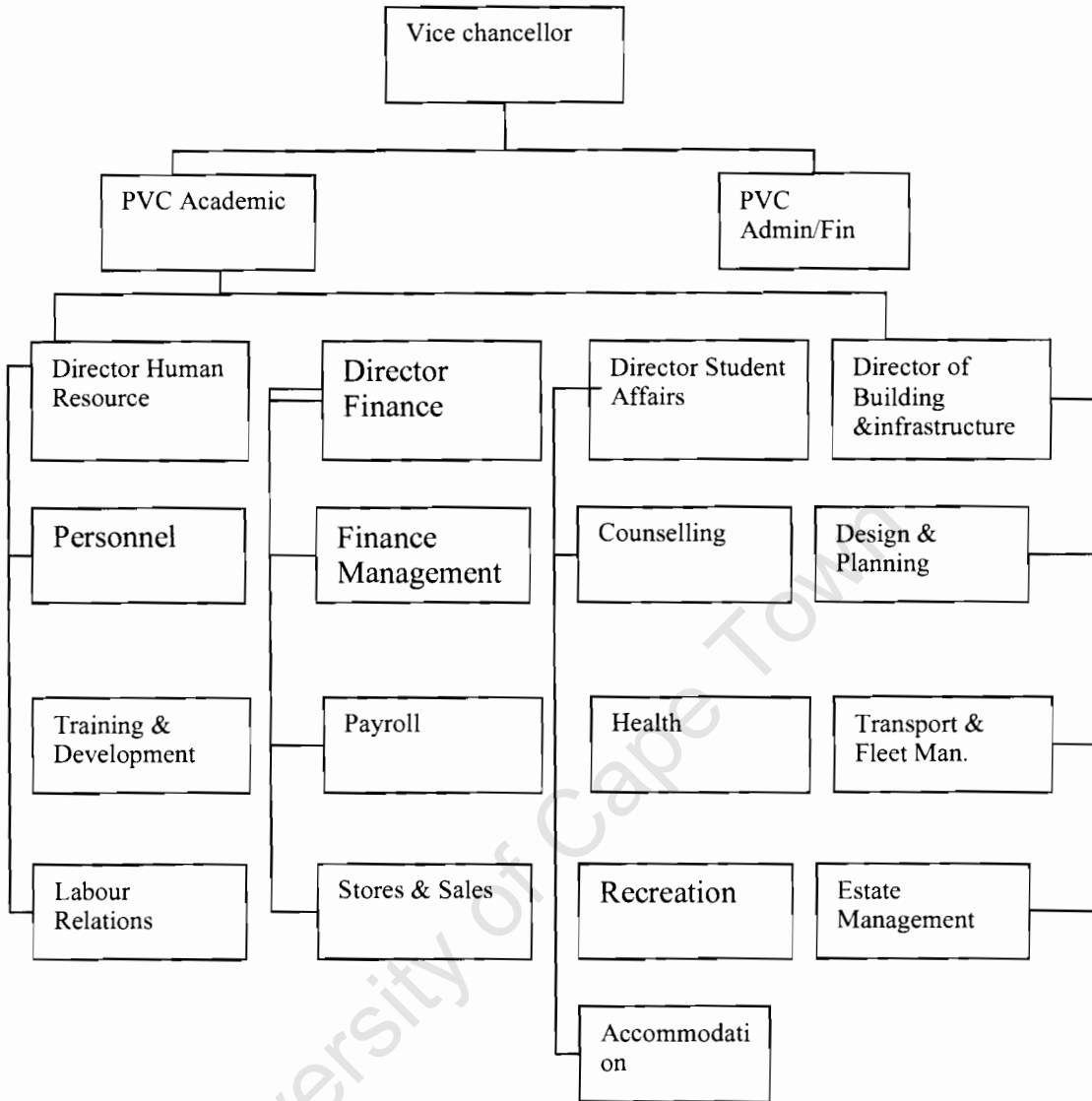
University of Cape Town

APPENDICES

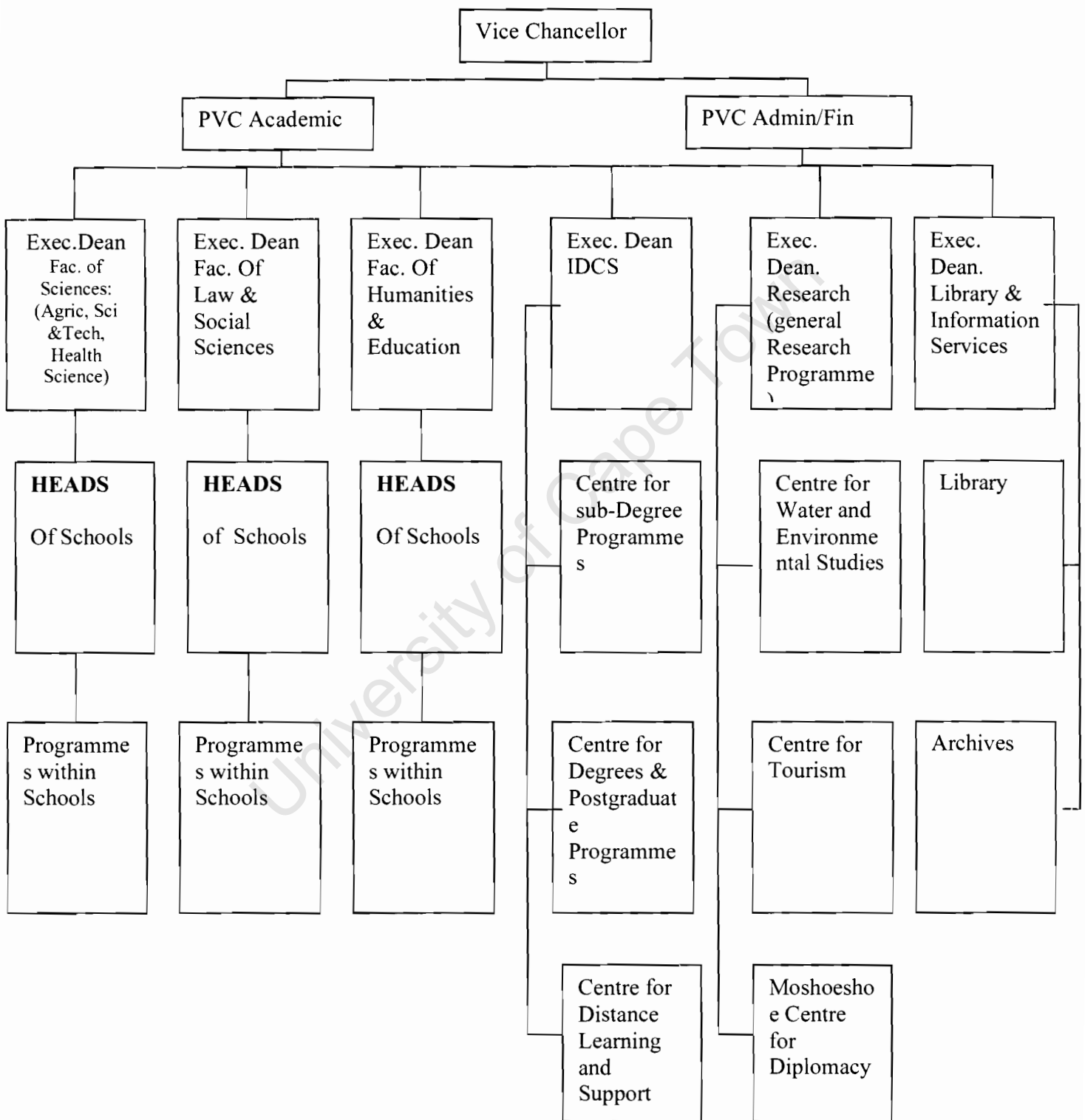
APPENDIX A: Management Structure (NUL)



Appendix B: Administrative Structure (NUL)



Appendix C: Academic Structure (NUL)



APPENDIX D: MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE. (NTTC)

Director

Deputy Director

Human Resource

Bursar

Librarian

Student Affairs

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX E: Management Structure (LPTC)

Director

Deputy Director

Bursar

Librarian

Director of Student Affairs

University of Cape Town



APPENDIX F: Interview Schedule

Research Questions Framework

- Why women are under-represented in the upper echelons of the administration and management positions with the academy (deans, heads of departments, vice-chancellor/directors)?
- Those who participated, why they are discriminated against and experience subordination?
- What are the perceived barriers to women's progress to achieve the higher positions in the academic sphere in Lesotho?

Interview Guide

Demographic Data;

Name

Age.

Occupation.

Marital Status.

Occupation

Social Relations Questions

At Home

1. What role do you play in the family?
2. Who is taking care of the family?
3. What role does your husband play within the family?
4. Does your work at home affect your work at work?

At Work

Reserved for those who are in the management and administration positions



1. How long did you work at the institution?
2. How is the Board of control made up of?
3. Are women present in the Board of Control?
4. In which positions they are found?

Reserved for those who are lecturing and also the secretaries

1. How long have you been a lecture at this institution? Or a secretary?
2. From the faculty you are how many women are there? And men?
3. From all these faculties which faculty is dominated by men? And also, which faculty is dominated by women?
4. In the institution how many men are deans and how many women are also deans?

Beliefs and attitudes Questions

1. Are women keen or interested to assume higher positions in the academic hierarchy?
2. Have women been given the opportunity to be involve in higher levels of the academy?
3. Why is it difficult for women to be promoted to higher positions?
4. From my observation women outnumbered men in other careers and also men outnumbered women from other careers, from this situation, are there any factors that influence their choices?
5. What discourage women from choosing other careers?
6. Is there gender imbalance within the institution?
7. Is the institution discriminate against women?
8. What do you regard the issue of discrimination in the higher institutions of Lesotho in general?
9. Have you ever experienced discrimination in your present post or previous post?
10. In your opinion is the institution operating the same with the society?

11. Are there any statuses that treat women differently from their male counterparts

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APPENDIX G: Introduction and Debriefing

I have some questions to ask you about your experiences here in the institution. The discussion that we are going to have today will be used for my research on women in the academic sphere. The research explores factors that constrain women from occupying senior administration and management positions. I will appreciate your contribution to the information that I would require for my research. But if you can feel that you want to withdraw during the interview session you are allowed to do so.

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