

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

**Culture, gender and patriarchy: A study of sixteen female teachers in gender specific schools of Lesotho**

by Tumelo Monyane – MNYTUM001

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters of Philosophy in African Studies

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

3<sup>rd</sup> February, 2005

**Compulsory 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.

Signed by candidate

Signature: signature removed

Date: 06-10-05

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iii
Dedication.....	v
Abstract .....	vi
<b>Chapter one: Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Objective of this study .....	6
1.2 Theoretical and conceptual framework.....	8
<b>Chapter two: Context of Lesotho's history with specific emphasis on women</b> .....	<b>10</b>
2.1 Historical background on how patriarchy was enforced in the 1870s-1950s.....	11
2.2 Marriage in Lesotho .....	13
2.3 Family and patriarchy .....	15
2.4 The impact of migrant labour on women in Lesotho .....	17
2.5 The history of teaching as a profession for women.....	19
2.6 Lesotho's history about women from the 1960s until the present .....	20
2.7 How patriarchy is enforced in schools .....	22
<b>Chapter three: Methodology .....</b>	<b>26</b>
3.1 Oral history .....	26
3.2 Life stories and constructionism .....	31
3.3 Research design: sampling .....	35
3.4 Why my sampling is closely connected to my family and school links .....	37
3.5 Data collection .....	39
3.6 Ethics appraisal .....	40

2.8 Fieldwork experiences .....	41
2.9 Significance of the research/analysis .....	42
<b>Chapter four: The conceptions and features that have shaped the lives of the sixteen female teachers in Lesotho .....</b>	<b>45</b>
4.1 How patriarchy is practised in schools .....	46
4.2 Factors that restrict women’s power, attitudes and behaviours .....	49
4.3 A general overview of the teachers’ ideas about families, marriage and their profession.....	52
4.4 Women and their memories.....	62
4.5 Commentary .....	66
<b>Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis .....</b>	<b>68</b>
5.1 Background history .....	68
5.2 Interconnections between memory, culture and gender .....	72
5.3 The impact of culture and patriarchy on the lives of women .....	77
5.4 Teaching as a profession for the sixteen women .....	80
5.5 The findings of my research .....	88
<b>Chapter Six: Conclusion .....</b>	<b>97</b>
6.1 Brief summary of the previous chapters .....	97
6.2 How do the experiences and memories of living in specific communities, families and cultural formations shape the decisions of women .....	100
6.3 Areas for potential future research .....	101
Selected bibliography .....	102
List of appendices.....	110

## **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the sixteen female teachers whose stories have formed the backbone of this research project. Their names are Mamotselisi Polisa, Maleshoane Qofa, 'Malesitsi Lekoekoe, 'Manalane Nalane, 'Makhau Metsane, 'Maseabata Selialia, Thabang Monyane, 'Matoka Mochaba, Moselantja Liphoto, Makhojane Monyane, 'Mabethuel Maphathe, Limpho Lehata, 'Manapo Rankoe, 'Malesitsi Matsaba, 'Mamakotoko Moshe and 'Makananelo Matlole. It is because of them that this dissertation was made possible. Secondly, I would like to send my vote of thanks to my supervisor Dr Sean Field for his patience, guidance and help during the time while I was busy writing this dissertation.

Thirdly, I would also like to thank the UCT librarian Sandy Shell for her time and patience while helping to find the relevant sources for my research project. I would like to thank the Harry Oppenheimer Scholarship Fund for their generous financial assistance that helped me to travel to Lesotho in order to conduct my fieldwork research. I would also like to thank Mr Tiheli, a member of the Teaching Service Commission in Lesotho, for giving me the necessary details concerning teachers' employment procedures in Lesotho. I would also like to send my special thanks to the Liesbeeck Gardens warden, Mrs Kamwendo and her husband, Pastor Kamwendo for their encouraging words and prayers in the hours of need, especially when things were tough on my side.

Most of all, I would like to thank my father Selomi Ezekiel Monyane for his moral and financial support while I was writing this project. Thank you so much for your motivating words which gave me strength and power to make the final corrections of this dissertation. To my siblings 'Makhojane Monyane, 'Malefaso Monyane and Chelete Monyane- thank you very much for your tolerance and patience with my moods during the time while I was busy writing this project. I would also like to thank 'Makhojane Monyane for organizing the teachers that I interviewed at Morija Girls' High School and Thabeng High School. I would like to thank you more for giving me shelter at your home while I was doing my fieldwork research in Morija.

Finally, I would like to thank the following staff members in the Centre for Popular Memory at UCT. Felicity Swanson (a senior researcher) - thank you very much for your patience, time and interest in my work. Renate Meyer, I really appreciated your help for the visual layout of the pictures in this dissertation. Above all, I would like to thank the Almighty for giving me life and wisdom to write this dissertation.

This piece of writing is dedicated to the late 'Matumelo Monyane. Even if you did not live to see it, your memories will always be remembered in all the days of my life.

University of Cape Town

## **Abstract**

This mini-dissertation is a qualitative oral history research project that deals with the life stories of sixteen female teachers in gender specific schools of Lesotho. The women who were interviewed represent the views of some professional Basotho women who are caught up in private and public discrimination. In Lesotho, many women face discrimination in their family life, but the same scenario also applies to them in schools.

Women's life stories are centred on a series of constructions providing a general overview about who they are. But in another important sense, they also provide clear perspectives about how cultural and patriarchal values and norms influence their choices and decisions in the way they live. In Lesotho, culture and patriarchy go hand in hand and do not seem to favour women. These two components are reinforced by families and households, the social environment and government bureaucracy. Consequently, women find themselves in a dilemma in terms of life strategies because they are pulled in different directions by contradictory issues and ideologies present in their lives. As a result, they are consciously forced to construct identities that match with their ways of living in their own specific social and cultural environments.

In what follows I hope to develop and expand on the above themes that emerged from my oral history interviews. Chapter one provides an introduction to the theoretical arguments that underpin the notions of patriarchy and gendered identities. Chapter two focuses on the context of Lesotho's history in relation to the position of women from the late nineteenth century until the present. Chapter three discusses the methodology used to collect the oral and written sources.

I include a discussion of my fieldwork experiences and present my reasons for choosing to interview teachers from four gender specific schools of Lesotho. The names of the sixteen female teachers are introduced to readers. All of them were proud of their stories and did not want their names changed. The following chapter goes on to discuss gender issues in more depth, and investigates to what extent women's lives are shaped by patriarchy and culture. Close reference to the teacher's stories and detailed quotes are included to provide support for my argument. My findings and analysis in chapter five reveal that teachers' lives are shaped by broader social contexts. Women's life strategies are centred around a series of constructions that are influenced by contradictory factors such as families, social environments, education and modernity. In the conclusion, I present a general overview of my research findings and make suggestions about potential areas of future research concerning the position of professional women in Lesotho.

## Chapter one: Introduction

*“Teaching is the only available job in Lesotho. I have been searching from 1998 until now; and I haven’t found a slot anywhere. This is how I am stuck in this profession”*. These words, spoken by one of my interviewees, Miss Makhojane Monyane, epitomise how women’s life strategies are restricted by patriarchy, culture, social environments and government bureaucracies. The family is a primary institution whereby patriarchal formations are instituted in the minds of children. Children grow up knowing that their fathers are heads of the families and that they have the final word in the decisions that are made (Phoofolo, 1980; Maqutu, 1992). Their mothers tell them to respect their fathers. Hence children are brought up in social environments whereby traditional norms and values still favour men.

As a result, children grow up with this ideology in their minds, since they tend to copy and internalise these family principles. This raises the possibility of a struggle between conformity and change in their life strategies because their aspirations in life might differ from those of their parents. External factors such as modernity and education also transform them and will eventually impact on their life strategies. They have to construct new ways of living, since their experiences can transform their lives and consciousness (Bozzoli, 1991). For instance, the life strategies that women adopt change with time, as various social and cultural settings influence experiences. Consequently, their lives will be centred on a chain of constructions depending on space and time.

With regard to the family, Basotho women who are married under community of property are regarded as minors by virtue of custom and tradition (Phoofolo, 1980; Walker, 1990; Mamashela, 1991; Posel, 1991; Maqutu, 1992; Eldredge, 1993; Letuka, Matashane and Morolong, 1997; Epprecht, 2000). In actual terms, for women marriage is a place whereby certain forms of life strategies have already been constructed through the payment of *bohali* (bride price) by the parents of a young man to the parents of a young woman. Therefore, it can be argued that the custom of bride price is a license that gives men the right to dominate women in marriage. In addition, married women have no rights to own property or to make independent decisions in their families, as this is seen as the responsibility of their husbands (Mamashela, 1991; Maqutu, 1992; Letuka et al, 1997). Moreover, married women also have no control over their own sexuality, where custom demands that it is their duty to bear children. Women are vulnerable to other things in their marriages such as violence, abuse and HIV/AIDS, even though the issue of HIV/AIDS does not form the main gist of my project.

Within the context of family structures, it is clear that many women are restricted by male domination in their range of choices and decisions. This means that the patriarchal terms under which they live are a burden to women and it is difficult for them to take possession of their own rights in marriage. Basotho women are left with few options to escape these oppressive norms and values, since most of them are pressurised to marry by their families, culture and traditions. As Phoofolo (1980: 49) states, "marriage was an intrinsically exploitative institution, and that women perceived it as such, they were therefore pressured to enter into that institution".

Women have to deal with these kinds of circumstances in their marriages and as a result, they have to plan on how to survive these family burdens and responsibilities (Bozzoli, 1991).

In public, women's choices and decisions are further constrained by their communities and government bureaucracies. The quotation at the beginning of this chapter clearly shows that some teachers are not happy about the fact that they are stuck in teaching due to the lack of other alternative professions. To some extent, limited career choices also have to do with broader issues such as poverty and a lack of jobs in the country. Possibly, women also tend to be faced with the same problems and as a result they end up as teachers because there are such limited opportunities for them.

However, the issue of why Basotho women become teachers in large numbers in the country is open to debate and discussion. It can be argued that teaching is socially constructed as a popular profession amongst women to make sure they get involved in a job that is linked to socially ascribed norms about the proper role of women in society. According to the norms that underpin patriarchy, a woman's place lies in the kitchen, since she is considered to be foremost a mother, a wife, and a child bearer (Measor and Sikes, 1992; Eldredge, 1993; Hofmeyer, 1993; Darling and Glendinning, 1996). This implies that a woman's primary career is that of mothering, no matter how well-educated she is, and any career that she encounters in her life besides nurturing is considered to be secondary. In a true sense, the pressures of patriarchal structures are so powerful that they put women in certain positions within society.

As a result, they are pushed into professions such as teaching because it is regarded as a profession that is closely linked to socially ascribed norms of motherhood.

This might be one of the reasons why the Lesotho government is not opening up career opportunities for women in the other sectors besides teaching. Some of the interviewees in my study report that there are more female teachers than male teachers in their schools. However, most schools are headed by men rather than women. To some extent it can then be argued that the Lesotho government is embracing patriarchy in schools, in order to make sure that a male dominated society does not disappear.

The life stories of sixteen female teachers from specific gender schools in Lesotho form the backbone of this research project. They have narrated unique stories about their families, culture, social environments and their own personal experiences. Their stories and memories reveal how and why their identities have been formed, as well as how this has shaped their lives. The stories of these sixteen female teachers exist in fragmentary experiences and memories that are derived from their cultural and environmental formations, the bits and pieces that are socially constructed by the community. This brings about controversies about consciousness and the notion of the self (Bozzoli, 1991). If women's stories or memories mostly consist of a chain of constructions, then the researcher's work is to make sense out of these constructions. Their stories have helped me to realise the complexities surrounding their choices and decisions, both conscious and unconscious. This theme will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

## 1.1 Objectives of this study

The main objective of this research project is to show that culture, social environments and government bureaucracy play a major role in enforcing the patriarchal stereotypes that oppress women in Lesotho. I will attempt to demonstrate that patriarchy is not only practised in families, but is also experienced in learning institutions such as schools. At home women are subject to men (Barrett, 1980). That is, within the context of family, a male is supposed to be dominant while a woman is a minor who needs to please him (Darling and Glendinning, 1996).

These cultural stereotypes are further entrenched in schools, whereby there is a shift in the position of men from being heads of families to becoming school principals. There is also a similar shift in the role of women from being minors in their families to that of becoming assistant teachers in schools. Therefore, this shows that:

one of the characteristics of the current form of patriarchy is the structural shift from the direct, private power of the father to the publicisation of such power, to public or social patriarchy, to collectivised fathers, principally in the professions and the state (Borchorst and Siim, cited in Hearn, 1987:43; See Eisenstein, 1981; Laurin-Frenette, 1982; Brown, 1981; Holter, 1984; Burstyn, 1983).

This is supported by the fact that out of the sixteen women in my case study, four are heads of departments, while none of the interviewees are school principals.

This indicates that women are doubly marginalised in patriarchal societies such as Lesotho. Firstly, they are marginalised in families by their husbands who are the heads of the families and secondly, they are marginalised in schools because they are not given senior positions. Single women are also marginalised by their cultural and social environments. As this study sets out to demonstrate, their marital status makes

them unpopular in their own communities because, according to tradition, they are expected to be married. This is why the Basotho attach certain stigmas to unmarried women in order to discredit them. As a matter of fact, in some cases women marry in order to avoid being ridiculed by people from their own social environments.

However, this brings about many clashes or conflicts of interest concerning women's choices between their own personal desires and what their families and societies expect them to do. Most probably, women make compromises, even though it is not exactly clear as to what direction in life they would like to take. This research will also examine the relationships between teachers and students as to how they interact with each other in schools. This includes a discussion on how students in mixed gender schools and in single gender schools behave themselves in class, as well as how they discuss problems with their teachers. For example, the opinions and feelings of teachers concerning teenage pregnancy at high schools will be taken into account. In Lesotho, teenage girls are at a risk of being expelled from schools due to unplanned pregnancies (Njeuma, 1993; Kleinfeld, 1995).

As Fatou Sow argues, "gender analysis to the environment" refers to the relationship of both genders to the environment and the spaces in which they are living.

This includes both women's and men's possibly different relationship to the environment, and the impacts of different forms of gender relations on the environment. Doing so reveals the different stakes, responsibilities and control of women and men with their environments and has obvious implications for environmental management and sustainable development (Fatou Sow in Imam 1997:13).

Issues relating to how these sixteen women decided to become teachers will also be taken into account in this research project.

### **1.3 Theoretical and conceptual framework**

Historically, women's subordination in African societies began in the pre-colonial period and was reinforced by colonialism as a result of capitalism (Hofmeyer, 1993; Makoa, 1997). Men went to work in the mines in the nineteenth century, while women were left at home to take care of the household duties. After colonialism, women continued to be oppressed by their cultures and traditions that were constructed in line with patriarchy.

Scholars such as Bozzoli (1983), Hearn (1987), Walker (1990), Posel (1991), Meryl-Ekong (1992), Witz (1992), Hofmeyer (1993), Makoa (1997) have written extensively about the history of patriarchy in Africa. However, most of these writings do not talk about patriarchy in relation to professional women in general and in Lesotho specifically. This is one of the reasons why I decided to write about the life stories of professional women in Lesotho.

Posel (1991:5) states that "patriarchy was understood to refer in very broad and general terms to male domination over women". This usually takes place in the families and some of the schools in Lesotho. However, this does not mean that the patriarchal social practices between both genders are fixed because they are socially constructed (Hearn, 1987). Posel (1991) further argues that in families, crucial decisions are made by men, while women's role is to choose food and clothes for the family members. In my view, this issue is highly contested as there are some Basotho women who are breadwinners in their families, while other Basotho women are also working as teachers in order to help their husbands generate enough family income. Apart from that, some Basotho women are single mothers, like Ms Maleshoane Qofa

and 'Manalane Nalane (two of my interviewees) whose responsibilities are to raise their own children.

Furthermore, Posel (1991) argues that women can only be freed from men if societies go through both domestic (internal) and external struggle. The fact that women are extending their duties beyond household duties is a sign of an internal struggle (Posel, 1991). Since, nowadays women are becoming professionals like teachers even though they are married. With regards to external struggles, women need to challenge their customs, traditions, social environments and government bureaucracies. These are structures and institutions that impose laws and regulations that oppress women and benefit men (Posel, 1991). However, there is hope that these social practices will be changed with time due to the emergence of women who are lawyers and politicians in the country. These groups of women will see to it that the government passes laws that will improve their status in Lesotho (Makoa, 1997).

Writers such as Measor and Sikes (1992), Njeuma (1993), Kleinfeld (1995), Darling and Glendinning (1996), have written about the history of female teachers in Africa. They argue that pregnancy is seen as a handicap to career advancement for women who are unlikely to occupy higher positions in schools because they may be absent from work due to maternity leave. Moreover, women are not given senior positions in schools because they are regarded as people who tend to prioritise their family commitments over their work (Measor and Sikes, 1992). This arises from the concept that they are mothers, they raise the children and they take care of their relatives. Therefore, it is believed that a woman can't be successful (for example as a Dean of Faculty, Director or Principal) if she has to do:

... *all* the childcare, *all* the cooking, all the care of aged parents, all the housework, and all the domestic planning on one's shoulders... Woman's place in education will be nearer when Mothercare is renamed Parentcare (Delamont, 1996:18).

Finally, I would like to say that the literature of the cited academics will be utilized in this dissertation to expand on information suggested in the interviews. That is, I will analyse women's life stories with regard to the history of patriarchy and culture.

A sequence of events relating to the lives of these sixteen female teachers was revealed over the course of the interviews that will be elaborated in the following chapters. Chapter two provides the context of Lesotho's history in relation to women, while chapter three introduces the methodology used to collect the oral and written sources. It includes a discussion of my fieldwork experiences while conducting the interviews (18th July- 28<sup>th</sup> July 2004) in gender specific schools of Lesotho. Chapter four deals with the conceptions and features that have shaped the lives of the sixteen teachers. Chapter five presents the findings and analysis obtained from the interviews.

Some of the ideas that were raised by the sixteen interviewees within the context of professional women teachers working in schools in Lesotho will also be discussed. In the conclusion, I present a general overview of my research findings and make some suggestions about potential areas for future research concerning the position of women in Lesotho.

## **Chapter two: Context of Lesotho's history with specific emphasis on women**

Patriarchy plays a major role in the marginalization of women in Lesotho. This is a social system whereby there are unequal relations between men and women. Patriarchy is a social concept whereby the upper positions or hierarchies are occupied by men (Hearn, 1987; Posel, 1991; Meryl Ekong, 1992; Witz, 1992). In patriarchy men are the heads of families and women are described in relation to them, as daughters, wives, mothers and children who require men's protection (Meryl Ekong, 1992).

Patriarchy does not only take place in families but it is also found in public institutions, in social environments and in schools (Hearn, 1987). As Witz (1992:11) states, "to speak of the patriarchal structuring of gender relations is to describe the ways in which male power is institutionalised within different sites of social relations in society".

Patriarchy also allows men to dominate women as is the case in Lesotho. That is:

In a patriarchal society such as the Basotho, it is always assumed that men have power over women and that for the latter to act, the advice or permission of the former will be sought. This is the basic principle that governs relationships between men and women under patriarchy (Larson, Mapetla & Schlyter, 1998:106).

This shows that a family becomes a private prison for women, in that they become subject to the control of the men in the house (Barrett, 1980). Patriarchy is further entrenched in the marriage negotiations between the families of the bride-to-be and the bridegroom-to-be through the payment of bride wealth. In this chapter the historical context of women and patriarchy in Lesotho will be discussed.

## **2.1 Historical background on how patriarchy was enforced in the 1870s – 1950s**

Historically women's subordination in African societies began in the pre-colonial period (Hofmeyer, 1993). This subordination coincided with the formation of a patriarchal culture which shaped and moulded the ideologies of the Basotho nation.

In Lesotho wealth was controlled by men. For instance, women were not allowed to own cattle which were a source of wealth. Rather they were seen as mothers who had to take care of their families, nurse the children and deal with the domestic work (Eldredge, 1993; Hofmeyer, 1993). They were also regarded as people who were responsible for cultivation "while men controlled cattle keeping. Largely barred from access to stock, the major form of storable wealth, women could never really accumulate wealth nor trade in the products of cattle" (Hofmeyer, 1993:27). This cultural practice reinforced women's subordinate relationships to men and in this manner, women were obliged to depend on men for income as cattle were exchanged for cash by the Basotho. As Eldredge (1993:40) says, "Men prevented women from having independent access to material resources, especially land and cattle, to ensure women's dependence [on them]".

Patriarchy was also enforced by colonialism as a result of capitalism.

In Lesotho, women's subordination predated colonialism and capitalism, but the intrusion of capitalism, aided by colonialism, both perpetuated and intensified women's subordination by creating additional incentives and opportunities for that subordination (Eldredge, 1993:42).

Colonialism favoured men over women because it gave the former an opportunity to get involved in the cash economy (Eldredge, 1993). Some men went to the South African mines due to capitalism.

They wanted to get money to support their families and to pay the bride price (Murray, 1977; Walker, 1990). Moreover, they also went to the mines due to the high rates of poverty that existed in the country. This was as a result of natural disasters such as the drought of the 1930s and the rinderpest outbreak of 1896, when many Basotho lost their cattle (Murray, 1977; 1981).

As a result, men went to work in the South African mines while women were left behind in Lesotho with the responsibility of having to manage regular household duties (Bozzoli, 1983). They had to plough the fields, send the children to school and maintain the family at home. That is, “As the demands of the capitalist mode of production for labour increased ... men were drawn into capitalist production, while women performed the function of reproducing [and] maintaining [the families at home]” (Bozzoli, 1983:143). Hence, this shows that to a certain extent migrant labour gave a certain form of freedom to women since they had to manage the household duties during the absence of men at home.

In Lesotho, the British colonial authorities empowered men more than women in the sense that the latter were discriminated against in the employment sectors (Makoa, 1997). For example, male civil servants were the only ones who were given gratuities and pensions on retirement (Makoa, 1997). Furthermore, the colonial government reserved certain type of jobs for men. For example, men were employed in law enforcement and peace-keeping sectors by the colonial regime (Makoa, 1997).

## 2.2 Marriage in Lesotho

There are two forms of marriage in Lesotho-the one is known as customary law and the other civil law. Marriages that take place in court or in church fall under civil law, whereas traditional marriage is referred to as the Sotho law or the customary law (Duncan, 1960). However, a couple usually goes through the marriage of customary law because negotiations between the families of the bride and groom in most cases, takes place before a couple can either go to court or church.

Moreover, marriage under customary law is considered to be part of the social and cultural heritage of the Basotho, since it distinguishes the Basotho nation from other African nations. Poulter (1976) supports this statement when saying that without customary law the Basotho would not exist as a nation. This form of marriage is not only considered as an element that binds a husband and a wife together, but one that binds their families too (Phoofolo, 1980; Mamashela, 1991; Maqutu, 1992; Epprecht, 2000). However, marriage negotiations between two families are only conducted by men. This means that women are barred from taking part in negotiations that make decisions about their own lives (Bozzoli, 1983).

Customary law negotiations between the two families also include a payment of bohali or *lobola* (bride price), which is given to the family of the bride-to-be by the family of the bridegroom-to-be. Murray (1977) and Coplan (1991) state that the bride price is taken to the woman's family and it can either be paid in the form of cattle or money. Nowadays, bride price is usually paid in cash, where the money still constitutes a certain number of cattle.

However, in the past there was high bride wealth demand for the daughters of the chiefs and it ranged between twenty to thirty cattle (Walker, 1990). Nowadays, high bride wealth depends on the woman's education. Parents whose daughters are educated are at an advantage of claiming high bride wealth than parents whose daughters are not schooled (Poulter, 1976). After the payment of *bohali* is settled the two families meet and make arrangements for the marriage ceremony of their children.

Bride wealth has a significant role in the marriage of the Basotho. It gives men the power to control their wives. The bride price also gives the husband's family the authority to have access to the children who will be born after a couple has been married (Poulter, 1977; Walker, 1990; Eldredge, 1993). That is:

The institution in which male control over women and over female fertility specifically found expression was marriage, and the social practice which legitimated marriage and the male transfer of rights over women (and their unborn children) was that of bridewealth, which most characteristically took the form of cattle (Guy quoted in Walker, 1990:7).

Moreover, *bohali* (bride price) is paid as compensation to the bride's family for the upbringing of their daughter. They might have encountered expenses for their daughter's education and so if they have to part or take her to another family they need to be compensated for doing so (Poulter, 1976). Apart from that, *bohali* is paid as a form of security for the bride, in case she is deserted or neglected by her husband, she can still go and seek refuge from her maternal parents (Poulter, 1976).

### 2.3 Family and patriarchy

Once married a woman is taken care of by her husband and she is always regarded as a minor while her husband is considered to be the head of the family (Duncan, 1960; Epprecht, 2000). That is, “under the customary law a woman, before marriage, is under the guardianship of her father. Upon marriage she transfers to that of her husband;” (Letuka, Matashane and Morolong, 1997:20). This means women have to seek permission from their husbands if they want to make decisions about their children, as children belong to the husband according to the Basotho custom (Epprecht, 2000). Furthermore, patriarchy is also enforced by the elderly women, whose responsibilities are to ensure that the young bride respects her husband, as well as the elder brothers and sisters of her husband (Phoofolo, 1980). This means that:

the wife becomes a minor and her husband becomes her guardian not only as regards her person but also as regards her property. The guardianship which the husband exercises over the wife's property confers on him the exclusive right of managing and administering all the property belonging to the joint estate [family]. He is in sole control of the assets of the joint estate and may ordinarily freely alienate, pledge or mortgage them without her consent (Mamashela, 1991:198).

Hence, this indicates that in marriages women might be victims of exploitation, manipulation and abuse. In real terms, this means that women's control by their husbands can either be good or bad as this depends on specific individuals. For instance, women whose husbands are considerate, civilised and understanding might enjoy their marriage life, whereas women whose husbands are barbarian and culturally frozen are likely to be bitter and unhappy in marriage. They will also want to free themselves from this burden. Therefore, this is why there are cases of family separations and divorces in some families in Lesotho.

However, the fact that some women are still oppressed by their husbands in families shows that the process of modernity is uneven and has not brought about meaningful improvements in social status to all women in Lesotho (Makoa, 1997). Women's freedom is still "...constrained by a battery of national laws, societal norms, taboos, traditions, customs, institutions and the ideology of patriarchy" (Makoa, 1997:5). For instance, women are expected to fall pregnant and give birth to the children in return for the payment of *lobola* (Epprecht, 2000). This indicates that there is a possibility that a woman who is barren may not be favoured by both her husband and her parent-in-laws since:

Women were needed to reproduce and care for children, to care for the elderly, to train children for the tasks they will perform as adults (Armstrong, Casimiro, Letuka, Mamashela, Musanya, Ncube, Rwezaura and Stewart, 1995:7).

Guy (1990) and Eldredge (1993) share similar views to Armstrong (et al, 1995) when they state that fertility was used as a tool in which women could preserve their happiness in marriage.

A Mosotho woman who is married under customary law cannot inherit property because it is inherited by the first son in every family. This implies that:

Customary law does not accord women the same property rights as men. Presently, the customary position is that property rights of the family are vested in men. For this reason, the heir, according to the customary inheritance law, is always a male (Letuka, Matashane and Morolong, 1997:20).

As a result, it can be argued that marriage under customary law enforces women's oppression by men. However, statistics shows that 50% of the families in Lesotho are ruled by women (Modo, 2001). This is a sign that Basotho family structures are changing, because some families are becoming increasingly more economically dependent on women, although the laws are not flexible enough to allow them to inherit property (Modo, 2001:79).

The fact that some families are dependent on women shows that important shifts are occurring in social and economic structures, whereby women are increasingly becoming the breadwinners and the heads of their families. This is a clear sign that the ideologies and politics of patriarchy and traditional culture which enforce women's subordination in families are beginning to diminish. Some of the patriarchal ideologies will change with time, especially because broader forces such as modernity and better access to education are empowering women. Women will soon realise that they can still be independent, regardless as to whether they are married or not.

#### **2.4 The impact of migrant labour on women in Lesotho**

Migrant labour resulted in the separation of many families, with men spending most of the time far away from their families and children. Women were left at home and they were faced with the responsibilities of having to look for work in order to supplement the income of their husbands. In his statistical data, Murray (1977) states that 70% of women in Lesotho, whose husbands are mine workers, are responsible for managing the households.

Migration had a negative impact on marriage because it gave birth to illegitimate children, ruined marriages, and led to loss of friends and relatives (Modo, 2001). Men claimed to feel lonely while being away from home and most of them engaged in *bonyatsi*-cohabitation (Coplan, 1991). That is, the absence of men from home for a long time resulted in "...conjugal separation, which refers to an inevitable demographic feature of oscillating migration, from conjugal dissociation, which refers to the sociological breakdown of marriage" (Murray, 1977: 85).

This might be true, because some men, who migrated to the South African mines with the intention of going to work for their families, never returned (Walker, 1990). Faced with these conditions women had no option but to find ways of earning a living, in order to support their children. As a result, some women also migrated to South Africa to work on the farms, while others migrated from the rural to the urban areas of Lesotho (Walker, 1990). These women were called *matekatse*; meaning “runaway wives” (Walker, 1990; Epprecht, 1993; Makoa, 1997).

In the 1890s it was “runaway wives” who captured most attention. When the Basutoland National Council proposed in 1914 that women be obliged to carry a pass signed by their husbands or fathers and chiefs in order to cross the border into South Africa, the commoner councillor Josias drew attention to their often unhappy position: ‘Some will blame you, the sons of Moshesh, some of these women will say they have no blankets, they have no homes, or they are denied conjugal rights’ (Kimble, cited in Walker, 1990:235).

However, the failure of the state to control women’s migration weakened men’s control over their wives (Walker, 1990).

Women’s migration to South Africa in the nineteenth century marked a significant turning point in the history of Lesotho. Migrating to South Africa gave women the opportunity to escape oppressive customs and traditions that placed them in subordinate positions in relation to men (Coplan, 1991; Makoa, 1997). Therefore, it can be appropriate to argue that:

The fleeing of married women from Lesotho was politically significant. It signified the growing gender consciousness among Basotho women. Apart from providing what we may call an “exit option” for a woman, “running away” (*ho tekatsa*) to South Africa was a form of protest against patriarchy. Thus the runaway wives are those women who voted with their feet against Lesotho’s state-fostered gender inequality (Makoa, 1997:10).

While in South Africa the Basotho women lived in shebeens that were located not far from the mines. They also managed to be independent because they earned their income through prostitution and brewing (Walker, 1990; Epprecht, 1993).

## **2.5 The history of teaching as a profession for women**

From 1870 to the 1970s, various job opportunities were given to men, while teaching was seen as a suitable profession for women (Darling and Glendinning, 1996). In the 1920s, a female teacher had to stay at home and give up working after getting married because “it was not considered correct that a married woman should work” (Elgqvist, 1994:119). Married women were economically dependent on their husbands at that time. However, during the Second World War, female teachers got a chance to work because they had to support their families while their husbands were at the war. Therefore, during this period “it was considered correct to combine home, family and teaching” (Elgqvist, 1994:119). After the Second World War, married women who were teachers faced criticism. They were seen as people who were less committed to their work since they had other family commitments besides their profession (Darling and Glendinning, 1996). As a result, they were not given senior positions in schools.

This ideology still has an impact in the way schools in Lesotho are administered today. For instance, women are not given senior positions in schools due to their gender. The main reason being that they may sometimes be unavailable to work, since they might fall pregnant and subsequently take maternity leave. In fact, “women are seen as a liability because they will either be away for extended periods or work shorter hours” (Letuka et al, 1997:21). This is also applicable to my case study because out of the sixteen teachers I interviewed, four of them are heads of departments, while none of the sixteen is a head teacher. That is, a ratio of senior teachers to assistant teachers is 1:4.

## **2.5 Lesotho's history about women from the 1960s until the present**

Women in professions have been historically affected by the cultural stereotypes whereby a woman had to choose between marriage and education (Darling and Glendinning, 1996). Before 1984, there were unequal job opportunities for men and women in Lesotho (Letuka, Matashane and Morolong, 1997). Men received more benefits than women. For instance, the employment terms and conditions of a single man could not change after he got married, but a single woman forfeited her pension once she was married. After marriage, she was also employed on temporary basis.

This shows that the Lesotho government also embraced patriarchy in the government sectors by making sure that women were in the long run, economically dependent on men. That is, for single working women, "becoming a mother often mean[t] economic dependence on another person...and frequently reduce[d] women's income" (Nicolson, 1998:6).

This indicates that the government also oppressed married women in order to reinforce their dependence on men. Since, "upon marriage [a woman] would be deemed to have terminated her contract and could only be re-appointed on a temporary basis" (Letuka et al, 1997:21). However, the government never guaranteed these women that they would still be employed after marriage, but the decision making was left in the hands of their husbands. Therefore, this implies that it was risky for a woman to get married because she would forfeit her benefits.

Women's employment conditions in the civil service changed in 1992 due to the influence of Women and Law in Southern Africa, whereby women pressurised the government to review the status of women in the government sectors (Letuka et al, 1997). It was only after 1992 that all women in the civil service received benefits such as pensions, regardless of their marital status (Letuka et al, 1997). Actually, 1992 is a key watershed year in terms of my argument because it marks a turning point in the history of discrimination of professional women in Lesotho. For the first time, Lesotho women were able to have access to what they never had before. Their fears concerning their choices to be married which were a risk to their job security came to an end in 1992. This period also helped married women escape from the ethics and politics of their husbands, who made the decisions about whether they could still go back to work or not after getting married (Letuka et al, 1997). Therefore, it can be argued that the 1992 government changes concerning women's status lessened men's power over women in marriages. For instance, from 1992 onwards, professional married women were entitled to all the benefits when they retired from work, whereas before 1992, their job benefits were determined by their marital status. Before 1992, only single women could be employed on a permanent basis and receive benefits, while married women were only employed on a temporary basis (Letuka et al, 1997).

Apart from that, I would also like to point out that although there are equal job opportunities for both genders in the government sectors, there is still a lack of alternative professions opening up for women other than in teaching (Darling et al, 1996). As a result, most women are stuck in the teaching profession. This has been revealed in the life stories of some of my interviewees.

Some of the sixteen women who I interviewed said that they are teachers because it is easy for a woman to find a job if she is a teacher. However, their stories will be discussed in detail in the next chapters.

## **2.6 How patriarchy is enforced in schools**

From 1836, when the first schools were built in Lesotho, up to 1995, a female teacher in a church school was not allowed to have a child out of the wedlock and if that was the case, she was subsequently expelled from school (Interviews with Mr Tiheli: 20:01:05). I would like readers to note that the four schools whose teachers have been used as case studies in my research are all Christian schools. Mr Tiheli, who is a member of the Teaching Service Commission, has also stated that before 1995, the Education Act of the Churches never allowed unmarried teachers to have children without being married. Hence, this shows that women's choices were still narrowed by the churches in teaching. This was done by the church leaders who owned the schools and it was the responsibility of the Education School Secretariat, Mr Tiheli, to see that these rules and regulations were put into practice in these church schools.

Hence, this meant that unmarried female teachers were left with few options. Firstly, if they wanted children they had to be married, even if they never had any intentions to do so. So the safest option for them was to be married, in order to secure their jobs and avoid embarrassment (Interviews with Mr Tiheli:20:01:05). At this point, I would like to tell readers that before 1995, Mr Tiheli was a member of the Education School Secretariat of the Evangelical Church Schools in Lesotho, and at the moment he is a member of the Teaching Service Commission (TSC) in Lesotho.

Before 1995, the Lesotho government assisted the church schools by giving them grants, and teachers were directly paid through the Education Schools' Secretariat (Tiheli: 20:01:05). The government never interfered with the management of the schools as this was done by the churches themselves, with the help of school boards. The chairmen of these boards were mostly priests from the Evangelical schools and bishops from Catholic schools (Tiheli:20:01:05). By not interfering in the management of church schools, the Lesotho government can be blamed for indirectly supporting the terms and conditions that enforced limitations in the freedom of women's choices within the employment sphere of teaching (Barrett, 1980). Hence, this shows that the state played an important role in maintaining structures and ideologies that discriminated against women in church schools (Barrett, 1980). However, in 1995 changes were made by the government with regard to all the schools in Lesotho. Mr Tiheli said that the Education Act of 1995, The Amendment Act of 1996, and the Teaching Service Rules and Regulations of 2002 replaced the church policies that were still practised in schools before 1995. These Acts stated that all female teachers are entitled to maternity leave regardless of whether they are married or not.

The main problem with these Acts is that even though teachers are directly paid by the government, the schools are still owned by the churches. This is because churches have not signed any contracts with the government that allows it to own the church schools directly (Tiheli: 20:01:05). Therefore, the possibility exists that these government laws and Acts might only apply on paper and not in practice in the church schools.

This is because the church schools are still managed by the school boards, where the chairman or deputy chairman are church priests and bishops as it has been the case before 1995.

I am saying so because at the moment the Lesotho government has introduced free education policies in all the primary schools across the country, but some primary schools, such as the Roman Catholic schools and private schools charge school fees. In my observations as a young Mosotho woman, free education seems to be mostly practised in the government schools and not in the church schools. Therefore, on these grounds, I cannot claim that the 1995 Education Act, the 1996 Amendment Act and 2002 Teaching Service Rules and Regulations, will replace the rules and regulations operating in the church schools, especially when some of the church schools are not following government orders. As a result, I do not think that unmarried female teachers in the church schools are able to take maternity leave, without the possible threat of expulsion.

This is why I find it appropriate to argue that the government is adopting go-slow strategies when it has to abolish the church's rules and regulations that oppress women in schools. In fact, if the government really wants the churches to obey its orders, it can refuse to pay teachers in church schools. However, it seems as if the government indirectly supports some of the church's principles that are meant to uphold and retain some of the Basotho's traditional practices in schools. For instance, churches embrace Basotho culture and traditions which condone the practice of women having children outside of marriage (Poulter, 1976; Phoofolo, 1980; Posel, 1991; Nicolson, 1998).

In conclusion, I would say that there are some families who are economically dependent on women in Lesotho (Modo, 2001). This signifies an important shift in the history of women who have experienced discrimination living in a patriarchal society. This also brings about a sense of hope that patriarchal stereotypes will gradually fall away. Hence, this might be possible because today out of one hundred and twenty parliamentarians in Lesotho, seventeen are women, while out of thirteen government ministers, five women are ministers. Women now have a chance to vote for the policies that will promote their rights and interests and help to change the patriarchal social practices that oppress them (Makoa, 1997). The impact of patriarchy on the lives of the sixteen women in my case study will be explored in detail in chapters four and five. The next chapter will discuss the methodology that I used to collect data for this research project.

## Chapter three: Methodology

### 3.1 Oral history

I used detailed oral history interviews as a research methodology for this dissertation. These in depth, life history interviews enabled me to capture some fascinating insights into the lives of the sixteen female teachers. These women used language to make sense of themselves in relation to their own families, their social environments, as well as their cultures. For instance, they explained how they related to the students and how their experiences in teaching impacted on their attitudes and behaviour towards other people in their communities.

Oral history sources are narrative sources (Portelli, 1998). Some narratives are shaped by shifts in events and experiences, and by time and location. For example, an “informant” spoke for a long time about certain events in her life, which were both striking and touching. This is because “People remember what *they* think is important, not necessarily what the interviewer considers most consequential” (Ritchie, 1995:12). In this case, I would like to agree with Ritchie (1995) because oral history interview questions can be both direct, and indirect or open-ended, in the sense that the latter are used as guidelines and prompts for the interviewee. This type of questioning gives an interviewee freedom to say more about the things she thinks are significant about her life. For example, a leading question such as, “Did you feel sad when your mother died”? might be asked. Besides that, an interviewer cannot write about everything that has been said by the narrator, but she or he will select stories that form the main focus of her or his argument.

In this dissertation, I selected stories in which the sixteen teachers talked about their choices and decisions pertaining to different aspects of their lives, such as their families, social environments, cultures and gender. As life stories “give the interviewee enough time to relate what both the interviewer seeks and the interviewee wants to tell” (Ritchie, 1995:16). Life stories allow people to talk about “their entire lives, from childhood to the present” (Ritchie, 1995:16).

Field (1999) refers to interviewees as the ‘living historical actors’ and is depicted in the dialogue between the interviewer and the respondent. Although oral history is criticized for being unreliable since it is based on memory, the fact is that memory gives valid information about the past and how past events are related to the present (Thomson, 1998; Field,1999). As Portelli says, “Interviews often reveal unknown events or unknown aspects of known events; they always cast new light on unexplored areas of the daily life of the non hegemonic classes” (Portelli in Perks and Thomson, 1998:67). Moreover, memories help us to see how people make sense of their lives and their environments (Slim and Thompson, 1993). That is, how the informants use language to narrate stories about their past and how the past has influenced their choices, decisions and behaviours. As Field says:

Embedded in people’s life stories are their memories of everyday choices and decisions, and the people or forces that intervene, influence or undermine their decisions or decision-making. We need to understand the logic or lack of logic which shapes people’s decisions within specific historical contexts and under particular conditions of remembering in the present and in the past (Field, 2001:131).

For example when ‘Mamakotoko Moshe says *“I got married because I wanted to have children. So, I couldn’t have them without being married. In my culture it is very wrong to have children out of the wedlock. It is illegal to have children out of the wedlock. It is a Basotho custom”*. This shows that culture has an influence on women’s decisions in Lesotho.

No matter how free and educated women are, they still fail to live beyond some of their deep-rooted customs and traditions in terms of their choices. As a result, a Mosotho woman does not think that it is logical and acceptable for her to have children without being married.

Moreover, Slim and Thompson (1993) argue that oral history might also be problematic because the interview questions might be structured in such a way to suit the interviewer's agenda. This means that the interviewer's structure of questions and motivations affects the character of the narrator's story. This also involves power relations. The narrator is an expert about his or her own story, but the telling of that story is shaped by the demands and interests of the interviewer (Slim and Thompson, 1993). Therefore, this means that "[t]he interviewers special interests, and ability to question and to prompt will determine the interview's flow and direction" (Slim and Thompson, 1993:147). Oral history however is also subjective, in the sense that the narrator will only reveal what she or he wants the interviewer to know, but not everything about his or her life. Therefore, this shows that "oral history can never be told without taking sides, since the 'sides' exist in the telling" (Perks and Thomson, 1998:73). Furthermore, "oral history changes the writing of history" as the narrator becomes part of the story being told (Perks and Thomson, 1998:72).

Portelli (1998) also argues that distortions in the interviews also occur during publication. Interviews take place as a result of a dialogue between a narrator and a researcher. However, at the time of publication, the researcher's voice is taken out and distortion results.

That is, “when the researcher’s voice is cut out, the narrator’s voice is distorted” (Portelli in Perks and Thomson 1998:71). As a result, the narrator’s voice will keep on repeating the same story or words without questions.

Sometimes the narrator’s voice will constantly be saying the same thing even when it is unnecessary to say so. This tends to happen with interviewees who experienced past traumas. Furthermore, oral history changes the narrative of a story and its attitude as the narrator becomes part of the story that is “being told” (Portelli, 1998). This is why I have included the photographs of some of the sixteen women I interviewed in chapter four, which deals with their life stories.

Portelli (1997) also states that in an oral history interview, the first person to speak is the interviewer who asks a question. This makes the interviewees narration appear as a response to the interviewer’s question. Therefore:

There is no oral history before the encounter of two different subjects, one with a story to tell and the other with a history to reconstruct. ... the first person who speaks in an oral history interview is usually not the interviewee. In a very concrete sense, the source’s narrative can be seen always as a response to the historian’s initial questions: “When were you born?” “[Who are your parents]” (Portelli, 1997:9).

This also applied to me, because while I was conducting my research in Lesotho between the 18<sup>th</sup> - 28th July, 2004, I was the first person to ask questions. After introducing myself to the teachers, my first question was “when and where were you born”?

Oral history also makes us aware of peoples' historical experiences, as well as their roles in the history of their own societies (Portelli, 1997). This generally applies more to teachers who are teaching in schools that are located within communities where they grew up. In most cases, these teachers are more committed to their work than teachers who are foreign to the communities where the schools are located. They feel that if they work hard they are helping to improve the standards of their own people, as is the case with 'Makhau Metsane when she says:

*I was born at Hleoheng in 1959. I attended my primary school at Hleoheng Primary School. I still remember some of my primary school teachers very much because they are also the village members. We still stay together even now I can see them and we can still talk about the past when I was a student. I still like them. I was very much impressed by their devotion; how much they were devoted. I was a person who was a hard worker and I preferred devoted teachers. My principal 'Me 'Mathabo was very much devoted. My teachers Ntate Leketa and others were also devoted, I like Hleoheng High school and I am trying hard to see how best can we improve the school because you see my children are also attending school here not only my children even those coming from the community. You know I like the community around here so I am worried about how best we can do to improve the school so that the output here can also be like in the other schools because we would like to see our children joining higher learning institutions when leaving this school. We would like to see them becoming better citizens of Lesotho in the future.*

Oral history is also a learning experience for the researcher or oral historian (Portelli, 1997). For instance, it allows us to learn about peoples' ideas and opinions concerning their relationships with the authorities and the public (Portelli, 1997). That is, the life stories of the sixteen women also talk about teacher's relations with the administration of the schools, students and communities in which schools are located.

I need to acknowledge that I have brought my own subjective experiences into this research project, in order to gain clarity in certain issues. My personal experience as a Mosotho female teacher helped me to frame the interview questions for the Basotho female teachers in a certain way.

As Slim and Thompson (1993:75) say:

Ideally, interviewers should originate from the same area as their subjects or one similar to it, ... they need familiarisation with the project's subject matter and the issues likely to come up during the "listening" process. At the same time, interviewers must not be tempted to feel that they already know many of the answers they seek. Their purpose is to learn from someone who is better informed than they are, and who may well have a different perspective on the issues in question.

Moreover, I shared similar experiences with some of the sixteen teachers I interviewed. For example, out of the sixteen teachers who were interviewed, fourteen of them are the products of the National University of Lesotho. This is the same institution where I received my professional training as a female teacher. Apart from that, the sixteen teachers are high school teachers in Lesotho and I was also a high school teacher from 1997-2000. Furthermore, I also share the same family background with some of the teachers. 'Makhojane Monyane is my sister, while Thabang Monyane is my cousin in the sense that our fathers are brothers and her mother is a teacher too.

### **3.2 Life stories and constructionism**

According to Miller (2000:139) a "life story is an active construction of the respondents view of their life". There is no single formula as to how one must construct a life story since in an interview, the interviewees are usually responding to the interviewer's questions. That is, "the interviewer's special interests, and ability to question and to prompt will determine the interview's flow and direction" (Slim et al, 1993: 147). As a result, interviewers need to acknowledge their own subjectivity, but need to remain objective or non-judgemental in an interview situation, since the narrator's utterances are constructed in line with what the researchers are saying. When relating their life stories, narrators also select what they say to the interviewer and in most cases this involves exclusion and selection processes.

Therefore, this shows that “memory is notoriously selective” (Miller, 2000:133). On the other hand, it can be argued that interviewees are justified in selecting what they would like to say to the interviewer because they cannot say everything about their whole lives. As, doing so “would literally take longer than the living of it” (Miller, 2000:133).

Furthermore, in life story interviews, narrators usually talk about their families, siblings, work experiences and how their cultural and social environments impact on their choices and actions. This was certainly the case in my research study. Therefore, this shows that constructionism considers subjective feelings and thoughts of individuals. It allows people to talk about things that are within their own social framework and to make sense out of them. Moreover, it also allows narrators to use different ways to interpret their own lives as:

There is no single ‘best’ or ‘correct’ construction. The content of a life story that a respondent will give in an interview will be dependent upon how they see their life at that particular moment and how they choose to depict that life view to the person carrying out the interview. The information given when a person tells their story is ‘true’, but not in the sense of being a close approximation to a single omnipotent reality that would be ‘truth’ in the life history collected by a realist or neo-positivist. Rather, the life story is ‘true’ in that the story the respondent chooses to give at the moment of the interview is, at that place and time, the one they have selected as a genuine depiction of their life (Miller, 2000:139-140).

In an interview, the respondent’s stories may either shift or be contradictory due to certain circumstances that have taken place in their lives. For example, one of the interviewees, Ms Maleshoane Qofa, said that although she loved her father, she never liked the fact that he had many wives. This indicates that life stories are significant because they tell us more about people’s feelings concerning relationships with their parents.

Therefore:

when we listen ... to a life story, the manner of its telling seems to us as important as what is told. We find ourselves exploring an interdisciplinary territory alongside others for whom the nature of narrative is a primary issue (Samuel and Thompson 1990:2).

After the interviews, a researcher's work is to deduce meanings from what has been said by the respondents since "interviewees are not giving their accounts in a vacuum, everything they say is being said with regard to how it will be taken by the listener/researcher" (Miller, 2000:135). This implies that researchers learn a lot from what is being said by the narrator.

A constructionist approach is relevant to my research because it is useful to oral history. This is because oral history can be used as an epistemology in order to acknowledge context specific environments, and within this discourse, individuals use language to construct stories about certain realities in their lives. As human beings, our knowledge is constructed and as individuals, we use language to make sense of something that is almost there. This is why I am interested in exploring ideas in my project about why women decided to become teachers, as well as how they make sense of their actions in relation to their cultural and social environments.

I would like the reader to note that in my case study, the sixteen female teachers talked about their own life experiences. This was an end product that came about as a result of conversations between the interviewer and the interviewees. That is, through the interviews, the interviewer helps the interviewee to take part in the construction and reconstruction of her personal identity (Coates, 1996). For instance, the life stories of these sixteen female teachers explained how and why it is significant for some women to make certain choices in life.

This has helped me to understand that some Basotho women value their customs and traditions, and this is why their choices are in line with the expectations and values of their cultural and social environments. For example, some of the teachers' life stories have helped to find out that the teachers' attitudes and behaviours are shaped by the environments in which their schools are located. As Thabang Monyane says, "*The community in which the school is located is expecting you to behave in a certain way. It takes you as an angel. It expects you to change and be different from your other age mates. You can't go to bars. You need to be respected*". Therefore, this is why Bozzoli (1991:7) says "interviews reveal things about the women and their mentalities that would otherwise remain opaque", while Slim and Thompson (1993:145) say that life stories also enable people to "give different accounts of the reasons for change and of the impacts".

The teachers' life stories are also based on memory. However, the mind is not a perfect machine because it cannot recapture all the individual's past experiences, nor return them to those original experiences (Slim and Thompson, 1993; Miller, 2000; Buehler and Ross, 2004). However, the mind can tell us about how teachers make sense of their pasts, as well as how and why they made certain decisions in their lives. Actually, the stories that have been stored in the teachers' memories are those that are important and interesting to them, as memory is selective.

### **3.3 Research design: Sampling**

This is a qualitative project whereby oral history life interviews have been used to collect data. The research is based on a case study of sixteen female teachers who are involved in a professional relationship with high school students. These sixteen women are between the ages of twenty-five and sixty.

The selection was made in such a way, that out of the four teachers that were interviewed in each school, at least one of them was between the age of forty and sixty, while the other three teachers were between the ages of twenty-five to forty. These sixteen female teachers teach at four different high schools in Lesotho. These schools are Morija Girls' High School, Thabeng High School, Hleoheng High School and Sacred Heart High School.

Thabeng H.S. and Morija Girls' High School are found in Morija a small town that is 44 km away from the capital Maseru, as shown in the map in appendix 1. These two Evangelical schools have become the focus of my study on the basis that they form a specific history for me. My mother, my two younger sisters and myself are the products of Morija Girls' High School. My father studied at Thabeng High School from 1965 to 1967, while it was still a boys' school. These are some of the basic reasons why teachers from these schools constitute my sample for the study. Moreover, it is through my religious beliefs as a member of the Lesotho Evangelical church, and my teaching experience at Hleoheng High School, that I chose this school as one of my samples of study.

As Portelli (1998:70) says, “the content of oral sources, on the other hand, depends largely on what the interviewer puts into it in terms of questions, dialogue and personal relationship”. Apart from that, I have decided to interview female teachers because I am a woman and I have also been a teacher. My personal choice for doing so is supported by Slim and Thompson (1993:65-66), when they state that “gender can also be an inhibiting factor and as a general rule interviewer and narrator should be the same sex”. Furthermore, I interviewed the female teachers because I also wanted to know the reasons why they decided to become teachers, as researchers usually select to interview people who represent their own research interests (Thompson, 1998).

I also interviewed women from Sacred Heart High School because it is the only boys’ school in the Leribe district and it is within the same vicinity as Hleoheng High School. These two schools are found in the district of Leribe and they are located near a small town called Maputsoe as it is shown in the map in appendix 1. Hleoheng High School is found in Hleoheng and Sacred Heart High School is found in St. Monica. The names of the female teachers who were interviewed, as well as their ages, are provided in the tables on the following page.

School: Sacred Heart High School	
Name of teacher	Age
Mamotselisi Polisa	45
Maleshoane Qofa *	43
'Malesitsi Lekoekoe	40
'Manalane Nalane	34

School: Hleoheng High School	
Name of teacher	Age
'Makhau Metsane	45
'Maseabata Selialia	30
Thabang Monyane *	27
'Matoka Mochaba	25

School: Morija Girls' High School	
Name of teacher	Age
Moselantja Liphoto *	60
Makhojane Monyane *	30
'Mabethuel Maphathe	29
Limpho Lehata *	25

School: Thabeng High School	
Name of teacher	Age
Mrs'Manapo Rankoe	50
'Malesitsi Matsaba	36
'Mamakotoko Moshe	36
'Makananelo Matlole	30

- indicates that a teacher is not married; if there is nothing in front of a teacher's name, it shows that she is married.

### 3.4 Why my sampling is closely connected to my family and school links

Although some of the schools that I selected in my sampling are related to my family and work history, the fact is the teachers from these schools provide a general overview about the experiences of female teachers in gender specific schools of Lesotho. As it can be argued that:

qualitative researchers seek out individuals, groups and settings where the specific processes being studied are most likely to occur. A process of constant comparison between the individuals and groups is essential since the researcher is in pursuit of understanding all aspects of his research topic (Denzin and Lincoln quoted in Delpont and Strydom, 1998:334).

Moreover, a researcher needs to select a few rich sources that will best represent what she aims to achieve in her study objectives (Yow, 1994; Durrheim, 1999). This means that a researcher needs to choose people whom she knows will provide her with the relevant information without too many difficulties (Yow, 1994). This is why I chose to interview teachers from schools that constitute my family's teaching history as samples for my study. Apart from that, Durrheim (1999) also states that interviewing a limited number of people is a good idea as this allows a researcher to obtain an in-depth study of people's experiences within a specific context. This is one of the reasons why I decided to interview sixteen women who are teachers in specific gender schools of Lesotho.

Delport et al (1998) also states that it is easier for a researcher to conduct interviews with people with whom she is familiar with. During the interviews I realized that the respondents become more comfortable and relaxed when being interviewed by a person who has shared similar experiences. The fact that the sixteen female teachers knew that I was once a teacher helped them to talk to me in a more open and frank manner. They said anything they wanted to say and sometimes they would just laugh and say "you know, students are like that". Therefore, it is important for the researcher to have these ideas in mind, since "the search for data must be guided by processes that will provide rich detail to maximise the range of specific information that can be obtained from and about that context" (Erlandson et al, quoted in Delport et al, 1998:335).

### 3.5 Data collection

Interviews took place on different days in the four different schools of Lesotho. Each interview lasted for approximately one to two hours depending on how long the narrator spoke. These interviews were recorded through an audio tape recorder. The pictures of the teachers were taken. 'Manalane Nalane who teaches at Sacred Heart High School was interviewed on the 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2004 in her own house. The other three teachers who teach in the same school were also interviewed on the same day at school.

The Morija Girls' High School teachers whose names are 'Makhojane Monyane, 'Mabethuel Maphathe, Moselantja Liphoto and Limpho Lehata were interviewed in their own houses from 6:00 p.m to 9:00 p.m from the 27<sup>th</sup> July – 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2004. I would like to acknowledge the fact that some of the teachers were interviewed in their own homes, as this was more convenient. As it is suggested that:

Sessions should be held at a time convenient to the interviewee and in a suitable location, preferably somewhere which offers seclusion, comfort and familiarity. There is often no better place than the narrator's home (Slim and Thompson, 1993:64).

However, the Hleoheng High School teachers whose names were mentioned in one of the tables above were interviewed on the 29<sup>th</sup> July, 2004 at their school. Thabeng High School teachers were also interviewed on the 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2004. The interview questions were general questions that helped me to gain a broad understanding about the life stories of these female teachers in their professional settings. These questions were guidelines for myself and they made it possible for the interviewees to cover all the necessary topics in their responses.

### 3.6 Ethics appraisal

After the interviews, each of the sixteen women was given an envelope containing the following documents: release forms, copies of tapes, transcripts and a summary of notes that were taken during the interview. This gave them freedom to erase anything they wanted. The women were also free to tell me if they wanted their names to be changed for confidential reasons. However, all sixteen women said that they would not mind if I used their original names while writing my project. After signing the release forms I used their information for my research project. Copies of the transcribed tapes will be deposited in the archives of the Centre for Popular Memory, after I have completed my project. Each cassette was marked with the interviewee's name, interviewer's name, date of the interview and the place where the interview took place.

I can honestly say that it was a privilege to work on this research project. I had some wonderful conversations with some of the people who used to be my friends, colleagues and teachers. For instance, Ms Liphoto was my Sesotho teacher when I attended school at Morija Girls' High School from 1985 to 1989. The Hleoheng High School teachers, Mrs Selialia, Mrs Metsane and Miss Monyane were my colleagues when I was teaching at that school between 1997 and 2000. In fact, chatting with these women reminded me of my own teaching years. I began to miss teaching and I realized how important it was to me.

Besides that, I would also like to tell readers that one of the interviewee's, Ms Liphoto, was quite suspicious after I interviewed her. She said that I must show her a letter from my supervisor confirming that I was doing research for the Masters thesis.

I showed her the letter that was written by my supervisor Dr Sean Field (see appendix 2). Ms Liphoto said that she thought that I was going to give the tapes to the principal so that her information could be used against her. I assured that her that as I indicated in the release forms, the interviews would only be used for academic purposes. She and Mrs Metsane requested that I must not display their pictures in my thesis and I agreed since “[t]he essential purpose of ethical research ... is to protect the welfare and the rights of research participants” (Durrheim and Wassenaar, 1999:65).

### **3.7 Fieldwork experiences**

I was very unfortunate because when I went home to do my research in early July, 2004, schools in Lesotho were closed for the holidays. I started doing my research on the 18<sup>th</sup> July, 2004, and I visited a number of teachers from Sacred Heart High School at their homes, to see if I could find teachers who could be interviewed. I found Mrs Nalane who told me to come back on Monday the 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2004 when the schools officially opened.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> July, I then went to Sacred Heart High School at 8:00 a.m. and I interviewed Mrs Nalane in her own place. Afterwards, I went to school and interviewed the teachers while they were not teaching. The same scenario was also applied to the Thabeng High School teachers, who were interviewed on the 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2004. The Morija Girls’ High School teachers were interviewed at night from the 27<sup>th</sup> July to the 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2004 because they were busy teaching the students during the day. I never encountered any problems with the Thabeng and Morija Girls’ High School teachers because my sister teaches at Morija Girls. She had already made prior arrangements with the teachers in these schools on my behalf.

She also accompanied me to Thabeng H. S. when I interviewed the teachers whom she had already contacted.

The Hleoheng H. S. teachers were interviewed on the 29<sup>th</sup> July, 2004. The four teachers were interviewed at a time when they were free of teaching duties. Hleoheng High and Sacred Heart H. S. are not far from my home, so I was fortunate in that I stayed at my own home while doing research in these two schools. I did my research at Morija for two days and during that period I stayed with my sister.

Lastly, I would also like to tell readers that during the interviews my feelings and emotions were affected by 'Makhojane Monyane's story. Her story touched me especially when she said, "*my mother has died and I do miss her a lot. The mother is the best thing that one has. So, her being not part of my life now, is a great loss indeed*". In this case, I would like readers to understand that remembering my late mother makes me feel the same way as my sister does. Life without a mother is not easy. Sometimes when I encounter difficulties I really feel her absence. In fact, I have not only lost a mother, but I have also lost my best friend.

### **3.8 Significance of the research**

Talking about the life stories of sixteen female teachers in Lesotho is a way of disclosing how and why their life strategies are interwoven with culture and patriarchy. Their stories also reveal how their social environments and governments have enforced culture and patriarchy in their lives, as well as how this has impacted on their choices and decisions.

This will be done through an analysis of their life stories since they are women teachers from four gender specific schools in Lesotho, even though their memories do not represent the views of all women teachers who are either married or single. However, their stories provide a general overview about how, and to what extent culture, social environments, government bureaucracy, gender and families affect women's choices within a specific context.

Apart from that, the life stories of these women raise issues that are related to the lives of other women in the country. Therefore, talking about the life stories of these sixteen women could be used as an attempt to challenge the views of the other Basotho women with regard to the issue of patriarchy in the country since:

once any story is told; ways of seeing are altered. The point of a story is to present itself momentarily as complete, so that it can be said: it does for now, it will do; it is an account that will last a while. Its point is briefly to make an audience connive in the telling, so that they might say: yes, that's how it was; or that's how it could have been (Steedman, 1986:22).

In Lesotho women's choices are also restricted by their marital status. There is a narrow space for married women compared to single women in terms of career choices. The actions and decisions of married women are affected by broader social contexts like family locations. Married women usually choose to teach in schools that are either close to their homes, or close to places where their husbands are working. As a result, they choose careers like teaching that are flexible enough to allow them to stay in any part of the country because schools are found in almost every part of the country.

However, they are unaware that by doing so, they are choosing careers that are in line with their primary roles of being mothers and nurturers, which is something that culture and tradition expects them to do. This is why the teachers' life stories have been used as a study in order to show that "... their circumstances are not unique, accidental, or the product of their own errors or short-comings [but they are the products of the pressures from their social forces]" (Benmayor, 1999:162).

Single women are at an advantage as compared to married women no matter how influential and powerful the cultural stereotypes are. Unlike married women, single women have a right to make their own independent decisions in terms of their career choices, although their options are still constrained by their gender, family backgrounds and culture. Issues relating to how these aspects impact on women's choices are central in forming the gist of this research project and they will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters.

#### **Chapter four: The conceptions and features that have shaped the lives of the sixteen female teachers in Lesotho**

Patriarchy has played a major role in shaping the customs and traditions of the Basotho nation as I have already explained in the previous chapters. As a result, women's choices are still restricted by their culture, especially because the patriarchal practices seem to be embraced by their family backgrounds and social environments. Hence, this has created lack of choices for women in terms of decision making because they are living in a context and space whereby patriarchy is still in practice.

As a matter of fact, women find themselves making choices that make them acceptable in their own communities. However, they are not necessarily doing so because it is natural and they love it, but they do so due to the demands of their social contexts that constitute their primary roles and behaviours as women (Bohan, 1997). Hence, this symbolises that women are trapped in life strategies that have been created by their customs and traditions. These forms of life strategies are absorbed in women's minds because they connect with the norms and values of their societies.

Patriarchal concepts are also practised in government institutions such as schools. This has been revealed in the life stories of the sixteen female teachers in my case study. In schools, teachers are employed by the Teaching Service Commission, but men are mostly principals, while women are assistant teachers even though both male and female teachers possess the same qualifications. This might be one of the reasons why women teachers are so critical about the ways schools are administrated.

Patriarchal practices are enforced by communities for the continuity of culture and tradition in the country. As a result, women are still getting married and they are becoming teachers due to a variety of reasons. Some of them become teachers because they want to work with children, while others join the profession because it is easier to find a job when one is a teacher. The fact that some women like children is an indication that women teachers can make good mothers and therefore, teaching can be a suitable profession for women. This is why it can be argued that the government is not opening up many career opportunities for women in other departments than in teaching. This is strengthened by the fact that in most schools, there are more female teachers than male teachers. For instance, in Thabeng High School there are twenty-three teachers and fourteen of them are women, while nine of them are men. At Morija Girls' High School, there are twenty-two teachers, four are males and eighteen are females. At Hleoheng High School there are twenty teachers, seven of them are men, while thirteen of them are women.

#### **4.1 How patriarchy is practised in schools**

Measor and Sikes (1992) state that in schools men occupy higher ranking positions than women. Out of the sixteen female teachers that I interviewed, no one is a school principal. The principals of Sacred Heart high school, Hleoheng high school and Thabeng high school are men, while Morija Girls' high school is headed by a female. That is, the ratio of male head teachers to female head teachers is 3:1. Therefore, it can be argued that patriarchy is also enforced in schools because the professional power and control of schools lies in the hands of men (Witz, 1992). Actually:

before capitalism, a patriarchal system was established in which men controlled the labour of women and children in the family, and that in so doing men learned the technique of hierarchical organization and control. With the advent of public-private separations, such as those created by the emergence of state apparatus and economic systems based on wider exchange and larger production units, the problem for men became one of

maintaining their control over ... women. In other words, a direct personal system of control was translated into an indirect, impersonal system of control, mediated by society – wide institutions (Hartmann, quoted in Witz, 1992:21).

In schools, men's roles are constructed in line with their patriarchal status in their families. This ideology also influences their positions in schools, whereby there is a shift from them being heads of families to that of becoming principals. Similarly, the same scenario also applies to women, whereby there is a correlation between their roles of being minors and subordinates in their families, to that of becoming assistant teachers in schools. This point is confirmed by the fact that out of the sixteen teachers I interviewed, four of them are heads of departments, while none of them are principals. Moreover, even those who are assistant teachers do not want to be the heads of departments. As Thabang Monyane says:

*I don't want that responsibility of being the head of department. It is too much for me. I am too young to have that responsibility. At the moment I am responsible enough as a teacher and class teacher therefore, being a head of department would be too much for me. Besides that, I think that if I can become a head of department I might end up concentrating too much in this position than in teaching the students. In fact, my role as a teacher has nothing to do with the discipline of the students as this is usually dealt with by the administration.*



\*Makananelo Matlole also says:



*No I would not like to be the head of department because looking at their job and situation and the stress they go through when they require professional documents from other teachers really, it is not the challenge that I would like to go through.*

Based on the stories of Miss T. Monyane and Mrs Matlole, I find it appropriate to argue that some female teachers associate positions that are challenging and strenuous with men. Miss T. Monyane feels that the discipline of the students needs to be dealt with by the administration knowing quite well that members of the administration are all men. Mrs Matlole is also scared of challenges and stress so, she feels that the position of head of department is more suitable for men. As a result, one can dispute the fact that women's subordinate status within their profession stems from the fact that "women are willingly compliant and tractable subordinates, ideally suited to the role of 'hand-maidens of a male occupation that has authority over them'" (Simpson, cited in Witz, 1992:60).

At this point, I would like to point out that in patriarchy, professional work is considered to be ideal for men, whereas for women, any job besides mothering and nurturing is semi-professional (Witz, 1992). According to Witz's theory, a woman's primary role lies in a kitchen, while teaching is deemed to be their semi-profession. This signifies that cultural and patriarchal ideologies have been imposed on women's consciousness and this has impacted on their attitudes and behaviours. According to Basotho culture and traditions, women are taught to be obedient to their husbands (Phoofolo, 1980; Eldredge, 1993). Women are also brought up in environments where they are made to believe that jobs that require more effort and strength, like ploughing are meant for men, while light jobs like domestic work are meant for them (Eldredge, 1993). This concept is also applicable in schools where women like Miss T. Monyane and Mrs Matlole still believe that jobs which are hectic and challenging are meant for men.

The subordination of women also occurs in schools whereby girls are expelled from schools when they are pregnant, yet nothing is done to the boys who have impregnated them. This exemplifies that girls are unfairly treated in schools as Mrs Makhau Metsane says:

*When a girl gets pregnant in our school she is expelled. You know it is very painful but I think it is the culture of the school. Nothing happens to the boy because there is no proof in these cases. The boy cannot show anything which we can say now you are the culprit you see; because in most cases they deny. So, girls are always victims.*

Boys have the possibility of finding the easy way out of the problem because they do not fall pregnant as Mrs Metsane has said, but girls have to remain at home and nurse the children. This shows that in schools the two genders are not equally treated. Boys are given advantages to study at the expense of girls. I am saying so because there are some drastic measures that can be taken by the schools' administration in order to find a boy who has impregnated a girl. For example, the school's management can ask a boy who is a suspect for impregnating a girl to go for a paternity test and if the results are positive both of them can be expelled from school.

#### **4.2 Factors that restrict women's power, attitudes and behaviours**

Women's attitudes and behaviours are confined by their social environments. A young Mosotho woman knows that she has to be delicate and innocent in order to earn respect from the people (Darling and Glendinning, 1996). This also applies to the female teachers since they need to behave themselves in the communities in which their schools are located. These traditional roles are expected from female teachers.

As Mrs M. Metsane enunciates:

*Yes, like I have said, as a teacher you have to be careful about what you say to people and how to handle situations in different circumstances, even when you are in the village you must know that you are a teacher the way you behave and you handle the situation. The community in which your school is located is expecting you to behave well because teaching is a noble profession.*

This also applies to single female teachers. The fact that they have chosen teaching as a profession means that they have to behave themselves in the communities where their schools are located regardless of their marital status. Single female teachers are much better off than married female teachers in terms of freedom. They have an opportunity to escape certain cultural stereotypes although their choices will still be restricted by their gender. For example, they can afford to make their own independent decisions because they do not have husbands, especially in the case where their fathers are quite flexible and liberal. However, in public their gender does not refute their identity and culture. Therefore, they are still expected to behave themselves like any Mosotho woman.

Women's power is also restricted by the administrators in schools. Most of the teachers complain that students are not doing well in their subjects due to the problems that arise from the administration. They blame the administration which is mostly male dominated, for admitting students who are either rejects from other schools or pupils who are slow learners. Some teachers also blame the school management with the restructuring of the staff and they blame the management for the poor performances of the pupils in their subjects (Gender Equity Project Teachers 1995:142). This is revealed in some of the teachers' life stories, such as Mrs M. Metsane, who reports that:

*Some of the students do not perform very well in my subjects. I think the problem is the school itself; the admission of students into our school; I think it is not good. For example, in Form D we admit students from various schools and most of them are rejects from other schools and they are hopeless; and we have to deal with such students you know. In the end they do not do well in Form E because we are looking for the bigger number.*

Mrs 'Maseabata Selialia shares the same views of her colleague when she says:

*I am frustrated by the bad performance of the students which can be improved by the provision of books and the good intake of students in Form A and Form D. In most cases those students who are admitted are those who haven't done well in their standard 7 and Form C. Most of them are already slow learners.*



Miss 'Makhojane Monyane also accuses the school's management of being responsible for the poor performance of the students when she remarks that:

*Students perform well in Literature in English and in Language there is still a problem. They are handled by different teachers at different levels. The problem is with the administration. You find that they allocate teachers who are not specialists in certain fields, as a result, they miss some of things and when you try to curb students at Form D level you find that there is still a very big gap. Structuring of staff is the cause of the problem.*



However, it might also be argued that female teachers are very critical about the school's management because they are bitter when they are not promoted to senior positions. Therefore, the only way in which they can expose their anger is to criticise most of the things that are done by the administration especially because it is dominated by men.

### 4.3 A general overview of the teachers' ideas about families, marriage and their profession

The sixteen female teachers all reported that they grew up in families where both of their parents remained together. This memory has been carried out in their daily lives and forms a part of who they want to be like when one of the teachers' says:

*I am 'Makhojane Monyane. I am not married but I like my family members very much. They are cooperative, loving and caring. They are the treasures I have on earth. At the moment I am not married but I just hope the same thing could happen in my family, just in case I get married.*

That is, much as women value their teaching careers, they also aspire to marriage and children, as their parents did. As Measor and Sikes (1992:111) state, "there is still a strong feeling within society that the proper and prime role for a woman is that of wife, mother and carer".

The sixteen female teachers also grew up in societies where they are expected to be married, no matter how educated they are. According to the Basotho culture, marriage is seen as a rite of passage, whereby a woman can be a mother and have children. Therefore, most Basotho women marry because they believe that it is the right thing to do. They always talk about themselves in relation to their families. This is revealed in some of their life stories below. As 'Mabethuel Maphathe says:



*I was born at Sefikeng on the 12<sup>th</sup> January 1975. What I like most about my family is being together with my husband because when we are together it is always a good experience. My husband works in Bloemfontein and he comes home during weekends. I like it when he is around.*

Limpho Lehata's statement also reads as follows:



*"I am single, but sometimes I feel like getting married",*

while Thabang Monyane agrees with her, by saying that:

*I teach at Hleoheng High School. My parents are 'Mathabang and Tslame Monyane. I haven't decided not to get married. I want to complete my studies first. I cannot be married while I still want to further my studies. Yes. I would like to get married but not now. I also hope that my family would be like my own family. At the moment my parents and siblings are loving and caring. We all love each other in the family.*

'Maseabata Selialia's view about marriage reads as follows: *"I got married due to the nature of the culture under which I was brought up. In my community I thought it was a privilege to be married or something to be proud of and a need".*

Harding and Hintikka, (1978), Richardson, (1981) and Narayan, (1989) state that one's reality is shaped by one's beliefs and customs. This is why women's lives and choices are framed by their families, culture and traditions. For example, the sixteen female teachers believe that marriage is good because they grew up in families and societies whereby people married. This has been indicated in the life stories of 'Mabethuel Maphathe, Limpho Lehata, Thabang Monyane and 'Maseabata Selialia.

Therefore, it can be appropriate to argue that what these women seem to believe is the truth:

is a construction, a best understanding, based upon and inextricably intertwined with the contexts within which it is created. Among the most forceful of factors that shape our constructions of knowledge are the modes of discourse by which we exchange our perceptions and descriptions of reality.

Thus, knowledge is a product of social interchange; what we call knowledge is simply what we agree to call truth (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Bohan, 1990; Gergen 1985; Unger, 1983 cited by Bohan, 1997:38).

Chandler (1991) reiterates the same idea when saying that being without a husband creates a gap in a woman's life.

In a patriarchal society such as Lesotho, custom expects women to be married and if not, their communities consider them to be lonely and bitter. 'Manalane Nalane agrees that the absence of her husband makes her to feel lonely when she says:

*My family with my husband and kids. What I can say about my husband is when we lived together as a family, he, my kids and I. We had a wonderful time; he was a very caring husband even though we got married while I was young and now when I am old I tend to believe he treated me like a kid but I didn't feel it at that time. I wondered for nothing. He went shopping for groceries for me; he bought clothes for me; he did everything for me and I never had to make decisions, I never had to worry about A, B, C, D everything was there for me whenever I needed it even though I didn't know that I needed it, but it was just there to surprise me. In fact, I miss him. I miss that kind of being taken care of. He left me in January the 16<sup>th</sup> 1996; it was Tuesday 2:00 o'clock. I lost count of years. I stopped counting. If it wasn't 2000 and something I would go back to him because that's one man I love I'm sure but the problem is with AIDS and everything I cannot go back.*



'Malesitsi Lekoekoe agrees with Mrs Nalane when she says



*"We are just that family that live happily although we are just three now that we have just lost our father that is my husband. I miss him a lot; and I always cry whenever I think of him but I get the support from my kids".*

Chandler (1991) further states that women married because they were scared that their communities would attach certain stigmas to them when they were unmarried.

Mrs Nalane also supports this statement when saying that *"I just got married because I was brought up in a culture whereby a woman gets married when she reaches a certain age or else people attach stigmas like lefetoa to a woman when she does not get married"*. *Lefetoa* is a Sesotho word which the Basotho use to ridicule unmarried women by saying that they are so unattractive that no men want them. As a result, women are partly getting married in order to avoid being called *mafetou* (plural of *lefetoa*). This shows that in Lesotho "the issue of reputation ... pushes back many women into a safer and all-female world [of marriage]" (Chandler, 1991:73). Therefore, this is a symbol that women are sometimes pressurised to conform to life strategies that have been constructed for them.

Posel (1991) argues that a woman's choice not to marry is considered to be illegitimate in a patriarchal society such as Lesotho. Her point is strengthened by the fact that out of the sixteen teachers I interviewed, eleven of these female teachers are married, while five of them are not married. Three of these unmarried teachers said that they would like to be married. Their names are Limpho Lehata, Thabang Monyane and 'Makhojane Monyane. The two teachers whose names are Ms Moselantja Liphoto and Ms Maleshoane Qofa said that they never decided to be single. Ms Liphoto is sixty years old, while Ms Qofa is forty-three years old with two children. Ms Qofa also states that she finds it difficult to raise her two boys as a single mother because most of the time they see things differently.



*I have two kids. They are two boys. I did not decide to be single. It is not a matter of decision; it just happened. Sometimes we fight because they will arrive late when I don't want them to arrive late and that will create a fight and sometimes we simply don't see things the same way and that creates a friction but otherwise we are okay. The last born is 21 and the eldest is 23.*

Ms Qofa's ideas are confirmed by Granny (1994), when she argues that it is difficult for a single woman to raise boys and discipline them. Goode (1964) agrees with Granny (1994) and Ms Qofa when he asserts that boys, who grow up in an environment (family) where the father is absent most of the time, find it difficult and strenuous to readjust themselves with their mother's ideas and behaviour. This is because boys are naughty, cheeky and brave, therefore, they need a father who will discipline them (Goodman, 1949; Measor and Sikes, 1992). Measor et al (1992) also note that girls tend to be more obedient and well-behaved than boys. Hence, this usually makes it easier for a single mother to raise girls rather than boys.

On the other hand, Obbo (1988) and Granny (1994) affirm that a woman who works hard can still be independent on her own. However, Granny (1994) observes that an unmarried woman is a potential home breaker to married couples. In order to challenge the ideas of these two authors, I quote the words of Ms Moselantja Liphoto, with regard to her views concerning marriage in general and how she perceives it when she says:

*I haven't decided to be single. My parents were loving. I suspect the love they gave us influenced me to think of nothing of leaving them. All of them when I had that a girl was getting married I asked how a person could decide to get married and leave her parents. Another thing while I was old enough my father used to talk with other people. He used to say ah! I wish my daughter cannot marry the way these educated boys with whom I work with are drunkards. He didn't like drinking and other naughty things. So, he said that the educated boys he was working with were irresponsible and he didn't want me to be ill treated. And he used to say if you could happen to get somebody I won't ask for lobola (bride price); the only negotiations I could make is that you take her; but really if you feel that she is no longer satisfying you; just return her. So, I think this was the second influence. Another one is during our days more girls were educated than the boys, so, I am from the village; so imagine in those days becoming the second girl in a village to be educated at that level. So, the type of boys; most of the boys worked in the mines so, they were not my type. And another one when I saw the responsible women being ill treated for nothing because people used to say I am a boy; I have taken after my father in many things. The features, the height and the way I think. That one used to worry me; I used to say how can pretty women; responsible women be ill treated; can I afford ugly as I am. If men ill treat pretty women what about the ugly ones because they will go out with the other women. So, I can be left immediately after marriage and they will go to the pretty ones. Really, I used to say that.*

There are many issues that can be deduced from Liphoto's words. Firstly, one realises that there is a possibility that Ms Liphoto has not married because she does not trust men. Secondly, the fact that some women are still being ill-treated is a sign that there are still cases of women's emotional abuse in some families (Obbo, 1988). This is one of the issues that discouraged Ms Liphoto from getting married. Thirdly, Ms Liphoto is representative of the transition that is taking place from traditional life to western education, since she was only the second woman to be educated in her village. She is an independent woman who has her own house. Moreover, Ms Liphoto feels that her looks have made her unattractive to men and this is why she is unmarried. As a matter of fact, she seems to agree with Obbo (1988:107) that "women who had failed to find husbands were assumed to be sloppy in appearance".

The life stories of some of the female teachers also show that their choice of schools is more influenced by practical considerations such as family locations and the scarcity of jobs, than their own desires and wishes. This is why one finds that most teachers prefer teaching in certain schools either because these schools are close to their homes or because they were desperate for jobs. Malesitsi Matsaba agrees with my statement when she says that,



*"I did not choose to teach in Thabeng High School. I wanted to have a grant. I don't like teaching here. If I could get a transfer to any other school may be I would feel comfortable unlike here where I am frustrated by the administrators".*

'Mamakotoko Moshe also indicates that,

*"I chose to teach at Thabeng High School because it is near my place"*



while 'Manapo Rankoe reports that, *"[she] chose to teach at Thabeng High School because it is near [her] home as [she] stays in Phahameng. [She also says] I just applied and I got the job"*.

'Makananelo Matlole's views correspond with those of Mrs Matsaba and this is why she notes that:

*There are many reasons why I have chosen to teach at Thabeng High School. One of the reasons is that after completing my Form E I was given a job here for 3 months to replace a teacher who went on maternity leave. Secondly, after completing my studies at the tertiary institution there was a vacancy here, I then applied and I managed to be employed. However, I like teaching here because I don't find the students to be as rude as they used to be during the days while I was a student here. They are totally different from us.*

Mrs Motselisi Polisa says that she chose to teach at Sacred Heart High School due to various reasons. She says



*"Reason number one: The first reason is that it is near my home. Since I like to work hard I came to Sacred Heart H.S. because students do perform very well in this school. Sacred Heart H. S. is one of the schools that are doing well. I found it a blessing to be in this school"*.

‘Matoka Mochaba also shares the views of Mrs Polisa when saying that,

*“I chose to teach at Hleoheng High School because it was near my home. I live at Ha Nyenye. Besides that, I was here for my teaching practice and I decided I should come back. I enjoyed my teaching practice in this school”.*



From the words of Mrs Rankoe, Matsaba, Polisa and Mochaba it is possible to perceive that in terms of choices and decisions, women are prioritizing their families over their professions (Measor and Sikes, 1992). This is why they chose to teach in schools that are near their homes. Consequently, it can be argued that it is true that women are more committed to their families than their careers. This is because their lives are influenced by broader social contexts like social environments, families and culture. That is, their choices are constructed in line with what their families, culture and societies expect them to do, even though they still have the freedom to make their own decisions.

On the other hand single female teachers are free to choose wherever they want to work. However, they are restricted by their gender since teaching seems to be the only available job for them. Thabang Monyane says *“No, no, I didn’t decide to become a teacher. I lacked career guidance. I knew only teachers. Therefore, teaching was the only option for me. My mother is also a teacher”.* ‘Makananelo Matlole also says:

*Actually I didn’t like doing teaching. The people who were raising me were my mother’s sister and her husband who were also teachers. They influenced me to do teaching. They were trying to show me the benefits of being a teacher like job opportunities but now that I am a teacher I don’t think I really like it.*

Manapo Rankoe reports that



*“I just decided to a teacher because it is easy for a woman to get a job when she is a teacher”.*

While Miss 'Makhojane Monyane states that, *“teaching is the only available job in Lesotho. I have been searching from 1998 until now; and I haven't found a slot anywhere. This is how I am stuck in this profession”*. The interviews of Miss Thabang Monyane and Mrs Matlole specify that they have been influenced by their family backgrounds to do teaching as a profession on the grounds that it would be easier for them to get jobs. Mrs Rankoe and Miss M. Monyane are quite explicit when they state that teaching is the most available job for women in Lesotho. To some extent, this shows that unemployment and scarcity of jobs do contribute in narrowing women's career paths and choices. As a result, women find themselves trapped in the teaching profession, as Ms Monyane states. Therefore, lack of employment opportunities in Lesotho has resulted in women being cornered in professions that are nearer to socially ascribed norms about women's position in society.

Teaching also improves the relationships between the pupils and teachers. This shows that schools can be used as official institutions whereby patriarchal stereotypes are enforced as illustrated in the previous chapter.

In schools, women play the role of mothers and professionals at the same time. Therefore, teaching is a suitable profession for women because it gives them experiences that are similar to motherhood and this is good because the Basotho culture expects women to be mothers. Mrs M. Metsane also agrees with this statement when saying that *“as a teacher you are a parent at home and you are a parent at school regardless of your age”*.

Furthermore, teaching also gives teachers the opportunity to learn a lot from the pupils themselves, as they deal with children coming from different family backgrounds and some of them might have family problems and a teacher will have to counsel them as a mother. This point is substantiated by three teachers whose stories are quoted below. Thabang Monyane says, *“Yes, If I am a teacher I also need to take care of students who have personal problems. Hence, if this is the case I need to help them to solve their problems and continue with their studies”*. Mrs M. Matlole agrees with Miss T. Monyane when she says that, *“when teaching as I said; you are meeting students and some of them might be having different problems and if you find that some of them are open to tell you their problems you are able to devise the ways of dealing with them”*, while Mrs M. Matsaba states that teaching has helped her learn how to counsel children. This shows that there is an interrelationship between teaching and mothering. Therefore, the chances are that a good teacher will make a good family.

Darling et al (1996) argue that teaching is believed to be a well suited profession for women because what they practise in this profession is more or less similar to what they do in their families and this is something that patriarchy expects them to be.

In schools, women deal with children's problems in the same way as they deal with their own children's difficulties in their own families. In fact, teaching is closely related to women's socially ascribed norms of being mothers and caretakers as it has been explained in the previous chapter since:

Once a person enters school ... she becomes a member of a social family where [she] makes friends with other students and develop a long-term, loyal, and respectful relationship with [them] (Xing Lucy Lu in Jackson and Jordan 1999:73).

'Manalane Nalane also agrees with this concept when she says:

*I am a mother of boys; I brought boys up and I tend to believe I understand boys than girls. Where I have to deal with boys only I bring out what I normally bring out in my family. It's not like I have changed the environment; I am out of home or a smaller home into a bigger home. So, that is basically what makes me comfortable with teaching boys. I love the student especially boys. In fact, they are like my children and they can even call me mummy.*

Moreover, in teaching, a teacher's professional relationship with the pupils is affected as she no longer sees them as students, but she also perceives them as her own children with whom she can sympathise with in times of need. Hence, the more they appreciate the children, the more they will believe in their roles as mothers. This makes women naive, in such a way that they will be unaware that teaching has been designed as a profession for women, in order to enforce the patriarchal ideologies that marginalize them. This also affects them subconsciously, since they will have an impression that teaching is an appropriate profession for them. In other words:

women's experience, including their marginalization and oppression, becomes a result of qualities within themselves, rather than a reflection of the social systems that shape their lives ( cf.Fine 1985; Kahn & Yoder, 1989; Lott, 1985; 1990; Sampson, 1977, 1990; Sarason, 1981; Scheman, 1983; Squire, 1989 cited by Bohan, 1997:36).

#### **4.4 Women and their memories**

I would also like to mention that there is a strong inter-relationship between memory, culture and gender. For instance, memory might help teachers refer to their past personal experiences when they want to motivate students to work hard.

This has been verified by some of the sixteen female teachers, for example when Mrs M. Metsane notes:

*Of course; there is something that I remember that I even talk to my students now. It was the day when I was punished. You see in those days I think we were different from our present students as we had to show some responsibility. So, one day when I was doing Form D I came late to school you know sister was very angry with us and she decided to punish us after school. We were asked to clean the volleyball ground after school when other students went to sports. That was one.*

From Mrs Metsane's words, one can deduce that she is drawing on her own personal experiences to tell the students about the days when she was a high school student. In other words, she is indirectly influencing her students to work hard so that they do not experience the same kinds of things, such as being punished for arriving late at school. She does so by drawing on her personal experiences. As Steedman (1986:21) says "Case-study presents the ebb and flow of memory, the structure of dreams, the stories that people tell to explain themselves to others".

Hofmeyer (1993) and Buehler & Ross (2004) state that memories affect one's emotions. Apart from that, Buehler et al (2004:26) further assert that "peoples' memories influence their well-being and behaviour. When individuals recall happy episodes their mood tends to improve and when they remember distressing episodes it tends to worsen". This can also be observed through the interviewee's facial expression and tone of the voice. There were tears in some of the teachers' eyes when I asked them about their parents' memories. These teachers are 'Malesitsi Lekoekoe, 'Makananelo Matlole, Thabang Monyane. Mrs Lekoekoe's memories about her mother reads as follows:

*Yah! I do have more [memories] especially [about] my mother. The only thing I can remember about her is that she died in an accident while I was six years and I can still remember how I felt in her funeral. I believe I was very much touched by that because I can still remember that and when I encounter problems I believe that I could have managed to survive some of them if she was still alive.*

Mrs Matlole says “*my father passed away in 1994. Since I was the only child, by the time he passed away I was still a student, then I felt like it was the end of the world*”. Miss T. Monyane also maintains that she never enjoyed her childhood years because of the conflicts in her family:

*I only have bad memories. There were family conflicts that disturbed me with my school work. I was a lonely child and an angry and bitter one. May be it was because of the conflicts in my family between my parents. I don't remember the year. We were in a house and my father came. It was very late at night and when he came all of us were frightened. He was working at Maputsoe Police Station at that moment. When he came we didn't want to go out and my mother opened the door for him. And then my father nearly killed my mother. It was the year 1989.*

On the other hand Ms Maleshoane Qofa was smiling and laughing while saying:

*my father; first of all he had more than six wives which to me it was something very unusual and some of the things I remember about him was that he used to wear different shoes. If he wanted his shoes and he didn't find any he would put the brown and a black and go his way; that's one of the things I remember well about him.*

The life stories of the teachers quoted in this chapter show that memories affect an individual's emotions either positively or negatively. This is confirmed by Hofmeyer (1993) and Buehler et al (2004). Steedman (1986:21) also concurs with these views when she states that, “case study allows the writer to enter the present into the past, allows the dream, the wish or the fantasy of the past to shape current time, and treats them as evidence in their own right”.

The sad memories of teachers such as Ms Lekoekoe, MsMatlole and Monyane have also taught me that as individuals, we cannot avoid dealing with the past because it come to us through memory which is something we cannot run away from (Goodman 1949). Their memories about their late parents signify that as individuals we cannot live forever since there are different stages in life. That is, as human beings we know that death is there, but we do not know how and when we are going to die.

We do not bother ourselves thinking about death, but it is only after we have lost our loved ones that death, as a finished product of one's destiny, will stay in our memories. As (Bozzoli, 1991:2) says "the raw material of "common sense" comes to be shaped and moulded only at particular times into the finished product of social ideology".

However, what is important is that the memories of the dead will always be alive in the minds of those who knew them. This is why Mrs Lekoekoe and Miss 'Makhojane Monyane still have memories about their dead mothers, while Mrs Matlole still has memories about her late father. These three women will be the captives of their parents' memories as long as they are alive, since in most cases they will have to refer to their parents whenever they talk about themselves. Moreover, there is a possibility that their parents' memories might also impact on their attitudes and behaviours. For example, their emotions might be sensitive in such a way that they might even cry when they encounter problems in their lives especially if they believe that something better could have been done if their parents were still alive. Nonetheless, the interconnections between memory, culture and gender will be further explored in more depth in the following chapter, which deals with the findings and analysis of my research.

#### 4.5 Commentary

Education has empowered women to regain their dignity within their own communities (FAWE, 1997). This can only be done if women are willing to challenge patriarchal stereotypes that seem to be fixed and unchangeable in their customs and traditions. This is supported by the fact that there is an organisation called Women and Law in Southern Africa, whose offices are in Maseru, that assists women in the fight for their own rights (Letuka et al, 1997). However, most Basotho women do not go to these offices because they value their customs and traditions.

The main problem is that women's life strategies are interwoven with the values of their own families and communities, which uphold the norms and practices of culture and tradition. This implies that women will struggle for change in their lives, since they have accepted and internalised the patriarchal formations of culture and tradition that have already been transmitted to them by their parents. As a result, they conform to these traditional practices that they acquired in their families. These patriarchal formations of culture and tradition also influence their lives and consciousness because in most cases, the concepts of one's family upbringing usually outweigh one's personal desires in terms of choices and decisions.

Secondly, the life stories of these female teachers are more about their families, culture and societies, than about themselves. This raises questions and issues about whose stories are they talking about. However, this shows that patriarchy has had an impact on the notion of the self. This concept of the self is a tool and knowledge that people use to construct stories about their experiences (Osyserman, 2004).

Furthermore, this notion of the self provides us with an opportunity to see how an individual, whose life has been shaped and moulded by culture and tradition, reacts to the same factors that caused these constructions. For example when 'Makhau Metsane, 'Maseabata Selialia, 'Manalane Nalane and 'Mamakotoko Moshe state that they got married due to the culture and tradition of their communities they were living in. Therefore, this shows that women's life strategies and choices are determined by the norms and practices of their culture and traditions.

In conclusion, I would argue that women will never be liberated unless their customs, traditions and societal norms are abolished (Makoa, 1997). However, this will take some time to achieve because patriarchy as a concept seems to be inter-generational phenomenon. That is, women who grew up in families and communities where patriarchal ideologies were practised and embraced, might also practise the same thing in their families, as one's family background has a direct impact on one's decisions. The consequences of patriarchy and culture on the lives of the sixteen women will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

## Chapter Five: Findings and analysis

### 5.1 Background history

In Lesotho, women are doubly marginalised as indicated in chapter one. Firstly, they are marginalised by their culture through marriage. Secondly, they are also marginalised due to their gender. These are the results of patriarchy which has played a major role in shaping the culture of the Basotho nation as I have already shown in chapters three and four. In marriage, bride wealth is considered as a prerequisite for women's subordination (Meryl-Ekong, 1992). This is a process whereby women's rights and freedoms are transferred from their fathers to their husbands, as a result of negotiations and agreements between the families of the bride and the groom. And, in this process, bride price is used as a right and guarantee that men have legal and traditional power over women (Segal, quoted in Nicolson, 1998:8).

According to the custom of the Basotho nation, marriage is also taken as a rite of passage. This is also revealed in the life stories of the sixteen women, who all agreed that marriage is very important, even though some of them are not married. In patriarchy:

women who are not mothers are seen as [failures], achievements and pleasures gained outside motherhood are condemned within patriarchy as substitutes for normal femininity. For women caught up in the myths that accompany motherhood, failure to achieve that imaginary status is frequently a 'shock' (Woollett quoted in Nicolson, 1998:7).

Therefore, this is why certain stigmas like of that *lefetoa* (this is a Sesotho word that is used to discredit an unmarried woman) are attached to women who are not married as 'Manalane Nalane stated in the previous chapter. As a result, women have to be married in order to become mothers since bearing children out of the wedlock is considered an illegitimate practice in patriarchy (Posel, 1991; Nicolson, 1998).

This also shows that unmarried teachers might not be happy about their single status due to pressures from their social environments, since they might be scared of being called *mafetoa* (plural of *lefetoa*). These are life strategies that women are confronted with, especially in the rural areas. In the urban areas, this strategy has shifted over time, even though the spirit and passion of women wanting to be married still exists. Besides that, rural women are disadvantaged in comparison to urban women. Most of them are uneducated and poor and for them, marriage is a blessing in disguise. They know that according to culture and tradition, husbands have to maintain their wives, and in most cases this does not happen (Phoofolo, 1980). This is why most women leave their marriages and migrate to places where they find jobs to support themselves and their families (Walker, 1990; Epprecht, 1993; Mako, 1997)

On the other hand, it can be argued that patriarchy has created unequal power relations between women and men, whereby the former are unconsciously groomed for marriage by their families, societal norms and social environments. I am saying this because there are no stigmas attached to unmarried men in Lesotho and the society says nothing about them. So, this gives me the impression that society itself has been constructed in such a way that men occupy senior hierarchies in a community. Therefore, they have opportunities to control and manipulate the patriarchal system in order to suit themselves. This concept is also supported by Bozzoli (1991:2) who states that patriarchy has “created ... views which coherently and often successfully express [the interests of men at the expense of women]”.

Unfortunately, patriarchal norms and practices have been internalised by women in such a way that they have become part of who they want to be. As a result, societal power relations are gradually pushing them into a marriage scenario. Culturally, women's purpose in marriage is to increase the lineage of their husbands, and according to custom and tradition, they can only do so if they are married.

Fifty year old 'Manapo Rankoe supports my argument when she says, "*It is the custom of the Basotho that a girl must get married when she reaches a certain age in her life. Girls did not have a choice and they feel the pressure and living in an environment where their age mates are getting married*". Rankoe's words raise issues and debates about the freedom of women's choices. That is, are women making choices that satisfy themselves or their societies, and if so, to what extent? This point will be thoroughly analysed under the section 'Interconnections between memory, culture and gender', where I discuss the notion of the self within women.

Patriarchy is also practised in public in the learning institutions, whereby key positions are mostly occupied by men. A clear example of this is that out of the sixteen teachers I interviewed, none of them is a principal, while four of them are heads of departments. That is, out of the four female teachers interviewed in each school, only one of them was a head of department. The ratio of senior teachers to assistant teachers is 3:1.

As discussed in chapters two and four, women are not given higher positions in schools because it is believed that they tend to apply more effort to their families than their careers.

Furthermore, women are also not given these senior positions in schools because it is believed that they will be away from their school duties for sometime, due to maternity leave. As a result, it can be argued that patriarchal exclusionary strategies are also utilized in schools by the schools' management in order to ensure that women do not occupy administrative positions due to their gender (Witz, 1992:34).

To a certain extent, it can be argued that the Lesotho government also enforces patriarchy, in the sense that it is not opening up many career opportunities for women, other than in teaching. This shows that women's career choices are restricted by the government bureaucracy. As a result, women find themselves stuck in the teaching profession, although they love dealing with the learners. In my case study, fourteen women who were interviewed said that they liked teaching because they enjoy being with the children, while 'Mamakotoko Moshe and 'Makhojane Monyane both stated that they do not like the children at all! In fact Ms M. Monyane says, "*I don't like dealing with students. I don't like anything to do with teaching*". These two women clearly stated that they became teachers because teaching was the only available job for them to do, while other teachers argued that they never knew of any profession other than teaching.

Limpho Lehata also agrees with these teachers' views when she says that, "*I decided to become a teacher due to lack of a job. I don't like teaching at all*", while Thabang Monyane says, "*No, no! I didn't decide to be a teacher. I lacked career guidance. Therefore, teaching was the only option for me*".

As a matter of fact, women find themselves stuck in careers that are linked to socially ascribed norms of being mothers and nurturers and unfortunately, these concepts have become part and parcel of who they are. As females, their primary role is that of being mothers other than professionals. Therefore, this shows that:

The role of 'mother' has not evolved in a 'natural' way, nor is it outside culture and free from ideology. It has been socially constructed within patriarchy through a set of power relations which ensure that women become mothers and practise motherhood in narrowly defined ways (Nicolson, 1998:9).

This point will be reviewed later in the chapter under section 5.4 entitled "teaching as a profession for the sixteen women".

## **5.2 Interconnections between memory, culture and gender**

Phoofolo (1980:43-44) states that, "whether the pressure was cultural, emotional-relational, material-economic, the men's world had been built around an overwhelmingly successful edifice of social controls". This brings about the notion of the self whereby everything in this world is about man and his desires (Goodman 1949). According to Phoofolo's view, men seem to have maximum control over everything in the world. They hold control over their cultures and economies (Phoofolo, 1980). Moreover, it can also be argued that women constitute a certain part of men's social desires in life. Women therefore, have to be obedient to men because men are in control of almost everything, and in order for women to get access to these things, they need to liaise with men.

In chapter two, it has been clearly shown that Basotho men migrated to the South African mines in order to get money to support their families. Single men also went to the South African mines so that they could get money to pay the bride price.

This signifies that women were largely excluded from taking part in the cash economy (Hearn, 1987). As discussed in chapter two, some women did manage to find work in South Africa, but their numbers were always small in comparison to the number of men who left Lesotho in search of work. Being a male was thus an advantage in that men were given new opportunities to reap and access the world's greener pastures, while women only gained them indirectly through their husbands or fathers. Hence, this is why Bozzoli (1983) states that patriarchy as a system enforces women's oppression and subordination and makes them dependent on men.

Bozzoli's concept is seconded by Granny, when she says that "custom had taught me to rely totally on a husband, to expect to be taken care of by him in return for my complete devotion. It would take me a long time to overcome such dependency and ways of thinking" (Granny quoted in Mathabane, 1994:115). This argument is also strengthened by Gregory, when he maintains that young women need to be delicate and innocent in order to attract men, since their best chance of security and happiness lies in marriage (Gregory quoted in Darling and Glendinning, 1996:12). It is clear that the main objective of patriarchy was to create certain cultural stereotypes in the minds of women. Women perceived themselves in connection to men, instead of seeing themselves as independent individuals.

This raises issues about the choices available to women, discussed in the first section of this chapter. Out of the sixteen women that were interviewed, eleven of them are married, while five of them are not married. Thabang Monyane, 'Makhojane Monyane and Limpho Lehata stated that they would like to be married. Maleshoane Qofa says, "*Being single is not a matter of decision, it just happened*".

This indicates to me that traditional ideas in women's minds still hold that marriage is a great achievement in a woman's life. Besides that, I would also like to remind readers that Ms Liphoto's reasons for not getting married were given in chapter four, and she has also mentioned that she never decided to remain single.

On the whole, it can be argued that women's choices to marry are shaped by family backgrounds, social environments and societal norms. Marriage has been historically created and internalised in such a way, that it has become part and parcel of their aspirations and sense of self. Young women perceive themselves as potential wives. They grow up in families and environments of married couples and somehow this becomes their comfort zone. As a result, women are not keen to move out of this zone. Instead they follow what they are familiar with, as one's family structure and society has an undue influence on one's desires and feelings. But, these views come with social and emotional costs, depending on an individual's interests. Therefore, it can then be argued that "people's history have been developed as forms that allow the individual and collective expression of these thoughts, feelings and desires about class societies and the effect of class structures on individuals and communities" (Steedman, 1986:13).

It can also be argued that women's oppression has become a social, historical experience that is inter-generational (Meryl-Ekong, 1992). That is, women who grew up in families where their fathers were heads of the households will find it easier to practise the same things in their own families. These women are good examples of individuals who were brought up in patriarchal environments, where men were symbols of power and authority.

As Phoofolo (1980:43) states, “the ideologies of the men’s world were unmistakably transmitted to the young girls by the older women who had invariably accepted the men’s superiority”. Phoofolo’s words show that patriarchy was also contained and accepted by older women. As experienced people in marriages, older women defended and upheld patriarchal ideologies of male domination by teaching young brides to obey and honour their husbands. This shows that married women were taught to respect their husbands. Therefore, this is why most mothers cannot allow their children to do certain things in a family before seeking permission from their husbands. As Ms ‘Makhojane Monyane says:

*I wouldn't like to get married because I want to be happy. I am tired of being told what to do by my father. Every time when I wanted to do things like visiting my friends and relatives, my mother used to give me answers like 'I will have to ask your father first' and then afterwards she will come and tell me that my father has refused to give me permission to visit my friends. You know I would be so angry but my mother would just tell me that there is nothing she could do if my father doesn't want me to go. And now that my mother is late he is worse. It's like I can't do anything without his approval. No! No! I don't want a husband. I don't want the stress of having to consult someone before doing anything.*

From my own perspective, Ms ‘Makhojane Monyane seems to be unhappy about the fact that in her family, the final decisions are made by her father, but at the same time she is not keen to disobey his orders. She wants to rescue herself from the family complications which are male dominated. She also believes that she can only avoid these complications if she is not married. The question remains however, that if she happens to get married, will she be brave enough to liberate herself from her husband’s commands?

I am saying this because Ms M. Monyane has not chosen to remain single, even though she does admit to feeling negative about marriage. Furthermore, her unmarried status does not put her in an advantaged position because her actions are still controlled by her father.

Therefore, it does not make a difference because even if she is single she is still under her father's control and authority according to the Basotho's custom and tradition.

However, the experiences of 'Makhojane Monyane can be used as an example to show that women's lives are under the control of an "already-evolved basic life stance" (Bozzoli, 1991:237). 'Makhojane's words reinforce one aspect of Bozzoli's argument which exemplifies the part played by society and families in structuring women's life strategies. However, it is a pity because in most cases children's ways of seeing usually contradicts that of their parents as is the case with Ms M. Monyane. Apart from that, the actions of Ms Monyane's mother in the above quotation resemble that:

in a patriarchal society such as the Basotho, it is always assumed that men have power over women and that for the latter to act, the advice or permission of the former will be sought. This is the basic principle that governs relationships between men and women under patriarchy (Larson, Mapetla and Schlyter, 1998:106).

Moreover, the stories from some of the interviewees show that women are victims of cultural life strategies that are constructed for them by their families. This can be clearly seen in Thabang Monyane's words when she says, "*It was the year 1989. My mother was strangled with a blanket by my father. They were in a kitchen and my mother was highly pregnant*". It is evident that some women are still being abused in their families and Thabang's mother is as a disturbing example of this. In reality, there are some Basotho women who are ill-treated by their husbands. Their consciousness tells them that it is wrong to stay within such conditions, but the main problem is that they do not want to defy the norms and values of tradition.

Phoofolo (1980) states that according to the customs and traditions of the Basotho *mosali o ngalla motseo* (a married Mosotho woman is not supposed to desert her husband). Women who are married under customary law have to conform to traditional life strategies no matter how educated they are. For instance, Ms Thabang Monyane's mother knows that if she leaves her husband, she will have to leave the children behind because *bana ke ba likhomo* (children of cattle). In simple terms, this means that *bohali* (bride price) has been paid in order for a woman to be married since she is expected to give birth to children (Phoofolo, 1980; Mamashela, 1991; Maqutu, 1992; Letuka et al, 1997). So, if she wants to go she must leave the children with their father or in-laws because *bohali* has been paid before she was married. This point is explicitly elaborated by Phoofolo (1980:27) when he says:

A wife is married to establish a production unit. Cattle are exchanged to acquire her. She will bear daughters who in turn will bring in cattle into the homestead when they are exchanged for cattle in their own turn. Cattle and daughters are, therefore, in this sense, surplus from the process of re-production and production.

Similarly, Ms T. Monyane is also an asset to her father because when she gets married, her father will receive cattle in the form of *bohali*.

### **5.3 The impact of culture and patriarchy on the lives of women**

A number of serious attempts have been made to promote the rights of women by Women and Law in Southern Africa (Letuka et al, 1997) an organisation based in Maseru. As a result, laws were passed for the betterment of women in Lesotho, but these laws are not making any impact on the societal norms of the Basotho. Patriarchy still influences Basotho customs and traditions. Modernity and colonialism have failed to overcome the durable concept of patriarchy in Lesotho. For instance, kingship is still inherited by males and not females (Meryl-Ekong, 1992).

Moreover, migrant labour that took place as a result of colonialism and capitalism forced women to be involved in other duties besides the household responsibilities (Hearn, 1987, Posel, 1991). The impact of migrant labour in Lesotho has already been explained in chapter two.

Modernity does not refute the idea that women are mothers no matter how educated they are. This is also emphasised by Nicolson (1985:5) when he says “motherhood remains central to women’s lives despite social and economic change”. This perception has been internalised by women in such a way that when talking about themselves they like referring to their families. As Mrs ‘Matoka Mochaba states that *“what I like most about my family is the character of my husband. He is cool. He is a deep-hearted man. He understands me a lot and he appreciates me the way I am”*. Goodman (1949:124) substantiates the views of Mrs Mochaba when he asserts that:

A woman is part of a man’s anxiety. In order for a man to have a child he needs a woman. Therefore, this ... woman describes herself in relation to her family which automatically includes her husband. Moreover, a woman also needs to get married so that ... he is not for himself alone ... for God forbids that ...

Goodman (1949) describes the significance of marriage as if it is something that is naturally created by God. He seems to be unaware that “the ... self did not exist at all, [but it was] invented ... and projected [on women]” (Buckley, 1984:97). This is why it can be argued that in patriarchy, gender roles have been constructed and most men and women believe and accept that these roles are fixed and unchangeable for the sake and continuity of culture and tradition. For instance, women were equated with the sex roles of being mothers and nurturers by Basotho custom and most of them seem to enjoy it as it has been revealed in their life stories.

On the other hand, there are women who are very aware that these patriarchal issues are pressing them into marriage. Hence, this is why they argued that they did not get married because they were pressurised by their cultural norms, but they said that they got married because they wanted to do so. As Nicolson (1998:6) says “The reality of [women’s] lives [sometimes] fails to match the [patriarchal] aspirations. ‘Mabethuel Maphathe agrees with this author when she says *“I got married because I thought it was time to live with my partner”* while Mrs ‘Malesitsi Lekoekoe’s words read as follows *“I felt that it was my time to get married and I loved my boyfriend very much so that I wanted to be with him most of the time, so the only thing that could make us to be together all the time was to get married. I was driven by love to get married”*’.

These statements symbolise a shift whereby women are gradually struggling to free themselves from the pressures of cultural stereotypes although their choices are still in line with what their society expects them to do. Even though they are married for their own specific reasons, they are still expected to become mothers at some stage. Since, “under patriarchy, however, motherhood has a ... powerful status. Only women are granted this status, and it is one to which all women have been expected to aspire” (Nicolson, 1998:6). In a patriarchal society, marriage is regarded as a rite of passage and therefore, women are expected to be married in order to become mothers.

Besides that, when a woman gets married in Africa it is “also emphasised that it is for children. It’s not like a duty – it’s part and parcel of being married” (Matilda quoted by Nicolson, 1998:5). Therefore, this shows that women lose their independence, since they do not even have control over their own sexuality. Eldredge (1993:40) argues that in marriage, “women [are] valued largely for their reproductive functions”. Hence, a woman who is barren might not be favoured by her husband and her in-laws.

#### **5.4 Teaching as a profession for the sixteen women**

Teachers’ choices and decisions are framed by their culture, gender, social environments and government bureaucracies. It has been discussed in the previous chapter and in the introduction that there are not many career opportunities that are opening up for women in the country other than in teaching. This gives the impression that the government is indirectly forcing women to do jobs that are closer to their traditional roles of being mothers and nurturers. Out of the sixteen women who have been interviewed seven of the female teachers said that they chose teaching as a profession because they liked it. Four teachers said that they did teaching because they like being with children. ‘Makananelo Matlole said that she became a teacher due the influence of her family background while ‘Malesitsi Lekoekoe’s reports that she became a teacher due to the following reasons:

*I think it is because my first experience of high school education was teaching. I experienced teaching more than anything and that love of teaching developed since then because my teachers were always telling me that I can make a good teacher and I just decided to further my education up until I get my degree in teaching.*

Mrs Lekoekoe's life story is substantiated by Abraham (1995) when he states that in patriarchal societies women received a form of education that prepared them for the profession that was nearer to their traditional roles. This point is also stated in the theoretical approaches of feminist writers when saying:

in school boys are oriented towards a lifetime of paid work and girls are oriented towards the home and child-rearing, or towards the kinds of job that are extension of nurturing and home-making roles (Measor and Siker, 1992:71).

Therefore, schools can be used as institutions whereby girls are socialised to take on careers that are linked to their traditional roles. In order to clarify this point further, Harding and Hintikka (1978) argue that in schools, women are encouraged to do arts subjects, while scientific subjects are specifically meant for men. This is confirmed by the fact that out of the sixteen female teachers in this research project, twelve women are arts teachers (English and Sesotho), while three women are maths and science teachers. Mrs 'Makhau Metsane is the only woman who teaches commerce and accounting. Overall, the ratio of arts teachers to science teachers is 12:3, which is 4:1.

Teaching is also linked to mothering. At home teachers are the mothers of their own children and at schools they become the mothers of the students. This issue has been proven by the interviewees - fourteen of them enjoy teaching because they love working with children, while two of them said that they dislike being with the children. In other words, the ratio of teachers who appreciate the children, to that who do not 7:1. Most of the female teachers enjoy working with the learners, a sign that in teaching, motherhood "is an experience which [will] be reproduced from generation to generation of women, and women [will] continue to mother" (Nicolson, 1998:15).

This is also supported by Mrs Motselisi Polisa:

*To be a teacher is something important in one's life especially when one likes her job as a teacher you have that transition of knowing a person from the first stages of development, now that we begin to deal with them from Form A up to Form E we see how well a child is developing mentally, socially and physically. So, those are the aspects that are very interesting when you get to see that at the end what you have been observing as a teacher the student ends up being something that you had anticipated for him.*

Mrs 'Mabethuel Maphathe who is a Morija Girls' High School teacher shares the same views with Mrs Polisa. *"Being a teacher in a Girls' School is an advantage because you learn more about being a woman and you learn more about treating other women and you get part of those people who take part in building the future of other women"*.

Moreover, a school can also be taken as an extension of a bigger family (Xing (Lucy) Lu, 1999). Female teachers love their families very much and report that they have a marvellous relationship with their own children. Hence, this might be the reason why they also find it much easier to love the children at school too. This has been revealed in the life stories of the twelve teachers who are mothers. For them, mothering is fun and it brings happiness into their lives. Mrs Manalane Nalane, who is also one of the interviewee's in my case study states that:

*with my kids in the absence of their father, it's fun, my kids keep me going even in my lonely moments. I know they are there and it makes life easier for me and every day I wake up I know it's another day that I have to achieve something if not for myself for my kids. Every time I go to work there is meaning in doing that because I know that I am doing it for my children. In fact, I have come to live for them, everything I do is for them. Everything, my life, everything. I enjoy my relationship with them.*

Therefore, this means that:

motherhood can introduce meaning and purpose into life as well as bringing new opportunities for exploring a woman's own capacities, and forming relationships. Having children can bring greater vitality, fun and humour into [their] lives (Richardson quoted in Nicolson, 1998:19).

Furthermore, studies have shown that women who have studied at single gender schools and colleges are more successful in their careers, than those who have been to mixed gender schools and colleges (Kleinfeld, 1995). This is illustrated by the fact that out of the sixteen female teachers that I interviewed twelve of them attended single gender high schools, while four of them attended mixed gender high schools. The ratio of teachers who are from the girls' schools to that of teachers from mixed gender schools is 3:1. Therefore, this confirms Kleinfeld's argument that successful teachers are usually those from the single gender schools. However, I would like readers to be aware that these contentions differ from context to context.

In my case study, teachers indicated that they decided to teach in gender specific schools, due to the outstanding academic standards of those schools. Interviewees who are teaching at Sacred Heart High School and Morija Girls' High School made the following comments. For instance, Mrs Polisa says "*Since I like to work hard I came to Sacred Heart H.S. because students do perform very well in this school. Sacred Heart H. S. is one of the schools that are doing well. I found it a blessing to be in this school*". Mrs Qofa also says "*I chose to teach in Sacred Heart because it was doing well. I have been following its academic performance and it was striking; that's one thing I liked about it*". 'Makhojane Monyane also says "*But academically, Morija Girls' High School is one of the best schools in the country. That's the only thing that makes me to love the school*".

Kleinfeld (1995:47) also argues that “studies have shown that girls [and boys] do better academically in single-sex institutions”. Students in single gender schools dedicate themselves to their assignments and achievements in contrast to students at mixed gender schools, where students do not perform well because they spend their time trying to impress each other. (Kleinfeld, 1995). ‘Malesitsi Lekoekoe claims that:

*Kids behave in the same level and they should be controlled and treated in the same manner as kids. The only difference is that in a boys’ school, boys are much freer to say anything they want and they learn easily. They are not afraid that if they say anything wrong girls will laugh at them. So, they are free to say anything and they are also competing unlike if it was in a mixed school it wouldn’t be much easier, because girls will be afraid of boys and boys in the same manner wouldn’t be free. Boys are able to do anything you want them to do because they are not cautious about impressing the girls. So, they are a bit independent when they are on their own unlike those who are in a mixed gender school.*

In chapter four, Mrs ‘Makhau Metsane and Mrs ‘Maseabata Selialia who both teach in a mixed gender school, have clearly shown that they are not happy about the academic record of the students at their school (Hleoheng high school). Therefore, it can be argued that single gender schools are historically known to have better academic records than mixed gender schools (Kleinfeld, 1995).

Besides that, it is also recognised that it is difficult for a teacher to teach students in mixed gender schools because girls’ behaviour and attitudes differs from that of boys. Boys talk more in class than girls because they are not shy, while girls are delicate and a bit careful about what they say. Hence, this makes it difficult for the two genders to work together as a group in class (Delamont, 1996).

In mixed schools, although boys and girls are taught in the same rooms and spend their leisure time in the same playgrounds, the evidence is that males and females avoid each other. Pupils do not sit together or work together, unless a teacher forces them to do so (Delamont, 1990:40).

In a response to what has been said by Delamont (1990) 'Manalane Nalane notes that:

*But one thing I will tell you about mixed schools is that you look at students in class and you have to have varying attitudes towards them because boys need a certain way of treatment; girls need a certain way of treatment and you always have to be cautious of what you do; what you say and you don't want to hurt one group in favour of the other or vice-versa. And it has to be straightforward. And where you are dealing with boys you know you can say anything at anytime and boys are more understanding than girls. If you are angry you can say whatever as long as it doesn't impinge on a very soft sport may be regarding family background or about the way they look but you can say anything and tomorrow is another day; they are happy again. They are not fragile, they are not moody; they are cooperative. Sometimes, they are naughty yes but sometimes the naughtiness comes just with them being boys and being a mother of boys I tend to understand that and I don't have a problem with it.*

Ms Maleshoane Qofa also asserts that *"I definitely decided that I would like to teach boys. First all, they don't take offence easily; they are easy to deal with as compared to girls"*.

Slim et al (1993) state that collecting life stories is very important as this makes us aware of peoples' differences, aspirations and values. People use language to portray their own subjective thoughts and ideas about themselves and their social environments. As 'Manalane Nalane says that in teaching one has:

*the ability to enjoy the most taxing stress for instance, our children come from different backgrounds; others do not expect teachers to do what they are doing; and it is very different to keep yourself and not to snap and say something nasty. Sometimes, children are such slow learners that you feel that your efforts are just wasted. One has to work to take out that idea to feel that I am succeeding and if I am succeeding I am doing the good job with my children and that is the most challenging of them all like being able to change the human being.*

Ms Maleshoane Qofa also says that in teaching one learns *"to be patient and understanding"*. 'Malesitsi Lekoekoe also enunciates that:

*Some of the challenges [in teaching] are that sometimes the kids cannot do what you are expecting them to do. The kids are sometimes asking questions to challenge your knowledge and ability. So, they are this kind of kids who cannot be naughty and sometimes one gets annoyed but all in all I am gaining a lot from them and from my colleagues here are so interesting because they are devoted and determined in their work.*

Moselantja Liphoto states that in teaching she has always been frustrated by the administration. Liphoto Lehata asserts that in teaching “*you meet different kinds of characters coming from different families and you have to cope with all those different characters coming from different family backgrounds*”. Moreover, ‘Mabethuel Maphathe also argues that in teaching one has the opportunity of “*passing knowledge to somebody who has no idea about what it is going to be said or wants that’s a great challenge. Sometimes having to change whatever somebody thinks is the correct thing to what you think is correct*”. ‘Malesitsi Matsaba reports that in teaching one has “*to research and to mark a lot and to mark nonsense most of the time*”. ‘Maseabata Selialia also agrees with the other teachers that teaching is challenging when she says that:

*One of the challenges of being a teacher is the individual differences among the students. You have to deal with students who have different characters and different learning abilities. Once more, the individual differences are also found among the colleagues. I like some of my colleagues but not all of them. Some of them do not have good relations with me. I take it as part of life.*

However, it is sad that these teachers seem to be unaware that teaching has been constructed as a career for them in order to make sure that they are kept in their own place by the society and government. Tradition expects women to be mothers and caretakers and fortunately, teaching seems to be a profession where these principles could be acquired in a broader context.

In teaching, teachers deal with students coming from different family backgrounds and use different skills and strategies while dealing with them. This is why Slim et al (1993) assert that peoples’ testimonies help us to realize why people utilize different strategies while dealing with different people in their lives.

That is an individual, needs to make changes and decisions within a context that allows some space for change over time. In other words, teachers need to have advanced skills that will enable them to be flexible enough while dealing with students, especially because some of the learners are very clever and knowledgeable about certain aspects of life.

On the other hand, two teachers maintain that teaching offers them no challenges whatsoever. 'Makhojane Monyane and 'Mamakoto Moshe said that they do not like teaching the students. 'Makhojane said that she chose teaching only because it was the available job for her, while 'Mamakoto Moshe said that she only became a teacher because she did not know about other careers besides teaching. In fact, there is a coherence of ideas in what these teachers said in relation to teaching. They hate teaching and find the profession boring. 'Makhojane Monyane reaffirms her negative attitude towards teaching when she says that:

*There are no challenges because the past tense of is always was. So, there is nothing new; there is nothing interesting you know; you are so stereotyped. You don't even have to prepare anything. It's just like in mathematics where you know that 1+1 is 2. You don't meet new people.*

However, the stories of these two teachers reveal that they are bitter and depressed about making the wrong career choices. They are desperate to leave this particular form of a life strategy (teaching), but unfortunately their chances of doing so are far too limited. At the moment, it does not seem as if they will find a solution to their problems because jobs are scarce in Lesotho. As a result, they are obliged to stay as teachers, even though they are unhappy. But the point is, nothing can be done at the moment.

### 5.5 The findings of my research

Women in Lesotho seem to have very little room in terms of freedom to make certain choices and decisions about their careers. Their choices are curbed by government bureaucracy that makes sure that women are involved in professions that are related to their primary roles as nurturers and mothers. In schools, women are teachers and mothers (Xing (Lucy) Lu, 1999). They are the parents of the students. They counsel them when they have problems besides teaching them. Hence, this explains why most teachers do not mind being with the children at school. Based on these grounds, I therefore find it appropriate to state that there are striking similarities between mothering and teaching.

On the other hand, one can argue that it will take time before women are liberated from patriarchal hierarchies because patriarchy as a principle is so powerfully internalised in their consciences, in ways that influence their thinking. Female teachers believe that they are mothers who need to set good examples to the children. As 'Makhau Metsane says *"as a teacher you must know that you contribute a lot in modelling the future of the students. As a result anything you do, anything you talk, you must be very careful, you must know that you are role model"*.

Furthermore, my findings show that this project has not covered all Bozzoli's arguments and concepts about life strategies. This research project has emphasised one aspect of Bozzoli's theory, demonstrating how women's life strategies are restricted by traditions, families, governments and social environments, as well as how these impact on their choices and decisions.

My material reinforces one side of Bozzoli's argument, which talks about how women's life strategies are structured by social forces. However, Bozzoli's (1991) theory of life strategy also talks about the ways in which women fight to find spaces to liberate themselves from the pressures of these social forces.

In Lesotho women's resistance is not very powerful. This might be because there is lack of collective resistance amongst women because there are no political organizations in the country where women can openly express their anger and actively resist the oppression of the social forces. The organisation, Women and Law in Southern Africa has offices in Maseru. This is a legal institution that consists of lawyers whose work is to address the problems of the Basotho women. Unfortunately, it does not seem to have made much impact on the lives of women in Lesotho.

On the other hand, I cannot make the claim that Basotho women are suppressing their feelings. Feeling of unhappiness and anger can be perceived in their words, even though they do not necessarily engage in action. For example, when 'Makhojane Monyane says:

*I decided to teach in this school because I thought it was a better place but then it is a nightmare. Gates are closed; water is closed in the teachers' houses. We are given time restrictions. I mean we are just controlled like prisoners here. So, there is no difference between us and students. I don't like anything about this place; people, students, environment, nothing. If I had an option I would leave teaching today- now!*

Miss Monyane's words show that women are sometimes not happy about the way they are treated, even though they do not express their anger and frustration in public. In fact, their struggle is a struggle from within because it has more to do with their feelings and emotions.

I would also like readers to note that in the parliament of Lesotho, cultural diversities are not represented as in the case of the South African parliament. Members of parliament in Lesotho are only the Basotho. This is because most of the people who are foreigners in the country represent their own countries through embassies, while others are business owners who use permits to stay in the country. Therefore, it is easier for the parliament to opt or implement the laws that will contain the Basotho within their customs and traditions especially because the parliament of Lesotho is dominated by male members, as I have already explained in chapter two.

My findings also show that the oppression of women in Lesotho takes place on two different levels of the society. It takes places in families and in public institutions such as schools. In families, men are heads of families while women are minors. In schools, the majority of women are not given senior positions, few of them are heads of departments, while none of them are principals. Moreover, those who are assistant teachers are also not willing to be promoted to more senior positions because they feel that if was the case, their choices would be limited by management structures. This is justified by 'Makhojane Monyane when she says:

*No, I wouldn't like to be a head of department. In my school heads of departments are so stereotyped; they are sell outs; if you get a promotion is because you are a puppet and I can't afford to be a puppet of the Principal. You have to speak ill of other people to get a promotion in our school.*

Moselantja Liphoto also complies with 'Makhojane's words when she affirms that:

*I am just an assistant teacher. The headship was imposed on me a few years ago for what reason I don't know. But due to frustration as I told you I just decided to withdraw from being a head of department because the colleagues couldn't appreciate me. The same person who imposed it on me used to say; 'you don't even qualify', because I noticed why it was introduced. It might be because the Ministry of Education said that it was going to transfer some teachers to other schools. So, she wanted me to remain here, this is why she imposed it on me; while she was trying to find her favourites from the university so that when they come back then, she contributed a lot on frustrating me. And the way she talked and you find that sometimes you are the head of department and she is telling the favourite teachers to do the work*

*that is supposed to be done by the head. Or the favourites will be given the necessary material and you don't even know where you are going as the head and she doesn't give you access of going for training like the other heads of departments from the other schools and all other things.*

Unfortunately, the fact that there are fewer women in senior positions implies that women have less power to influence decision making in schools (Measor et al, 1992). Hence, this makes it easier for them to be manipulated by the schools' management even if they can be promoted as Ms Liphoto and Miss Monyane are saying.

Both mixed gender schools and girls' schools also have to deal with the problems of teenage pregnancies (Kleinfeld, 1995). This has been revealed in the life stories of the teachers of Hleoheng high school, Morija Girls' high school and Thabeng high school. These teachers explained that girls are expelled from their schools when they are pregnant, while nothing happens to the boys who impregnated them. In order to elaborate this point further, I have selected certain quotes from the interviews with Mrs Selialia and Ms Liphoto. Mrs Selialia's statement corresponds to Mrs Metsane's views concerning teenage pregnancies (mentioned in chapter four) when she says *"When a girl is pregnant she is sent home while the boy remains at school. This is unfair but it seems as if there is no way out because the girl has to go and nurse a new born baby"*. Ms Liphoto totally agrees with the two Hleoheng high school teachers.

*Normally, if the teachers notice that a girl is pregnant they sent the child to the doctor to confirm after which they will call the parents to take their child. But if the girl is noticed when she is about to write the external exam then the child is normally taken away from the boarding and then she writes from home. When you look at the attitude of our students nowadays the most preferable thing will be to withdraw a pregnant student from school. The students don't like to see when a child is pregnant even if the child was not their friend they seem to like her situation. Even when they talk to her they give you the impression that they wish they can be like her. So, to me that has no future if a child decides to be involved in outside sexual practices at a young age; it is destroying her own future. To me, it is interfering with her academic performance, so if children seem to like that situation better than the normal*

*situation it is really a problem. Therefore, the school needs to get rid of a pregnant student as soon as possible.*

These quotes from the interviews of Selialia and Liphoto clearly exemplify that the school's management only oppresses girls at the expense of boys when it comes to the issue of pregnancy because only girls are expelled from school. However, Ms Liphoto does not seem to sympathise with the pregnant students. I believe that being pregnant as a teenager is a stress in itself, and therefore, a student needs support instead of being considered as an outcast.

Shifts have occurred in the lives of the sixteen women in my case study as a result of their culture and professions. It is part of Basotho custom that a woman should marry and as a result, it is very difficult for a woman to remain single in a patriarchal society such as Lesotho (Posel, 1991). To a certain extent, culture and tradition still have a very strong influence on people's choices. This has been disclosed in the life stories of most of the teachers, for example when Mrs Metsane says:

*I don't know what I can say but I think I got married due to culture. If you live in a community whereby you see that people get married at a certain age, they become women and then they have their own houses, so if you are not married; you feel as if you are left behind. However, there are special cases whereby you find that people do not get married because they don't meet appropriate people for them.*

Mrs Selialia shares the views of Mrs Metsane when she reports that she thinks that she got married due to *"the nature of the culture under which [she] was brought up. I thought it was a privilege to be married or something to be proud of and a need"*. In fact, it seems as if the issue of marriage has quietly colonised some of the women's minds in Lesotho. These women view marriage as something they would like to accomplish in their lives.

The sixteen women in my case study generally agree that marriage is a highly valued institution, favoured by most people, although there might be reasons why some women are not married as Mrs Metsane stated in the above quotation.

In chapter four Ms Liphoto told us she that while she had nothing against marriage, she chose not get married because most of the boys in her village were uneducated. As an educated woman, she was not prepared to marry a man who was not schooled. This shows that individuals make choices and decisions within a certain context, that also allows for changes over time.

Actually, women's choices are usually in line with what is happening in their own societies. And as long as they live in such communities, they conform to acceptable social practices and norms. This is because an individual cannot operate as a separate entity in a community. Personal choices are therefore shaped by broader social contexts which include culture. The values entrenched in Basotho culture expect women to be married and most of them do so in order to avoid social stigmas such as *lefetoa* being attached to them. Culture then, indirectly pushes women into marriage and in fact, women marry in order to gain appreciation from their own communities (Goodman, 1949).

My research findings show that teaching is a popular job amongst women in Lesotho. This is one of the reasons why there are more female teachers than male in most schools in the country. Moreover, women become teachers for a variety of reasons. Firstly, some of the women that I interviewed became teachers due to the lack of jobs in the country.

'Makhojane Monyane, 'Mabethuel Maphathe, Limpho Lehata and 'Malesitsi Lekoekoe said that they chose to teach in certain schools because that is where they got the jobs. Secondly, some women joined the teaching profession because they felt they had a vocation and enjoyed working with children. Thirdly, women decided to train as teachers because it enables them to work in places that are near their homes. For example, 'Makhau Metsane, Motselisi Polisa, 'Matoka Mochaba, 'Mamakotoko Moshe and 'Manapo Rankoe said that they decided to teach in specific schools because they are close to their homes. Finally, some women became teachers simply because of the limited career opportunities available in Lesotho. Teaching was the only profession that was known to them.

My project findings also reveal that the Morija Girls' high school teachers and Sacred Heart high school teachers chose to teach in single gender schools because these schools produce outstanding academic records, as compared to the mixed gender schools. This might be true because according to the 2004 Junior Certificate Examinations results (see appendix 3) Morija Girls' High School had a 93% pass rate (out of 54 candidates, 4 failed, while 50 passed). Sacred Heart High School had a 99% pass rate (out of 117 candidates, 1 failed, while 116 students passed). Moreover in 2003, Sacred Heart had two candidates who ranked seventh in the top ten students of Lesotho (see appendix 3). Thabeng High School had a 74% pass rate (out of 102 students, 27 failed, while 75 passed). Hleoheng High School recorded a 63% pass rate (out of 81 candidates, 30 failed, while 51 passed). In fact, the 2004 Junior Certificate Examinations results verify Kleinfeld's argument that single gender schools have a better academic record than mixed gender schools.

Hence, this is one of the reasons why single gender schools are more prestigious than mixed gender schools. Kleinfeld (1995:47) also says “separate education for girls and boys at high school ... has a venerable history”.

There have also been shifts in the attitudes and behaviours of teachers as a result of the pressures from the environment in which their schools are located. These shifts are a sign that social changes are taking place in many women’s lives. Furthermore, my findings show that families play a major role in framing people’s identities and behaviours. The family is a primary institution where distinctive life strategies are transmitted to children. In real terms, children move along two stages of life strategies in their lives. That is, the life strategies they learn from their families (which is consciously stored in their minds) and the ones they acquire in the outside world.

This is inevitable, because people experience new things through education and civilization that influence them in restructuring life strategies in order to keep up with new ways of living. This usually brings about difficulties in children’s lives when they have to make choices and decisions. There will always be a clash between what their families expect them to do and what they would personally love to do.

Finally, I would like to inform readers that the stories of these sixteen women do not necessarily represent the stories of all the professional women in Lesotho. However, they are indicative of how culture and patriarchy impact on the lives of professional women in Lesotho. This means that women’s consciousness is centred on what Bozzoli (1991) calls a “life strategy concept”.

Women's lives are partly controlled by their families, culture and social environments. As a result, their decisions are not independent because they are linked to the dynamics of their culture and traditions.

University of Cape Town

## **Chapter six: Conclusion.**

### **6.1 Brief summary of the previous chapters**

This mini-dissertation was divided into different chapters. Chapter one introduced and discussed the main issues around patriarchy. It showed how patriarchy has made an impact on culture, as well as how it has been enforced in the country by the government bureaucracy and the social environments. I also discussed my personal interests and objectives for doing research on issues regarding women in Lesotho and more especially, women who are teachers. This chapter also made reference to some of the key sources concerned with women's issues with regard to culture, gender and patriarchy.

Chapter two provided the context of Lesotho's history in relation to women in the country. It provided a brief historical background about the history of patriarchy and how this has influenced the cultural norms and practices of the Basotho nation, as well as how the government has attempted to reinforce these patriarchal practices in the country. It showed how Basotho culture and traditions have been constructed in line with patriarchy, as well as how this has impacted on women's choices and decisions. Chapter two included a brief historical background about patriarchy and its impact on marriages and families in Lesotho. It showed that patriarchy is practised in families and in the learning institutions, since men are usually principals, while women are assistant teachers. Women are not promoted in schools because the schools' administrations believe that they prioritise more on their families than on their profession. They are also not given senior positions due to their gender, one of the main reasons being that they might fall pregnant and go on maternity leave.

The fact that women are disadvantaged in schools is a sign that patriarchy is also enforced by the government in schools. The government pays the teachers, but it does not interfere with the rules and regulations that govern the schools. These responsibilities are left in the hands of the school boards which are mostly controlled by the priests and bishops in the church schools. Therefore, this gives the leaders of the churches a chance to exercise their executive powers of upholding the patriarchal and traditional ideologies in their schools. Firstly, women are not given opportunities to occupy high ranking positions in schools and secondly, single women are not allowed to have children without being married.

Chapter three dealt with the methodology that was used to collect oral and written material. Oral history life interviews were used as the primary sources for this research dissertation. Women used language to construct stories about themselves, their families, culture and their own social environments. This chapter also showed how the sixteen women used language to make sense of their lives in relation to their own communities. It talked about the schools where these sixteen women are teaching, as well as the reasons why I chose to interview women from these gender specific schools of Lesotho. It also explained my fieldwork experiences, as well as the problems that I encountered while doing my research.

Chapter four dealt with the conceptions and features that have shaped the lives of the sixteen female teachers in Lesotho. It discussed the various ways in which patriarchy shaped Basotho customs and traditions, as well as the results of doing so. For instance, it discussed some of the factors that influenced women's choices and decisions, such as family backgrounds, culture and social environments.

This chapter also explained how the teachers' behaviours and attitudes are shaped by their social environments. Since, women tend to tell stories about themselves in relation to their own communities.

Chapter four also showed why the social environments expect women to be married. It talked about the curses that society attaches to an unmarried Mosotho woman. This chapter also provided a detailed description about how families and communities pressurise women into marriage. Hence, this shows that an individual's choices and decisions are affected by broader social contexts.

Chapter four demonstrated that women have internalised cultural practices in such a way that they have little influence on who and what they want to be. As a result, women tend to appreciate careers like teaching because it is closer to socially ascribed norms of being mothers and caretakers. They also like being with the school children and they treat them like their own children. As concerned mothers, the female teachers also care about the welfare of their students. This is why they sometimes counsel students and learners when they have problems. Besides that, some of the teachers also sympathise with teenage girls when they get pregnant because they know that they will be expelled from school. In fact, this chapter has clearly indicated there are similarities between teaching and mothering.

Chapter five presented my research findings and analysis. It included a detailed description about patriarchy and its consequences on Basotho culture and traditions and how this has shaped and influenced women's choices and decisions.

It discussed the reasons why some of the Basotho women decide to marry, as well as why most of them choose teaching as a vocation. Moreover, this chapter revealed that some women do not like teaching. They are frustrated and bitter due to the fact that they are stuck in a profession that they are not fond of. The reason for this state of affairs being that the Lesotho government is not creating more career opportunities for women in other sectors than in teaching. Some women become teachers largely due to the lack of jobs in the country.

Chapter five included a brief account about how customs and traditions are internalised in the minds of women, as well how this is kept as an on-going process in families. The findings and analysis chapter discussed the reasons why the sixteen women decided to teach in gender specific schools of Lesotho. The limitations of this research project were also addressed in this chapter.

## **6.2 How do the experiences and memories of living in specific communities, families and cultural formations shape the decisions of women**

As illustrated in chapter one, women adopt life strategies that are created by their culture. These life strategies are transmitted to them by their parents in families. Societal life strategies which impact on women's actions and decisions are also strengthened by the government and social environments for the sake of traditional continuity in Lesotho. However, modernity and education have forced women to make choices between assertiveness and conformity. This is because the ideologies and values that they acquired from their families might contradict with their desired preferences due to their experiences and educational levels.

As a result, there is a clash of choices and decisions in their lives due to their divergent strategies that have complex underlying ideologies.

### **6.3 Areas for potential future research**

Firstly, this project should be broadened to include interviews with both genders. This will assist in comparing the views of women and men in order to find out more about the values and ideas concerning culture and patriarchy in Lesotho. Secondly, this project can also be developed further if professional women in other government sectors are interviewed. Their stories could provide a useful comparison with those women who are professionals in the church schools. This will facilitate a much clearer understanding about how professional Basotho women, who work in different sectors of the economy, experience the pressures and influences of culture and patriarchy, as well as how this impacts on their decisions and actions.

## References

Abraham, J. 1995. **Divide and School: Gender and Class Dynamics in Comprehensive Education**. Falmer Press, London.

Armstrong, A., Casimiro, I. Letuka, P. Mamashela, M. Musanya, P. Ncube, W. Rwezaura, B. and Stewart, J. (eds.) 1995. "Parting the Long Grass: Revealing and Reconceptualising the African Family". Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Trust (WLSA) Working Paper No. 12.

Barrett, M. 1980. **Women's Oppression Today**. Villiers Publications Ltd, London.

Benmayor, R. 1999. "Testimony, Action Research and Empowerment: Puerto Rican Women and Popular Education", In ", In Blanche, M. T and Durrheim, K. (eds), **Research in Practice; Applied Methods for the Social Sciences**. University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town.

Blunce, M.T. and Durrheim, K. 1999. **Research in Practice, Applied Methods for the Social Sciences**. University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town.

Bohan, J.S. 1997. "Regarding Gender: Essentialism, constructionism, and Feminist Psychology", In Gergen, M. and Davis, N. (eds), **Toward a new Psychology of gender**. Routledge, New York p. 31 – 48.

Bozzoli, B. 1983. "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies", In **Journal of Southern African Studies**. Volume 9, 2.

Bozzoli, B. (with Nkotsoe, M.) 1991. **Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900 – 1983**. Ravan, Johannesburg.

Bozzoli, B. 1991. "Life strategies, household resilience and the meaning of informal work: some women's stories", paper presented at the University of Natal – Durban on January 30<sup>th</sup> February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1991, during the conference of Women and Gender in Southern Africa.

- Bruner, J. 1983. **In Search of Mind: Essays in Autobiography**. Harper and Row Publishers, New York.
- Buckley, J. H. 1984. **The Turning Key: Autobiography and the Subjective Impulse since 1800**. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Buehler, R. and Ross, M. 2004. "Identity Through Time: Constructing Personal Pasts and Futures" In Brewer M.B. and Hewstone M. (eds), **Self and Social Identity**. Blackwell, U.S.A.
- Casey, K. 1993. **I Answer with My Life: Life Histories of Women Teachers Working for Social Change**. Routledge, London.
- Chandler, J. 1991. **Women without Husbands: An Exploration of the Margins of Marriage**. Macmillan, Hampshire.
- Coates, J. 1996. **Women Talk: Conversation between Women Friends**. Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Coplan, D. "Fictions That Save: Migrant's Performance and Basotho National Culture". NO 286, African Studies paper presented at Seminar RW 319 at 4:00 p.m, Monday, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1991.
- Darling, J. and Glendinning, A. 1996. **Gender Matters in Schools**. Cassell, London.
- Delamont, S. 1996. **A Woman's Place in Education**. Aldershot, Great Britain.
- Delpont, C.S. L. and Strydom, H. 1998. "Sampling and Pilot study in qualitative research", In De Vos A. S., Delpont, C.S.L. Fouche, C. B and Strydom, H. (eds), **Research at grassroots for the Social Science and human professions**. Van Schaik, Pretoria.
- Duncan, P. 1960. **Sotho Laws and Customs; A Handbook based on Decided Cases in Basutoland Together with The Laws of Lerotholi**. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Durrheim, K. 1999. "Research design", In Blanche, M. T. and Durrheim, K. (eds), **Research in Practice; Applied Methods for the Social Sciences**. University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town.

Durrheim, K. and Wassenaar, D. 1999. "Putting design into practice: writing and evaluating research proposals", In Blanche, M. T. and Durrheim, K. (eds), **Research in Practice; Applied Methods for the Social Sciences**. University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town.

Eldredge, E. 1993. "Women in Production: The Economic role of Women in Nineteenth Century Lesotho", in **ISAS Working Paper Series**. Nos 4-6, Institute of Southern African Studies, National University of Lesotho, Roma.

Elgovist, S. 1994. "Teacher, woman and human being", In Bjerer, G. and Elgovist, S. I, **Gender and Education in a Life Perspective**. Avebury, Aldershot.

Epprecht, M. 1993. "Marxism versus the Patriarchy: Gender and Historical Materialism in Southern Africa", In **ISAS Working Paper Series**. Nos 4-6, Institute of Southern African Studies, National University of Lesotho, Roma.

Epprecht, M. 2000. **'This Matter of Women is getting very bad': Gender, Development and Politics in Colonial Lesotho**. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

FAWE (Forum for African Women Educationalists). 1997. **Girls' Education: An Agenda for Change**. FAWE, Nairobi.

Field, S. 2001. "Remembering Experience, Interpreting Memory: Life Stories from Windermere", In **African Studies**. 60, 1.

Flitcraft, A. and Stark, E. 1996. **Women at Risk**. Sage, London.

Gavey, N. 1997. "Feminist Poststructuralism and Discourse Analysis", In Gergen, M. and Davis, N. (eds), **Toward a new psychology of gender**. Routledge, New York p. 49-64.

Gender Equity Project Teachers, 1995. "The Alliance", In Kleinfeld, J. S. and Yerian, S. (eds), **Gender Tales**. St. Martins Press, New York.

Gergen, K. J. 1999. **An Invitation to Social Construction**. Sage, London.

Goode, W. J. 1964. **The Family**. Printice-Hall Inc, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Goodman, P. 1949. **The Facts of Life Stories 1940 – 1949**. Volume 111, of the collected stories edited by Taylor Stoehr, Paul Goodman – Black Sparrow Press, United States.

Harding, S. and Hintikka, M. 1978. **Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology and Philosophy of Science**. D. Reidel Pub Company, London.

Hearn, J. 1987. **The Gender of Oppression: Men, Masculinity, and the Critique of Marxism**. Wheatsheaf books Ltd, Great Britain.

Hofmeyer, I. 1993. "We spend our years as a tale that is told", **Oral Historical Narrative in a South African chiefdom**. James Currey, London.

Iiping, E. and Williams, M. 2000. **Gender and Development**. Pollination Publishers, UNAM and UNDP.

Imam, A. 1997. "Engendering African Social Sciences: An Introductory Essay", In Imam, A. and Sow, F. (eds), **Engendering African Social Sciences**. Codestria, Dakar.

Inhorn, M.C. 1996. **Infertility and Patriarchy**. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

- John, M. 1995. "The Girls at Central – They Sure Got Nice Behinds", In Kleinfeld, J. S. and Yerian, S. (eds), **Gender Tales**. St. Martins Press, New York.
- Kashindo, P. 1993. "Women, Land and Agriculture in Lesotho", in **ISAS Working Papers Series**. NO 4-6, Institute of Southern African Studies, National University of Lesotho, Roma.
- Kleinfeld, J. 1995. "The Venerable Tradition of Separate-Sex Schooling" in Kleinfeld, J.S. and Yerian, S. (eds), **Gender Tales**. St. Martins Press, New York.
- Larsson, A., Mapetla, M. and Schlyter, A. 1998. **Changing Gender Relation in Southern Africa: Issues of Urban Life**. Institute of Southern African Studies, National University of Lesotho – Roma.
- Lerotholi, 1952. **The Laws of Lerotholi**. Morija Printing Works, Morija – Lesotho.
- Letuka, P., Mbatha, L., Mamashela, M.P., Mochochoko, P. and Mohale, M. 1997. **Maintenance in Lesotho**. Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Trust, Morija – Lesotho.
- Makoa, F. 1997. "Gender and Politics: A Note on Gender Inequality in Lesotho", In **Journal of Social Development in Africa**. Volume 12, NO.1, p. 5 – 14.
- Mamashela, M. 1991. **Family Law Through Cases in Lesotho**. Women and Law in Southern Africa, Maseru – Lesotho.
- Maqutu, W.C.M. 1992. **Contemporary Family Law of Lesotho**. N.U.L. Publishing House, Roma – Lesotho.
- Martin, J. 1995. "The Girls at Central – They Sure Got Nice Behinds", In Kleinfeld, J. S. and Yerian, S. (eds), **Gender Tales**. St. Martins Press, New York.
- Mathabane, M. 1994. "Granny – Life as a single mother" In Mathabane, M. (ed), **African Women: Three Generations**. Harper Collins Publishers, New York.

- McDowell, L. and Pringle, R. 1992. **Defining Women: Social Institutions and Gender Divisions**. Polity Press, Open University – United Kingdom.
- McKinny, B. 1995. “Burn Schools to the Ground”, in Kleinfeld, J.S. and Yerian, S. (eds), **Gender Tales**. St Martins Press, New York.
- Measor, L. and Sikes, P.J. 1992. **Gender and Schools**. Cassell, London.
- Meryl Ekong, J. 1992. **Bridewealth, Women and Reproduction in Sub-Saharan Africa**. Bonn, Holos.
- Miller, R. L. 2000. **Researching Life Stories and Family Histories**. Sage Publications, London.
- Modo, I.V.O. 2001. “The Changing Family Structure and Legal lag in Lesotho: Implications for the Future”, In **The African Anthropologist: Journal of the Pan African Anthropological Association**. Volume 8, NO. 1.
- Murray, C. 1977. “High bridewealth, migrant Labour and The Position of Women in Lesotho”, in **Journal of African Law**.
- Murray, C. 1981. **Families Divided**. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Narayan, U. 1989. “The Project of Feminist Epistemology: Perspectives from a Nonwestern Feminist”, In Jagger, A. and Bordo, S. (eds), **Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstruction of Being and Knowing**. New Brunmick, Rutgers.
- Nicolson, P. 1998. **Post – Natal Depression: Psychology, Science and the Transition to Motherhood**. Routledge, London and New York.
- Njeuma Dorothy, L. 1993. “An overview of Women’s Education in Africa” In Bourque, S. C. and Conway, J. K. (eds), **The Politics of Women’s Education**. University of Michigan Press, United States.
- Obbo, C. 1998. “Bitu: Facilitator of Women’s Educational Opportunities”, In Romeo P.W. (ed), **Life Histories of African Women**. Ashfield Press, London.

- Osyserman, D. 2004. "Self –concept and Identity" in Brewer, M. B. and Hewstone, M. (eds), **Self and Social Identity**. Blackwell, U.S.A.
- Phoofolo, P. 1980. **Kea nyala: Kea nyala: Husbands and Wives in Nineteenth Century Lesotho**. Mohlomi Seminar Paper 3, National University of Lesotho, Roma.
- Portelli, A. 1991. **The Death Of Luigi Trastulli and other Stories, Form and Meaning in Oral History**. State University of New York Press, New York.
- Portelli, A. 1997. **The Battle of Valle Giulia, Oral History and the Art of Dialogue**. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Portelli, A. 1998. "What Makes Oral History Different" In Perks R and Thomson A (eds), **The Oral History Reader**. Routledge, London.
- Posel, D. "Women's Powers, Men's Authority: Rethinking Patriarchy", Paper for Conference on Women and Gender in Southern Africa, 30 January – 2 February, 1991.
- Poulter, S. 1976. **Family Law and Litigation in Basotho Society**, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Richardson, L.W. 1981. **The Dynamics of Sex and Gender**. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Dallas.
- Ritchie, D. 1995. **Doing Oral History**. Twayne Publishers, New York.
- Samuel, R. and Thompson, P. (eds). 1990. **The Myths We Live By**. Routledge, London.
- Shotter, J. 1993. **Conversational Realities: Constructing Life through Language**. Sage, London.
- Skolnick, J. 1995. " A Rare Commodity" In Kleinfeld, J. S. and Yerian, S. (eds), **Gender Tales**. St. Martin's Press, New York.

Slim, H. and Thompson, P. 1993. **Listening for a Change, Oral testimony and Development.** Panos, London.

Steedman, C. 1986. **Landscape for a Good Woman.** Clays Ltd – Virago, London.

**The Gender Divide: Performance differences between boys and girls at school.**

1996. A report from the office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools and the Equal Opportunities Commission, Alexander House, London, HMSO.

Thompson, P. 1988, 2000. **The Voice of the Past, Oral History.** Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Walker, C. 1990. "Women and gender in Southern Africa to 1945: An Overview", in Walker, C. (ed), **Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945.** David Philip, Cape Town.

Walker, C. 1990. **Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945.** David Philip, Cape Town.

Witz, A. 1992. **Professions and Patriarchy.** Routledge, London.

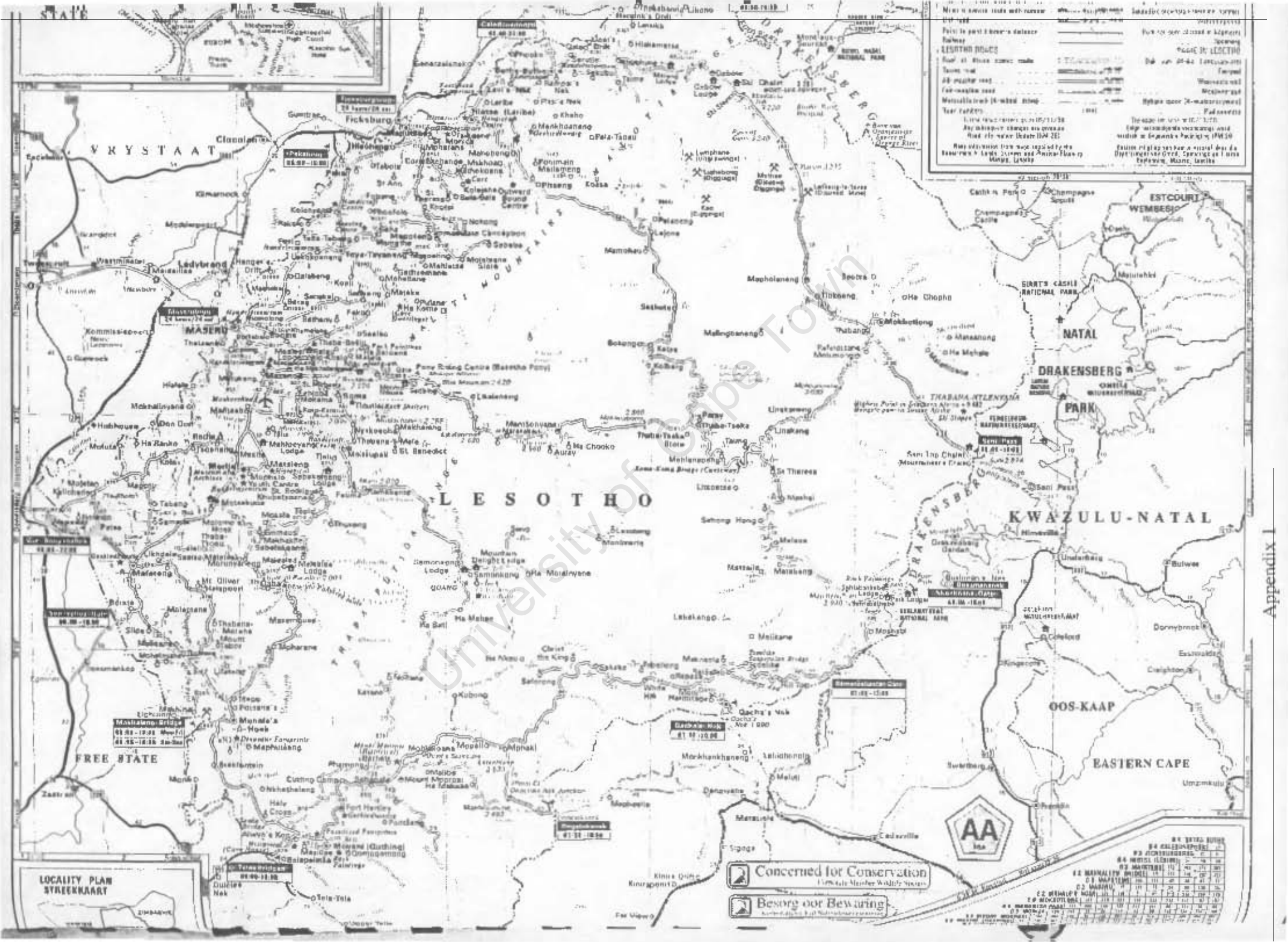
Xing (Lucy) Lu, 1999. "Identity Negotiation in the Classroom", In Jackson, S. and Jordan, J. S. **I've got a story to tell.** Peter Lang, New York.

Yow, V. 1994. **Recording Oral History, A Practical Guide for Social Scientists.** Sage, London.

### **Primary sources**

Interviews with the sixteen female teachers in Lesotho from the 18<sup>th</sup> July, 2004 – 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2004

Interviews with Mr Tiheli - a member of the Teaching Service Commission in Lesotho: 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2005



**Map Symbols**

Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line: 
  
 Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line: 
  
 Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line: 
  
 Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line:

**Map Symbols**

Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line: 
  
 Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line: 
  
 Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line: 
  
 Point to point line with arrows: 
  
 Point to point line:



**Concerned for Conservation**  
 Besorg oor Bewaring



81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100



# EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL OF LESOTHO



## Selection List With Syllabus Grades

Appendix 3

### LESOTHO JUNIOR CERTIFICATE 2004

Candidates' performance patterns, 2004, 2003 and 2002

2004	2003	2002	Expected on N.E.T. grade
221 (1.5%)	198 (1.2%)	120 (1.0%)	2.4%
967 (6.9%)	794 (4.0%)	812 (6.1%)	7.2%
8036 (56.0%)	7230 (54.0%)	6878 (51.0%)	41.4%
1599 (11.1%)	1463 (11.1%)	1410 (11.3%)	24.2%
10 842 (75.6%)	9615 (71.3%)	9250 (70.9%)	75.2%
2504 (21.3%)	1511 (26.7%)	3295 (26.7%)	24.9%
14746	13146	12545	

Phatlalatsa ka thabo lipheho tsa kamora liphephetso tsa nako e fetileng, metse ka hlako boeletsi methating eohle ka lokelang ho etsoa phatlalatsong ena ea thoa oa likoranta tse seng li ntse li le teng

Likoranta li tsoaroa khafetsa e le ho rala liphetho tsena li ka finyellang ho sechaba i le nako eo liphetho li phatlalatsong ka hloko ke bore phatlalatsa ea liphetho ka

ka barutuo a ba lekholo, mashome a robeli a metso e robeli (188), 'me phetoho ena e bonahala ka sekoto sa ntlha lekholong.

(iii) Ba likete li supileng, makholo a robong le mashome a robeli (7980) ba paritse ka sehlopha sa bobeli, 'me lenane lena le eketselile ka barutuo a makholo a supileng le mashome a tseletseng (760) e leng lintlha tse ka bang peli lekholong lia ho bapisoa le tsa 2003.

(iv) Ba sekete, makholo a mahlano, mashome a robong a motso o mong (1591) ba paritse ka sehlopha sa boraro. Palo ena ea barutuo e ka holimo ho ea selemo se fetileng ka lekholo, mashome a mabeli a metso e robeli (128) leha phetoho ena e sa bonahale lekholong.

(v) Kakeretso, ho atlehile barutuo a likete tse leshome, makholo a supileng, mashome a supileng le motso o le mong. (10 771), 'me palo ena ea barutuo e eketselile ka sekete, lekholo le mashome a mararo a metso e tseletseng (1136) 'me phetoho ena ke lintlha tse ka bang peli.

(vi) Ba likete tse tharo, makholo a mahlano, mashome a supileng a metso e robong (3579) ba sitiloe ho atleha hlahlobong ena. Palo ea barutuo ba sa atlehang leha ho le joalo lekholong, e ka tlase ho ea selemo se fetileng.

Liphetho tsa selemo sena lia khothatsa ha li bapisoa le tsa 2003, tsa 2002, tsa 2001, tsa 2000, tsa 1999, tsa 1998, tsa 1997, tsa 1996, tsa 1995, tsa 1994, tsa 1993, tsa 1992, tsa 1991, tsa 1990, tsa 1989, tsa 1988, tsa 1987, tsa 1986, tsa 1985, tsa 1984, tsa 1983, tsa 1982, tsa 1981, tsa 1980, tsa 1979, tsa 1978, tsa 1977, tsa 1976, tsa 1975, tsa 1974, tsa 1973, tsa 1972, tsa 1971, tsa 1970, tsa 1969, tsa 1968, tsa 1967, tsa 1966, tsa 1965, tsa 1964, tsa 1963, tsa 1962, tsa 1961, tsa 1960, tsa 1959, tsa 1958, tsa 1957, tsa 1956, tsa 1955, tsa 1954, tsa 1953, tsa 1952, tsa 1951, tsa 1950, tsa 1949, tsa 1948, tsa 1947, tsa 1946, tsa 1945, tsa 1944, tsa 1943, tsa 1942, tsa 1941, tsa 1940, tsa 1939, tsa 1938, tsa 1937, tsa 1936, tsa 1935, tsa 1934, tsa 1933, tsa 1932, tsa 1931, tsa 1930, tsa 1929, tsa 1928, tsa 1927, tsa 1926, tsa 1925, tsa 1924, tsa 1923, tsa 1922, tsa 1921, tsa 1920, tsa 1919, tsa 1918, tsa 1917, tsa 1916, tsa 1915, tsa 1914, tsa 1913, tsa 1912, tsa 1911, tsa 1910, tsa 1909, tsa 1908, tsa 1907, tsa 1906, tsa 1905, tsa 1904, tsa 1903, tsa 1902, tsa 1901, tsa 1900, tsa 1899, tsa 1898, tsa 1897, tsa 1896, tsa 1895, tsa 1894, tsa 1893, tsa 1892, tsa 1891, tsa 1890, tsa 1889, tsa 1888, tsa 1887, tsa 1886, tsa 1885, tsa 1884, tsa 1883, tsa 1882, tsa 1881, tsa 1880, tsa 1879, tsa 1878, tsa 1877, tsa 1876, tsa 1875, tsa 1874, tsa 1873, tsa 1872, tsa 1871, tsa 1870, tsa 1869, tsa 1868, tsa 1867, tsa 1866, tsa 1865, tsa 1864, tsa 1863, tsa 1862, tsa 1861, tsa 1860, tsa 1859, tsa 1858, tsa 1857, tsa 1856, tsa 1855, tsa 1854, tsa 1853, tsa 1852, tsa 1851, tsa 1850, tsa 1849, tsa 1848, tsa 1847, tsa 1846, tsa 1845, tsa 1844, tsa 1843, tsa 1842, tsa 1841, tsa 1840, tsa 1839, tsa 1838, tsa 1837, tsa 1836, tsa 1835, tsa 1834, tsa 1833, tsa 1832, tsa 1831, tsa 1830, tsa 1829, tsa 1828, tsa 1827, tsa 1826, tsa 1825, tsa 1824, tsa 1823, tsa 1822, tsa 1821, tsa 1820, tsa 1819, tsa 1818, tsa 1817, tsa 1816, tsa 1815, tsa 1814, tsa 1813, tsa 1812, tsa 1811, tsa 1810, tsa 1809, tsa 1808, tsa 1807, tsa 1806, tsa 1805, tsa 1804, tsa 1803, tsa 1802, tsa 1801, tsa 1800, tsa 1799, tsa 1798, tsa 1797, tsa 1796, tsa 1795, tsa 1794, tsa 1793, tsa 1792, tsa 1791, tsa 1790, tsa 1789, tsa 1788, tsa 1787, tsa 1786, tsa 1785, tsa 1784, tsa 1783, tsa 1782, tsa 1781, tsa 1780, tsa 1779, tsa 1778, tsa 1777, tsa 1776, tsa 1775, tsa 1774, tsa 1773, tsa 1772, tsa 1771, tsa 1770, tsa 1769, tsa 1768, tsa 1767, tsa 1766, tsa 1765, tsa 1764, tsa 1763, tsa 1762, tsa 1761, tsa 1760, tsa 1759, tsa 1758, tsa 1757, tsa 1756, tsa 1755, tsa 1754, tsa 1753, tsa 1752, tsa 1751, tsa 1750, tsa 1749, tsa 1748, tsa 1747, tsa 1746, tsa 1745, tsa 1744, tsa 1743, tsa 1742, tsa 1741, tsa 1740, tsa 1739, tsa 1738, tsa 1737, tsa 1736, tsa 1735, tsa 1734, tsa 1733, tsa 1732, tsa 1731, tsa 1730, tsa 1729, tsa 1728, tsa 1727, tsa 1726, tsa 1725, tsa 1724, tsa 1723, tsa 1722, tsa 1721, tsa 1720, tsa 1719, tsa 1718, tsa 1717, tsa 1716, tsa 1715, tsa 1714, tsa 1713, tsa 1712, tsa 1711, tsa 1710, tsa 1709, tsa 1708, tsa 1707, tsa 1706, tsa 1705, tsa 1704, tsa 1703, tsa 1702, tsa 1701, tsa 1700, tsa 1699, tsa 1698, tsa 1697, tsa 1696, tsa 1695, tsa 1694, tsa 1693, tsa 1692, tsa 1691, tsa 1690, tsa 1689, tsa 1688, tsa 1687, tsa 1686, tsa 1685, tsa 1684, tsa 1683, tsa 1682, tsa 1681, tsa 1680, tsa 1679, tsa 1678, tsa 1677, tsa 1676, tsa 1675, tsa 1674, tsa 1673, tsa 1672, tsa 1671, tsa 1670, tsa 1669, tsa 1668, tsa 1667, tsa 1666, tsa 1665, tsa 1664, tsa 1663, tsa 1662, tsa 1661, tsa 1660, tsa 1659, tsa 1658, tsa 1657, tsa 1656, tsa 1655, tsa 1654, tsa 1653, tsa 1652, tsa 1651, tsa 1650, tsa 1649, tsa 1648, tsa 1647, tsa 1646, tsa 1645, tsa 1644, tsa 1643, tsa 1642, tsa 1641, tsa 1640, tsa 1639, tsa 1638, tsa 1637, tsa 1636, tsa 1635, tsa 1634, tsa 1633, tsa 1632, tsa 1631, tsa 1630, tsa 1629, tsa 1628, tsa 1627, tsa 1626, tsa 1625, tsa 1624, tsa 1623, tsa 1622, tsa 1621, tsa 1620, tsa 1619, tsa 1618, tsa 1617, tsa 1616, tsa 1615, tsa 1614, tsa 1613, tsa 1612, tsa 1611, tsa 1610, tsa 1609, tsa 1608, tsa 1607, tsa 1606, tsa 1605, tsa 1604, tsa 1603, tsa 1602, tsa 1601, tsa 1600, tsa 1599, tsa 1598, tsa 1597, tsa 1596, tsa 1595, tsa 1594, tsa 1593, tsa 1592, tsa 1591, tsa 1590, tsa 1589, tsa 1588, tsa 1587, tsa 1586, tsa 1585, tsa 1584, tsa 1583, tsa 1582, tsa 1581, tsa 1580, tsa 1579, tsa 1578, tsa 1577, tsa 1576, tsa 1575, tsa 1574, tsa 1573, tsa 1572, tsa 1571, tsa 1570, tsa 1569, tsa 1568, tsa 1567, tsa 1566, tsa 1565, tsa 1564, tsa 1563, tsa 1562, tsa 1561, tsa 1560, tsa 1559, tsa 1558, tsa 1557, tsa 1556, tsa 1555, tsa 1554, tsa 1553, tsa 1552, tsa 1551, tsa 1550, tsa 1549, tsa 1548, tsa 1547, tsa 1546, tsa 1545, tsa 1544, tsa 1543, tsa 1542, tsa 1541, tsa 1540, tsa 1539, tsa 1538, tsa 1537, tsa 1536, tsa 1535, tsa 1534, tsa 1533, tsa 1532, tsa 1531, tsa 1530, tsa 1529, tsa 1528, tsa 1527, tsa 1526, tsa 1525, tsa 1524, tsa 1523, tsa 1522, tsa 1521, tsa 1520, tsa 1519, tsa 1518, tsa 1517, tsa 1516, tsa 1515, tsa 1514, tsa 1513, tsa 1512, tsa 1511, tsa 1510, tsa 1509, tsa 1508, tsa 1507, tsa 1506, tsa 1505, tsa 1504, tsa 1503, tsa 1502, tsa 1501, tsa 1500, tsa 1499, tsa 1498, tsa 1497, tsa 1496, tsa 1495, tsa 1494, tsa 1493, tsa 1492, tsa 1491, tsa 1490, tsa 1489, tsa 1488, tsa 1487, tsa 1486, tsa 1485, tsa 1484, tsa 1483, tsa 1482, tsa 1481, tsa 1480, tsa 1479, tsa 1478, tsa 1477, tsa 1476, tsa 1475, tsa 1474, tsa 1473, tsa 1472, tsa 1471, tsa 1470, tsa 1469, tsa 1468, tsa 1467, tsa 1466, tsa 1465, tsa 1464, tsa 1463, tsa 1462, tsa 1461, tsa 1460, tsa 1459, tsa 1458, tsa 1457, tsa 1456, tsa 1455, tsa 1454, tsa 1453, tsa 1452, tsa 1451, tsa 1450, tsa 1449, tsa 1448, tsa 1447, tsa 1446, tsa 1445, tsa 1444, tsa 1443, tsa 1442, tsa 1441, tsa 1440, tsa 1439, tsa 1438, tsa 1437, tsa 1436, tsa 1435, tsa 1434, tsa 1433, tsa 1432, tsa 1431, tsa 1430, tsa 1429, tsa 1428, tsa 1427, tsa 1426, tsa 1425, tsa 1424, tsa 1423, tsa 1422, tsa 1421, tsa 1420, tsa 1419, tsa 1418, tsa 1417, tsa 1416, tsa 1415, tsa 1414, tsa 1413, tsa 1412, tsa 1411, tsa 1410, tsa 1409, tsa 1408, tsa 1407, tsa 1406, tsa 1405, tsa 1404, tsa 1403, tsa 1402, tsa 1401, tsa 1400, tsa 1399, tsa 1398, tsa 1397, tsa 1396, tsa 1395, tsa 1394, tsa 1393, tsa 1392, tsa 1391, tsa 1390, tsa 1389, tsa 1388, tsa 1387, tsa 1386, tsa 1385, tsa 1384, tsa 1383, tsa 1382, tsa 1381, tsa 1380, tsa 1379, tsa 1378, tsa 1377, tsa 1376, tsa 1375, tsa 1374, tsa 1373, tsa 1372, tsa 1371, tsa 1370, tsa 1369, tsa 1368, tsa 1367, tsa 1366, tsa 1365, tsa 1364, tsa 1363, tsa 1362, tsa 1361, tsa 1360, tsa 1359, tsa 1358, tsa 1357, tsa 1356, tsa 1355, tsa 1354, tsa 1353, tsa 1352, tsa 1351, tsa 1350, tsa 1349, tsa 1348, tsa 1347, tsa 1346, tsa 1345, tsa 1344, tsa 1343, tsa 1342, tsa 1341, tsa 1340, tsa 1339, tsa 1338, tsa 1337, tsa 1336, tsa 1335, tsa 1334, tsa 1333, tsa 1332, tsa 1331, tsa 1330, tsa 1329, tsa 1328, tsa 1327, tsa 1326, tsa 1325, tsa 1324, tsa 1323, tsa 1322, tsa 1321, tsa 1320, tsa 1319, tsa 1318, tsa 1317, tsa 1316, tsa 1315, tsa 1314, tsa 1313, tsa 1312, tsa 1311, tsa 1310, tsa 1309, tsa 1308, tsa 1307, tsa 1306, tsa 1305, tsa 1304, tsa 1303, tsa 1302, tsa 1301, tsa 1300, tsa 1299, tsa 1298, tsa 1297, tsa 1296, tsa 1295, tsa 1294, tsa 1293, tsa 1292, tsa 1291, tsa 1290, tsa 1289, tsa 1288, tsa 1287, tsa 1286, tsa 1285, tsa 1284, tsa 1283, tsa 1282, tsa 1281, tsa 1280, tsa 1279, tsa 1278, tsa 1277, tsa 1276, tsa 1275, tsa 1274, tsa 1273, tsa 1272, tsa 1271, tsa 1270, tsa 1269, tsa 1268, tsa 1267, tsa 1266, tsa 1265, tsa 1264, tsa 1263, tsa 1262, tsa 1261, tsa 1260, tsa 1259, tsa 1258, tsa 1257, tsa 1256, tsa 1255, tsa 1254, tsa 1253, tsa 1252, tsa 1251, tsa 1250, tsa 1249, tsa 1248, tsa 1247, tsa 1246, tsa 1245, tsa 1244, tsa 1243, tsa 1242, tsa 1241, tsa 1240, tsa 1239, tsa 1238, tsa 1237, tsa 1236, tsa 1235, tsa 1234, tsa 1233, tsa 1232, tsa 1231, tsa 1230, tsa 1229, tsa 1228, tsa 1227, tsa 1226, tsa 1225, tsa 1224, tsa 1223, tsa 1222, tsa 1221, tsa 1220, tsa 1219, tsa 1218, tsa 1217, tsa 1216, tsa 1215, tsa 1214, tsa 1213, tsa 1212, tsa 1211, tsa 1210, tsa 1209, tsa 1208, tsa 1207, tsa 1206, tsa 1205, tsa 1204, tsa 1203, tsa 1202, tsa 1201, tsa 1200, tsa 1199, tsa 1198, tsa 1197, tsa 1196, tsa 1195, tsa 1194, tsa 1193, tsa 1192, tsa 1191, tsa 1190, tsa 1189, tsa 1188, tsa 1187, tsa 1186, tsa 1185, tsa 1184, tsa 1183, tsa 1182, tsa 1181, tsa 1180, tsa 1179, tsa 1178, tsa 1177, tsa 1176, tsa 1175, tsa 1174, tsa 1173, tsa 1172, tsa 1171, tsa 1170, tsa 1169, tsa 1168, tsa 1167, tsa 1166, tsa 1165, tsa 1164, tsa 1163, tsa 1162, tsa 1161, tsa 1160, tsa 1159, tsa 1158, tsa 1157, tsa 1156, tsa 1155, tsa 1154, tsa 1153, tsa 1152, tsa 1151, tsa 1150, tsa 1149, tsa 1148, tsa 1147, tsa 1146, tsa 1145, tsa 1144, tsa 1143, tsa 1142, tsa 1141, tsa 1140, tsa 1139, tsa 1138, tsa 1137, tsa 1136, tsa 1135, tsa 1134, tsa 1133, tsa 1132, tsa 1131, tsa 1130, tsa 1129, tsa 1128, tsa 1127, tsa 1126, tsa 1125, tsa 1124, tsa 1123, tsa 1122, tsa 1121, tsa 1120, tsa 1119, tsa 1118, tsa 1117, tsa 1116, tsa 1115, tsa 1114, tsa 1113, tsa 1112, tsa 1111, tsa 1110, tsa 1109, tsa 1108, tsa 1107, tsa 1106, tsa 1105, tsa 1104, tsa 1103, tsa 1102, tsa 1101, tsa 1100, tsa 1099, tsa 1098, tsa 1097, tsa 1096, tsa 1095, tsa 1094, tsa 1093, tsa 1092, tsa 1091, tsa 1090, tsa 1089, tsa 1088, tsa 1087, tsa 1086, tsa 1085, tsa 1084, tsa 1083, tsa 1082, tsa 1081, tsa 1080, tsa 1079, tsa 1078, tsa 1077, tsa 1076, tsa 1075, tsa 1074, tsa 1073, tsa 1072, tsa 1071, tsa 1070, tsa 1069, tsa 1068, tsa 1067, tsa 1066, tsa 1065, tsa 1064, tsa 1063, tsa 1062, tsa 1061, tsa 1060, tsa 1059, tsa 1058, tsa 1057, tsa 1056, tsa 1055, tsa 1054, tsa 1053, tsa 1052, tsa 1051, tsa 1050, tsa 1049, tsa 1048, tsa 1047, tsa 1046, tsa 1045, tsa 1044, tsa 1043, tsa 1042, tsa 1041, tsa 1040, tsa 1039, tsa 1038, tsa 1037, tsa 1036, tsa 1035, tsa 1034, tsa 1033, tsa 1032, tsa 1031, tsa 1030, tsa 1029, tsa 1028, tsa 1027, tsa 1026, tsa 1025, tsa 1024, tsa 1023, tsa 1022, tsa 1021, tsa 1020, tsa 1019, tsa 1018, tsa 1017, tsa 1016, tsa 1015, tsa 1014, tsa 1013, tsa 1012, tsa 1011, tsa 1010, tsa 1009, tsa 1008, tsa 1007, tsa 1006, tsa 1005, tsa 1004, tsa 1003, tsa 1002, tsa 1001, tsa 1000, tsa 999, tsa 998, tsa 997, tsa 996, tsa 995, tsa 994, tsa 993, tsa 992, tsa 991, tsa 990, tsa 989, tsa 988, tsa 987, tsa 986, tsa 985, tsa 984, tsa 983, tsa 982, tsa 981, tsa 980, tsa 979, tsa 978, tsa 977, tsa 976, tsa 975, tsa 974, tsa 973, tsa 972, tsa 971, tsa 970, tsa 969, tsa 968, tsa 967, tsa 966, tsa 965, tsa 964, tsa 963, tsa 962, tsa 961, tsa 960, tsa 959, tsa 958, tsa 957, tsa 956, tsa 955, tsa 954, tsa 953, tsa 952, tsa 951, tsa 950, tsa 949, tsa 948, tsa 947, tsa 946, tsa 945, tsa 944, tsa 943, tsa 942, tsa 941, tsa 940, tsa 939, tsa 938, tsa 937, tsa 936, tsa 935, tsa 934, tsa 933, tsa 932, tsa 931, tsa 930, tsa 929, tsa 928, tsa 927, tsa 926, tsa 925, tsa 924, tsa 923, tsa 922, tsa 921, tsa 920, tsa 919, tsa 918, tsa 917, tsa 916, tsa 915, tsa 914, tsa 913, tsa 912, tsa 911, tsa 910, tsa 909, tsa 908, tsa 907, tsa 906, tsa 905, tsa 904, tsa 903, tsa 902, tsa 901, tsa 900, tsa 899, tsa 898, tsa 897, tsa 896, tsa 895, tsa 894, tsa 893, tsa 892, tsa 891, tsa 890, tsa 889, tsa 888, tsa 887, tsa 886, tsa 885, tsa 884, tsa 883, tsa 882, tsa 881, tsa 880, tsa 879, tsa 878, tsa 877, tsa 876, tsa 875, tsa 874, tsa 873, tsa 872, tsa 871, tsa 870, tsa 869, tsa 868, tsa 867, tsa 866, tsa 865, tsa 864, tsa 863, tsa 862, tsa 861, tsa 860, tsa 859, tsa 858, tsa 857, tsa 856, tsa 855, tsa 854, tsa 853, tsa 852, tsa 851, tsa 850, tsa 849, tsa 848, tsa 847, tsa 846, tsa 845, tsa 844, tsa 843, tsa 842, tsa 841, tsa 840, tsa 839, tsa 838, tsa 837, tsa 836, tsa 835, tsa 834, tsa 833, tsa 832, tsa 831, tsa 830, tsa 829, tsa 828, tsa 827, tsa 826, tsa 825, tsa 824, tsa 823, tsa 822, tsa 821, tsa 820, tsa 819, tsa 818, tsa 817, tsa 816, tsa 815, tsa 814, tsa 813, tsa 812, tsa 811, tsa 810, tsa 809, tsa 808, tsa 807, tsa 806, tsa 805, tsa 804, tsa 803, tsa 802, tsa 801, tsa 800, tsa 799, tsa 798, tsa 797, tsa 796, tsa 795, tsa 794, tsa 793, tsa 792, tsa 791, tsa 790, tsa 789, tsa 788, tsa 787, tsa 786, tsa 785, tsa 784, tsa 783, tsa 782, tsa 781, tsa 780, tsa 779, tsa 778, tsa 777, tsa 776, tsa 775, tsa 774, tsa 773, tsa 772, tsa 771, tsa 770, tsa 769, tsa 768, tsa 767, tsa 766, tsa 765, tsa 764, tsa 763, tsa 762, tsa 761, tsa 760, tsa 759, tsa 758, tsa 757, tsa 756, tsa 755, tsa 754, tsa 753, tsa 752, tsa 751, tsa 750, tsa 749, tsa 748, tsa 747, tsa 746, tsa 745, tsa 744, tsa 743, tsa 742, tsa 741, tsa 740, tsa 739, tsa 738, tsa 737, tsa 736, tsa 735, tsa 734, tsa 733, tsa 732, tsa 731, tsa 730, tsa 729, tsa 728, tsa 727, tsa 726, tsa 725, tsa 724, tsa 723, tsa 722, tsa 721, tsa 720, tsa 719, tsa 718, tsa 717, tsa 716, tsa 715, tsa 714, tsa 713, tsa 712, tsa 711, tsa 710, tsa 709, tsa 708, tsa 707, tsa 706, tsa 705, tsa 704, tsa 703, tsa 702, tsa 701, tsa 700, tsa 699, tsa 698, tsa 697, tsa 696, tsa 695, tsa 694, tsa 693, tsa 692, tsa 691, tsa 690, tsa 689, tsa 688, tsa 687, tsa 686, tsa 685, tsa 684, tsa 683, tsa 682, tsa 681, tsa 680, tsa 679, tsa 678, tsa 677, tsa 676, tsa 675, tsa 674, tsa 673, tsa 672, tsa 671, tsa 670, tsa 669, tsa 668, tsa 667, tsa 666, tsa 665, tsa 664, tsa 663, tsa 662, tsa 661, tsa 660, tsa 659, tsa 658, tsa 657, tsa 656, tsa 655, tsa 654, tsa 653, tsa 652, tsa 651, tsa 650, tsa 649, tsa 648, tsa 647, tsa 646, tsa 645, tsa 644, tsa 643, tsa 642, tsa 641, tsa 640, tsa 639, tsa 638

## J. C. 2003 TOP TEN

	NAME	SCHOOL NAME
1	Nidhin Varghese	Maseribane High School
2	Peter Erwin Thekkekottaram Elizabeth	Kingsgate High School Mt. Royal High School
3	Nikhil Varghese George Palliyathu Thomas Posholi Fusi	Maseribane High School Mohlale's High School St. Boniface High School
4	Ratfali Bokang Lellatsa Motema	Lesotho High School St. Stephen's High School
5	George Alexander Jimmy	Mt. Royal High School
6	Majara Kopano	Lesotho High School
7	Makara Donald Mohlalefi Neko Maele	Sacred Heart High School Sacred Heart High School
8	Mochochoko Likalso Mohapeloa Keketsu Mphaka Lerato Mary-Theresa Ramakhula Mohau Lebeko Thabelo John Molo Malehasa Sehlabaka Lebohany	Bonhomme High School Lesotho High School NUL International School Sacred Heart High School Seeliso High School St. Stephen's High School St. Stephen's High School
9	Thomas Vitimol Nkhahle Mary Retšelisitsoe Jobo Menako Sophia Pulumo Lerato Reitumetse Kopano Tšoanelo Samuel Makutoane Itumeleng Molupe Elizabeth Malithakong Lelosa Nlikoane	Bonhomme High School Holy Family High School Lesotho High School Lesotho High School Mabathoana High School Mopholosi High School St. James High School Lelosa Nlikoane
10	Mohaesa Kanohele Piororo Samuel Khotso Lobese Matšepiso Mafata Kanaolo Nqhae Malholi	Honrat Labreque Secondary School Khetlisa High School Lesotho High School St. Stephen's High School St. Stephen's High School

E D G G  
X X X X

Number of candidates (Total): 97

(First): 5  
(Second): 39  
(Third): 9  
(Fail): 18  
  
(Total): 91

Eng Ses Mat Sci  
A A C C

Eng Ses Mat Sci  
D C E E  
D B G E  
E C G F  
D B F E  
D C F E  
E C G F  
E C F E  
D B G F  
D B F E  
D B G F  
D D G E  
D C F E  
D C F E  
D C F F  
D C E F  
D D G F  
E D F E  
D B E E  
D B G E  
D C H F  
E C H F  
D C H F  
D C F E  
D C F F  
D C F F  
E C E F  
D C E F

E D F F  
E C E F  
E C G F  
E C G F  
E C G F  
E C G F  
F C F F  
F D G F  
F D F F  
F D G F  
E C F F  
E C G F  
E C G F  
D D F E  
E C G F  
E C G F  
E C F F

D C F F  
D D G G  
E C F E  
E C G F

**MORija GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL**

Merit Eng Ses Mat Sci  
LETHO LIBOSENG AGEL NAH B A B B

First Eng Ses Mat Sci  
KHOBOTLE LIMPHO A B D B  
MOKAKE MAMOLEMO AGNES S A B B  
POKA MOSHODANE B A C C  
RALENKOANE NKELETSENG BEL B A C C  
SEBCKO NOKOFA B A D D

Second Eng Ses Mat Sci  
GANSTER LIMPHO B D F D  
FOKOTSANE PULANE D C G E  
KALAKA MATSILISO C B D D  
KHOFU NTHABISENG D C E D  
LECHAKA SELLOANE GLADYS A A E C  
LEKHODANA NTHABISENG B C D D  
LEKONYANA MPHO B D C D  
LELUMA LIMPHO SYLVIA C B D D  
LIPHOTO NTHABISENG ERNEST C B G C  
MAKHUBE IIBOLELO B B D D  
MOFAMMEPE LIMAKATSO A D B F E  
MOHAJANE PABALLD IRENE C C E E  
MOHAPI MAFUSI JOSEPHINA B B E E  
MOLEFI PULENG ANACI LETTA B B D D  
MOLEMOHI THATO CARLY C C O E  
MORUTI TLHOLGGELO B B D D  
MOSALA KAMOHLELO HYCINTIA B B G D  
MOSESE PULANE MARY C C F E  
MOSHABESIA MATSOPHE D C F E  
MOSIAO KENELOE C A E D  
MOSIHOESHOE SENATE B B F D  
MOSILI MALETSEBELA C C F D  
MOTHABENG MPHO C B D D  
MARE BOKANG B B F E  
NTLI TLALANE C C F D  
NTSONYANE LITEROHO D B E E  
RAMAPHOMA MABATHO C C G E  
RAMOCHELA LINEO ANNA C B E D  
RAMONYAHAVE ITUMILENG D C E E  
RAMOTHOBI MANAKO ELIZABETH C O F D  
RATLALI MATHARD D B F D  
SEBOTSJA KHOHATSO C B C D  
SERDSANYANE LEMOHANG A B D C  
SETLA: KONFOSANG C B E D  
SHEA THAYDIWE C B E E  
THILD KHASIANE CYNTHIA C C D E  
TJABANE MAFSHOANE D C G D  
TSILD MPEO ANNAH C B E D  
TSIU MPDI OKHNG B B F E

Third Eng Ses Mat Sci  
GUGUSHE MAKUTUMANE C D F F  
LELIMO MAYA ALINA D O G E  
MASHLEO MOIPONE MARETHA E D G E  
MATETE BOITUMI D MAKHODAI C C E E  
PHEANE LIKABELO ALPHONCIN E C G F

Fail Eng Ses Mat Sci  
HIASOA TSHOTETSO ELIZABETH C C F F  
MOKALE LIANO E C F F  
MOSFISI MAFALISA E D G E  
PHOFANE PHELETSEO C C G F

Number of candidates (Merit): 1  
Number of candidates (First): 5  
Number of candidates (Second): 39  
Number of candidates (Third): 5  
Number of candidates (Fail): 4  
  
Number of candidates (Total): 54

**MORUTHANE SECONDARY SCHOOL**

First Eng Ses Mat Sci  
KHATHIBE RELEBOHILE B B B D  
MAKEKE FRANCIANAH B A C C

Second Eng Ses Mat Sci  
CHOPHO TIEHO D C F B  
KOEKOELE LIEKETSANG D C G F  
KOELA KENEDE E C E F  
LEKHOTSO KHOTSO C C E E  
LEKONYANA MALEF C C G F  
LETELE BAKOENA D C F E  
LIPHOTO THOBELI C B G E  
MAFANTI MOTSELISI D C F E  
MAKARA RAPHOKA C B D D  
MAKHAKHE MALINDISI C B F E  
MAKOA THABISANG D C F E  
MAKOLA THOTDANE C C F F  
MANGOHO MARCALA D C E D  
MAQOABEANE LISEMA C B E D  
MAQDACHA MOEKETSI D C O E  
MASCHU MOREHD D D G E  
MASHLEO TSEPO D B A E  
MATETE MPOI C B E E  
MATLOSA RETHABILE E C E E  
MOCHESANE TEBHO C B E E  
MOFRANE PHEELLO D C D D  
MOFAO MOTENALAPI D C G D  
MOKENI RETHABILE D C F E  
MONYELE PHLANE C A E D  
MOONYANE MARAKABEI D C E D  
MOTHE ALICE D C F F  
MPHAFI BOKANG B B F D  
MPO MAKETSO C D F F  
NTSENE LIMPHO C A G E  
PHAKOA MOTEKA B C F D  
POLANE MAHLOMOLA C C D E  
RAKHODISO PAPISO D C G D  
RALITABO SETEREKE D C F E  
RANYALI LINEO D C F E  
SECKO MABATHO C B E E  
SEKHODIHLA TLALANE D C F E  
SELONYANE REMAKETSE D C F E  
SETIPE MOABI D C F E  
TAU TUMELO D C F E  
THAMAHANE TSEHLA D C E E  
THATHO KELEBONE D B D D

Third Eng Ses Mat Sci  
LEHLOENYA LETGAO D C E E  
LEHLOKA MOLEFI E E E E  
MAFIKENG SELLOANE D D F F  
MAILA TUMELO D E F F  
MALUKE JULIA C C F F  
MOHAI MAKHOTOS E C G E  
MOSEHLE MOLEFI E D G E  
THIBELLO HLALAFANG D D E E

Fail Eng Ses Mat Sci  
HALID MONTSE E D G F  
KULELE LERATO C F F F  
LEPHDI PALESA X X X X  
MARITE MAMOLEFE E E G F  
MATLOSA MATIBI D D G F

MOSEHLE MOFONGOE F D H G  
MPHALI KABELD D E G F  
PAKELA THABISI D B F F  
PDEA MALEBO F C F F  
PALEBITSO RAMPOETSI D O G E  
SEKOA FANI F D F E  
SELEMATSELA MALEPOGO D C G F  
SHEA THUSO D B G F  
TANKISO LEFA E C H F  
THAMAE KHOTOS D D G E  
THEJANE MALEFA E D G F

Number of candidates (First): 2  
Number of candidates (Second): 41  
Number of candidates (Third): 8  
Number of candidates (Fail): 16

MAOKE SEBATA	E	C	F	E
MADATSA LESOPANG	E	C	C	E
MELAO MOETJIE	D	D	F	D
MHOPI KEMELO	E	C	G	E

**ROULIN HIGH SCHOOL**

YOFTALEI	E	C	E	F
MOJELA MATHELE	D	D	F	D
YOKYI TSHARE	E	C	E	E
MOHAGA POSELETO	D	C	F	E
MUTSU RETSELETSE	D	D	D	D
WOTI LEPHOLA	E	D	D	D
PONTO LERATO	E	C	F	E
SPENKHE MOTSELEI	C	B	E	E
TLAGI TSEPO	D	C	E	D

Third	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
MALISO NTHABENG	E	E	F	E
MARITMHO	E	C	H	E
MOBOENYANE SELEPHOLE	E	D	D	E
PATAKA NTSEBENG	D	D	E	F
PEIANE SHEHANE	E	D	G	F

Fail	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
MOJAE KELLO	E	E	G	F
MATANE MOBE	E	D	F	E
MIRINHOBO	E	D	F	F
MAGALE BONJANE	E	D	F	F
MHANTOLE PALELA	D	C	C	E
MOTAMALEHONONOLO	E	D	G	F
MOKHELE TLALE	E	C	F	F
LEBUSA TUMO	E	D	G	F
LEPHOLE MARGATELA	E	F	G	F
LEPHOLE MOJANE	D	C	G	F
LERATA MALISA	D	D	G	F
MASEVEDIBE LINTLE	D	D	D	F
MATERENA MANTHABENG	D	D	F	F
MAGARA MAGARA	E	E	F	F
MAKATSE NTHABENG	E	E	F	F
MANASTE MALETANE	E	E	H	F
MANTIMOLEKONG	E	C	F	F
MATJALIMAKATLEO	D	D	F	F
MATOGANE MPATI	E	X	G	E
MATOGANE NTSEBENG	E	X	G	E
MOKHAPIN MOJANYO	E	D	F	F
MOLGA MOJABENG	E	D	H	F
MOPHALIHOTSELEI	E	C	H	F
MOPHONYANE PHANE	E	E	T	F
MUTLANYANA MATSELEO	E	D	F	F
NGANI TSEGOAI	F	E	X	F
NTLHANNGOE MATSE	E	D	F	F
PHALAHIA MATSELEO	E	C	T	F
THANE MACHEFFE	E	E	F	F
RAMOKHABANE MAINNI	D	D	G	F
GANTELA MAPUZI	C	C	F	F
SEBANG MOJENOT	E	D	G	F
SEKGA LEMHAGA	E	D	F	F
SPENYA MOLEKI	E	D	G	F
SKATHAMOA	E	E	F	F
TLAGINYANE MAFASGA	E	D	F	F
TOTA NTOLO	D	C	F	F

Number of candidates (Second) : 16  
 Number of candidates (Third) : 5  
 Number of candidates (Fail) : 17  
 Number of candidates (Total) : 38

**SACRED HEART HIGH SCHOOL**

First	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
LIKOTA BATHO	E	B	A	B
KANLONOLA SELLO	E	A	C	B
MANO MOKHOLA	E	B	A	B
MAPHILE SEBANE	A	A	B	A
MAPHOTSA MOHAKHA	A	A	A	A
MOTLO MOLETJANE	B	A	A	A
MOTLO LEBORANG	B	A	A	A
MPHALANE TEBONO	A	A	A	A
MOTLA MOTIKALIPHERA'S	D	B	A	B
ONELA KANLLO	A	A	A	A
RAMOHOTI LEMA JACOB	B	B	A	A
RAMOHANE TRABANG	A	A	A	A
SEFANO JACOB	A	A	B	A
SEFANO TSEPO	A	B	A	A
SEKGA TEBONO	A	A	A	A
SELLO MOJENOTSO JULIE	A	A	A	A
SENGOTSEBULE	C	B	A	A
TSEBANE YHETSE	C	B	B	B
TUSETIMAGALE	B	A	A	B

Fail	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
AVIS SEBAL	C	B	B	C
LESELEY ATANG	C	B	C	B
MA MOJENOT	B	B	L	B
MOTSELE	B	B	F	C

SELABO LEANE	B	B	C	B
SELALA TSEPO	B	B	C	C
SEMPH THENO	C	A	D	C
SETILO TROLO	B	B	C	B
SETULA LINDI	C	B	A	A
SHASHATE TAU	C	A	A	B
TSEBETANKI	B	A	B	C

Second	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
CHABALALA LEMHONOLO	C	C	F	D
HEENA TEBONO	C	D	E	E
HIDATSE HAHALALA	B	B	B	J
KANETSIMANGOLA ABRAM	B	C	C	A
KHUTSETOGANA LEMHONELA	B	B	D	J
KOMPILAYHONG	C	B	D	C
LEBUSA KEFHOE	C	B	C	C
LEPHOLO ERHRET	C	C	F	D
LETSASA KANG	C	B	E	C
LETSASA MOHETHO	D	C	D	C
LETSELA ALBERT	E	C	E	B
MABISO MAHANGA	C	C	E	D
MACHEMA MOLEBELI	E	C	E	F
MASASANE LETANG	C	D	F	E
MAKHALEME CHARLES	C	C	D	E
MAKHOLA JANKE	D	C	F	C
MAKHOBILE THOBO	B	B	E	D
MAKHA MOHESANE	C	B	C	C
MASHILLEBONO	B	B	C	B
MATLANYANE ELLET	D	C	F	D
MATERANE MOJEA	B	B	F	B
MATSEBANE MOJEA	D	C	E	D
MOEKETSIMANGOLA DANIEL	C	C	E	C
MOFOKENG RAMOHOTI	D	C	E	D
MOFOKENG THABO	B	B	C	B
MOLAFELA LEMHONOLO	B	B	E	D
MOLAO LERATO PETER	C	B	C	C
MOLAPO SECHABA JAMES	E	D	F	E
MOLALO TUNILO	C	D	F	E
MOSIASAMPONG ERIC	C	C	F	D
MOSHOSHOE REFLOE	D	C	E	C
MOSHOSHOE WENZELAS LES	D	C	E	E
MOTERANG THOBBI	C	B	E	E
MOTSAPOLE THABO JORD	C	C	D	C
NHACAPHO TSEBEBE	D	C	E	D
NRORANA MOLEPE	B	B	E	D
NRWATHABO	C	C	F	D
NTFOLENTSOLILAW RENDE	B	C	E	C
NTSEBELE SEMATHAS MOJENOS	C	B	E	D
NTSI MOJENOT	C	C	E	C
PEJJE BOKANG	D	C	E	E
PEKHOE THOBO	D	C	D	C
PHANTSIKHE KABLE	J	C	D	B
RAMAKATSA RAFFAEL	D	C	D	C
SEAGATE FRANCIS	C	C	C	C
SEKHELE TSOELLE	C	B	G	F
SEKOTO THABANG	C	D	F	D
SEKOTO TOKELO V.	D	D	C	B
SELLO MOJENOT I	C	C	E	D
SELLO PABALE	D	A	E	E
SETILOJANE THOBO	C	C	D	D
SETORO PAUL	B	C	B	C
THEBANE SUCIYA	C	B	E	D
THINYANE SEBANO	C	D	C	D
TSEPOU TSEPO	C	C	D	C
TSELO TSELO	D	C	E	D
VELA RETSELETSE	D	B	F	E

Third	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
NYAKTA BONGANI	D	D	G	E

Fail	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
MOKOANE TRABO	C	D	F	E

Number of candidates (Merit) : 19  
 Number of candidates (First) : 35  
 Number of candidates (Second) : 57  
 Number of candidates (Third) : 3  
 Number of candidates (Fail) : 1  
 Number of candidates (Total) : 115

**SERAPALA SECONDARY SCHOOL**

First	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
LEHABA KEANETSE	E	B	A	B
MOLEET SELECHANG	D	C	A	B
MOJALE KEMETSO	C	C	A	B
MOKHOSOTI MANKUENE	C	B	A	B

Second	Eng	Sea	Mat	Sci
JOELE NED	E	C	B	C
KHOSANE LEMHO	D	C	B	C
KHOCHE NTEDANI	D	C	D	C
KORO LEMPE	C	C	D	B
LEKHOA TEBELLO	E	D	E	D
LEKHOA TEBONO	D	D	E	C
LEKHOA TEBONO MOJENOT	D	D	E	C
LEKHOA TEBONO	D	D	E	C



LETENKA LAURENTINA NTHABI	X	X	X	X
MAXAMOLE JUSTICE SELING	E	E	H	F

**HLEOHENG HIGH SCHOOL**

**MAHOBOG SECONDARY SCHOOL**

MARARA AGUSTINUS MOPE	D	D	G	F
MASHALIMILE CHRISTINA MA	F	D	G	F
MASHOROLE FLORAH KASELO	D	C	F	D
MAKOALA YVONNE MONTSONG	E	D	G	G
MAPHATSOE ANGELINA LIKHE	E	E	G	F
MAPHUROANE ISAAC SMILE	F	E	G	F
MASAPO MATUBA BENEDIET	E	E	H	F
MASI MOTLALAPULA	F	E	G	F
MASOBE CLAUDINA TSELSEH	E	D	G	F
MATLOTLO KHANG PETER	E	E	G	E
MATOKO AGNES MAMANKOANE	X	X	R	X
MOFOKENG JOSEPH MAMA	F	E	H	E
MOFUSE ANACLETIAN NTHALE	F	D	G	F
MOHAKA ABZARE MOHESHE	E	E	G	F
MOHALE BERNADETT MAJEDOF	F	D	G	G
MOHLITSANE ALICE SETLARA	G	D	G	G
MO PATLIGLORA NTHONTIO	E	D	G	G
KOLATUOA AGUSTINA MAJIF	E	D	G	F
MOLEMO ABEL MATHAPHAHAP	F	D	H	F
MONPEISANSON LENKA	F	C	G	E
MOTABOLA FLORENCE RELEBOH	E	D	F	E
MOTAL FLORENCE MAHALI	F	E	G	F
MOTSAMATHPHO	F	F	H	F
MOTSEKI DAVID MOTSEKI	F	E	G	F
MOTSEKINED	F	E	H	G
MUTSELEBANE MOTSAMAI	F	C	H	C
MUTSOFAB ANGELINA MATOB	F	E	H	F
MUTSOFAB ROSEMARY NTHABE	E	C	H	F
MUTE BENJAMIN KARANE	F	E	G	F
MPHOSETHI TSELEO	F	C	E	E
MPHO CLIMENTINE LIKHELI	F	E	H	G
NARE TACHARA MASHRI	E	D	F	F
NDERELE CHRISTOPHER LEBOH	E	D	F	F
NDEBELE NATHANIEL MOKHOMO	F	D	G	G
NKETSI NTUS LESANG	E	D	G	F
NTHAKO DANIEL MANKO	E	D	F	E
NTLELE WCY MPRO	E	C	F	F
OKANA ROSE KHOLILE	E	C	F	F
OSEKO ANGELINA MAPHOLE	F	P	H	F
RAMAFELANE SETH TRANKAMAR	E	E	F	F
RAMAERA JOHN MOLEBELI	F	E	H	G
RAMAPEPE LEY MASELA	F	E	G	F
RAMAPEPE MARAM SELLICANG	F	D	H	C
RAMPOTLA ROSEMARY MAMBE	E	B	G	F
RANONTLEBOHANG	F	E	G	F
RANFEHAKA ALPHONSIMORLO	G	F	C	G
RANTUNA GICORA MALESOLE	E	C	F	E
SEKANE PAUL NCHABENG	F	D	F	F
SEHLOSE JACOB THADO	F	D	H	F
SEKHE EXINA MATHABO	D	C	H	F
SEKHO JOSEPH MOKETE	F	F	F	D
SEFANYA PAUL SEFANYA	F	E	G	F
SEPRE JUSTINE MAMAJOR	E	C	E	F
THE JUSTINE NTHABELENG	E	D	H	F
THARA MARY POELO	F	D	H	F
THOLO PAUL TETO	F	D	G	F
THATHO JOHN KOKANA	E	D	E	F
TLOKOLD GRACE MAMCEA	E	C	G	F
TSOLELE JUSTINE SEFATI	F	D	H	F
TSOLE PETER SECHABA	F	F	G	F
TSELANE BERNADETT MALLFU	E	E	G	F

Number of candidates (Second) : 25  
 Number of candidates (Third) : 18  
 Number of candidates (Fail) : 79  
 Number of candidates (Total) : 122

First

KGAUTA SEYOLLIMOTO	C	C	C	D
MATJUSE TEBHO	C	C	B	E
MOTSAHAIMALNA	B	B	C	E
RANTLANA MAMONYAKE	B	A	E	D

Second

BESE MOTLATSI	D	C	F	E
CHABA FUGITSO	C	C	B	E
KHASOANE SALESA	D	D	E	F
KHATHANE KENLEDE	D	D	E	D
KHOSOKO MANTHAKO	C	B	E	D
KORLITUMELENG	D	D	F	D
LESEB TLOTLED	C	D	D	D
LETLAKA MAJARRARI	D	C	G	F
LETSELO TSELBO	C	C	E	E
LETSCARA LINEO	D	D	E	E
LETSEELA HILITHO	D	D	E	E
LITSEBE MOTELE	D	C	E	D
LITSEBE TSETA	C	C	E	D
MACHELILE PHO	C	B	F	E
MAKAJA SAMUEL	D	D	D	E
MAKHOARANE TEBHO	D	C	F	E
MAKHOA KECHSO	D	D	E	F
MANGAS NTHABELENG	C	C	G	F
MASHABATHE MAPHISO	D	C	F	F
MASELO MASHGATSHO	D	C	E	E
MAVJEO LMAKATSO	J	C	D	E
METSIANE MAPHISO	E	C	C	E
MONGALE KENEBHE	E	D	G	F
NTSISO MAHELI	D	C	G	F
PHAKGE QENEBELO	D	C	F	F
POJLO NTHITSENG	F	D	F	F
PULENYANE THABANG	D	B	F	E
QOKOLO MONGALE	D	C	G	F
QOTHELO MAPHISO	C	C	F	F
RAMAKHALE MATLO	D	C	G	F
RAMONTJA MOLENI	C	C	D	E
RAMPACTSEPO	D	D	F	E
ROTO MPRO	D	C	C	E
SEPONG MOKETSJI	D	D	E	E
SUPO TANKED	D	D	F	E
TABIMAPHUE	C	C	D	E
TUDANE TSELEO	C	C	B	C

Third

LEROTINOLIMATSELEO	D	D	F	G
LESTSIHOKANALI	E	E	F	F
LETA SAMUEL	D	E	F	F
LEHOIC PHAKED	E	E	D	E
LEHAPC REALERONA	E	D	G	E
MOLERANA RAMONYOTO	D	D	G	F
NKHEPANYANE MOKTE	E	E	G	F
NTSME MANGSIOA	D	C	G	F
PHALOANE NAPO	E	E	F	G
SEPONG POLENG	E	E	F	F

Fail

JACOB TUMANE	F	E	F	F
KETSO MOKETE	F	E	G	F
KHARO MANAMOLELA	F	F	G	G
KHASSIA MALEFU	F	E	G	F
LEROTINOLIMATSELEO	E	E	G	F
LESTSIHAKANE	X	X	X	X
LESTSIHAKADENA	E	E	G	F
LINTSA RELEKOHLE	F	E	G	F
LITLU NGANA	F	E	G	G
LITLU TEBHO	F	C	H	G
MADYELA MALEDMA	D	E	G	F
MAHLEHLELE KOPANO	X	X	X	X
MASHAPHA TERE	F	F	H	G
MOHOANYANE BASANTA	F	C	G	F
MONYANE KHETHELENG	E	D	F	F
MOSHO RETSIHLETSE	F	F	G	F
MOTSOENTHABELENG	F	D	G	G
MOTTEKINKALWENG	E	E	H	G
NKHEMOKOIC	E	E	G	F
NGONYANA TEBONA	D	E	H	G
NTSA MALEHLOMONDLO	D	E	G	F
PHINOREBOLI	F	D	G	F
RALIDE MUTSELEI	X	X	X	X
RALILE PHEILO	E	E	E	G

RAMISA TABO	F	E	H	G
RAMOLOA LEBOHANG	F	D	G	F
RAMPAT MOOKHO	E	D	G	F
THOKOA KHOTHALETSO	E	E	G	E
TSEHO MOOLISA	F	E	G	F
TSEJANE MAIBOCHO	E	D	G	F

Number of candidates (First) : 25  
 Number of candidates (Second) : 37  
 Number of candidates (Third) : 18  
 Number of candidates (Fail) : 30  
 Number of candidates (Total) : 91

**SOCHOLETSANE SECONDARY SCHOOL**

First

MALINYANE DOREEN LINEBOCO				
---------------------------	--	--	--	--

Second

MAMA MARIM THATO	D	C	G	E
MOLAKE REINHARD TALLED	C	C	F	E
MOSE EDGAR KEKETSO	C	C	D	E
SEBOSA THEMSEPH MABOLAE	E	B	C	F
SEBOSA EMELY MALEBADA	D	B	F	E

Eng Ges Mat Sci

Eng Ges Mat Sci				
-----------------	--	--	--	--