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WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT IN LESOTHO

BY

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INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose and plan of this study

Since the early 1970's there has been a growing concern with the impact of development projects on women, and the degree to which they participate at all levels of project planning, implementation and evaluation. Many projects have been called into question for failure to involve women or for possible negative impact upon women, particularly the vast number of women among the rural and urban poor.

Conferences, special women's studies, and new organizations emerging from the International Women's Year in 1975, the UN Decade of Women and the growing international women's movements have given impetus to such questions--questions to which the international donor agencies and national governments must give serious attention. A congressional mandate of 1973 requires that U.S. bilateral development assistance programs must

be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort. (Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973)

This report is designed as one aspect of the implementation of this directive in Lesotho. It is not aimed at assessment of specific projects. Rather its intention is to provide background information which may be of use to USAID and the projects it funds concerning the role, status and contribution of women in Lesotho with particular reference to such fields such as agriculture, health, education, rural development and women's economic activities and formal organizations. Hopefully it will also be of assistance to Basotho development planners, the international donor agencies and to other concerned individuals.

The report draws upon a number of previous studies of Basotho women, on existing but often inaccessible statistical information, on my own research concerning women's social and economic activities in rural Lesotho, and on interviews with Basotho women in key government and educational positions as well as with individuals representing many of the donor agencies working in Lesotho. My personal thanks go to all those groups and individuals, too numerous to mention, who contributed to this research.

Part I presents in broad outline key features of the lives of rural Basotho women--the women who are intended as the principal recipients of most USAID funded projects. It considers constraints which exist as well as the unique resources among the women in this society which is surrounded by South Africa and dominated by male migrant labour. Part II examines the participation of women in the country's political and civil service structures. Part III addresses the general questions of

women as decision makers and innovators. Part IV ventures specific suggestions for ways in which the international donor agencies could give greater support to the integration of women in development in Lesotho. Appendices include a review of relevant literature, description of ongoing research, identification of research needs, and details of several tables or figures.

B. Limitations of available data

In the preparation of this report it became evident that very little information was available concerning women in Lesotho, despite the numerical predominance of women in Lesotho's population and the uniquely important role of rural women in this country.

Few specific studies of Basotho women have been conducted. Furthermore the results of studies which have been done, as well as isolated information on women in more general studies, often exist in unpublished academic papers, speeches, conference documents and forgotten government or project reports. Sexually disaggregated data is rarely available in official statistical reports. Interviews with government officials and donor agencies highlighted the lack of information about women and the eagerness for any data or analysis which this or subsequent studies would make available. In many cases it was discovered that sexually disaggregated data could be obtained; but most offices simply had not thought of extracting such figures from their records. It is significant that the reporting of the 1976 census in the 1979 Annual Statistical Bulletin and 1976 Census Population Tables Vol. III gives much more analysis of sex as a variable than any previous bulletins. Likewise the district-level data collection project of the Ministry of Co-operatives and Rural Development's District Resources Planners has added sex as a variable to be recorded wherever possible. The National Manpower Office is now analyzing the differences between women and men in the labour force and among those receiving advanced training. The Cabinet Personnel Office will include sex as a variable in subsequent tabulations of members of the civil service. Thus there is a trend towards recording and analyzing the participation of women in all sectors. Future studies will be able to report much more complete and detailed information than was available to me at the time this report was compiled. It is my hope that the very omissions in this study will serve as a stimulus to reporting and research so that future studies concerning women in Lesotho will have a more solid data base with which to work.

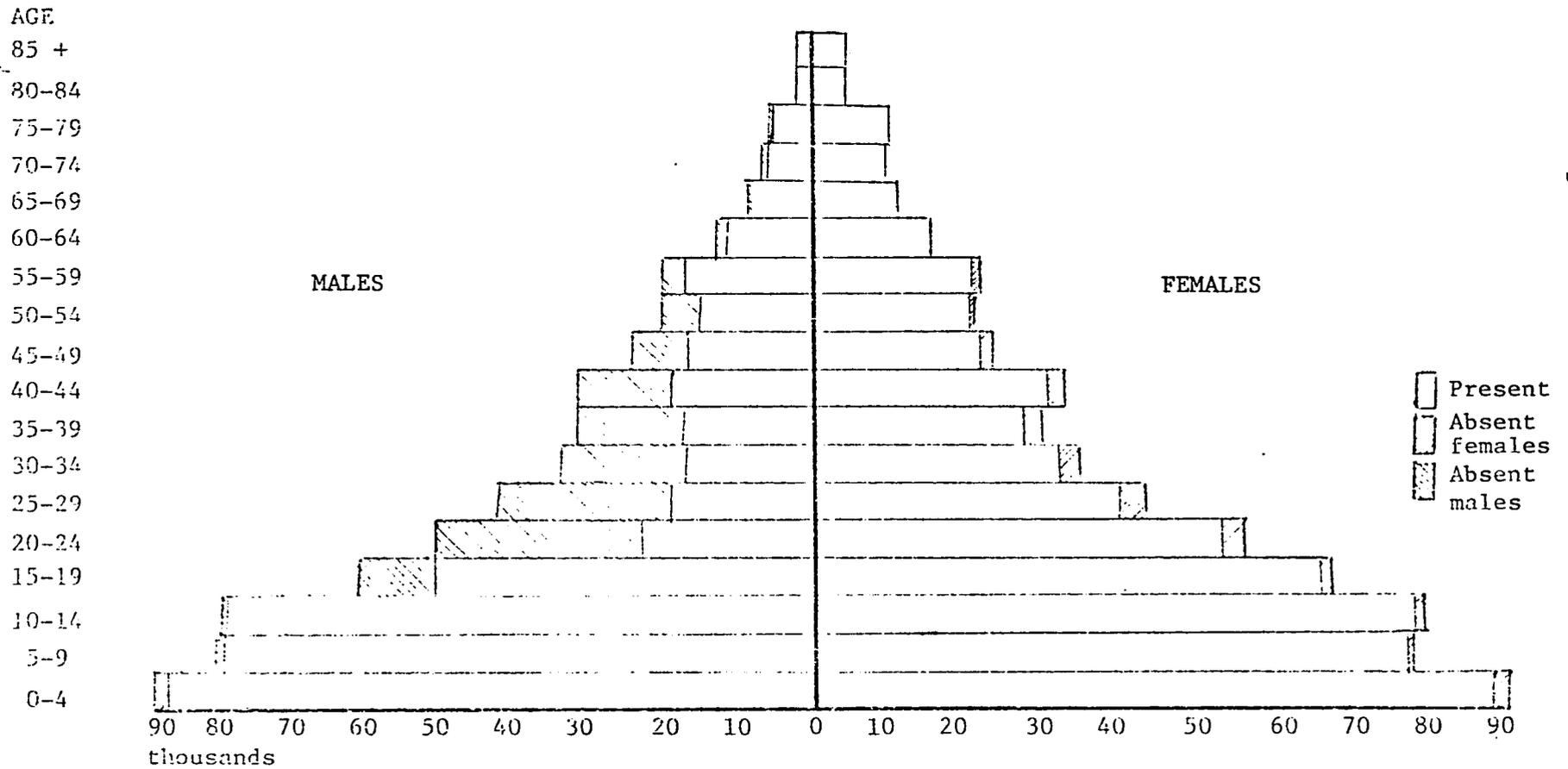
C. Underlying themes

1. Tradition and innovation

Despite most Basotho's respect for traditional custom, and pride in their nation's history and heritage, Lesotho must be seen as an adaptive change-oriented society. The nation was forged by Moshoeshe I in the period of dislocations and refugee movements resulting from Zulu expansion in the early 19th century. Subsequent arrival of missionaries, traders, settlers, British and South African officials, and the loss of

LESOTHO'S POPULATION IN 1976
SHOWING PRESENT AND ABSENT MEMBERS BY AGE AND SEX

Figure 1



Source: 1976 Census Population Tables Vol III

the rich farmland the Basotho had once occupied, forced the Basotho to adapt to new ecological zones in the mountains and to new social, political and economic conditions. Thus Basotho have had nearly a century and a half of encounter with social and economic change. This long experience with new peoples, places, technologies, crops, wage labour and consumer goods makes Lesotho distinct from many more tradition-bound African countries.

There is a danger in importing western assumptions about the conservative nature of African societies without understanding the realities of Lesotho's situation. In considering the position of women in Lesotho recognition must be given to the experiences many women have had with travel, residence and wage employment in South African farms and urban areas and with Christianity, education, social change and responsibility for reproduction of the male migrant labour force. The destabilizing effects of migrant labour have influenced family life and economic realities for over a century. While migrant labour has led to much social and economic change, it has also enhanced the desire to seek stability by retaining features of traditional Basotho life--with inevitable conflict between the two trends.

2. A uniquely "Women in Development" society

The demographic effects of migrant labour and the ease of movement into South Africa prior to rigid border controls of the early 1960's have led to a situation in which women slightly outnumber men in the total de jure population and greatly outnumber men in the de facto population (i.e., those resident in Lesotho at the time of census). This can be seen clearly in a national population pyramid based on the 1976 census results (Figure 1), and in the masculinity ratios for almost a century (Table 1).

Table 1

MASCULINITY RATIOS IN DE JURE AND DE FACTO POPULATION DURING GIVEN CENSUS YEARS

(Males per 100 females)

Year	<u>De jure</u> population	<u>De facto</u> population
1891	93.8
1904	88.6
1911	91.9	83.6
1921	91.9	81.5
1936	92.4	74.5
1946	78.5
1956	93.4	73.5
1966	92.4	76.0
1976	93.3	75.6

Source: Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1979
Table B.13

It is estimated that 60% of Lesotho's work-force aged men are migrant workers, leaving women in this age group with primary responsibility for household management, agriculture, and maintenance of rural social, economic and political life. The male Mosotho migrant spends an average of 15 years of his life in South Africa during the period when he is young and strong and might otherwise be taking the lead in rural development. It should also be noted that women outnumber men in the older age groups because of the difference in life expectancy. The estimated life expectancy at birth for women is 55.0, while that for men is only 42.9, (Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1979, Table B.14) no doubt related to the physical hazards of migrant work, travel and living conditions. Furthermore, many of the men who do return home after spending the best years of their lives in the mines are crippled, ill, alcoholic or otherwise handicapped by problems engendered by the migrant labour experience.

Thus Basotho women have had to develop an extraordinary degree of self-reliance and initiative in managing household and community affairs during their years as daughters, wives and mothers of migrant working men. Of course the men who return in good health from the Republic, and the few who remain in rural areas as farmers, teachers, ministers, civil servants, chiefs, extension agents, etc., play very significant roles as community leaders. Nevertheless much of the work of rural development has depended for many years on Basotho women.

Women in Lesotho are also unique among African women in having a long history of access to education and higher rates of literacy than men, as well as higher rates of literacy than women in most other African countries. In rural Basotho communities it is usually among the women that one must look for people able to keep committee records, to read government circulars and development oriented literature, to provide translation services, to attend courses, to take short term jobs, and to compose the committees and work crews for implementation of development activities.

Furthermore, many older Basotho women, even in isolated rural areas, have had experience working as domestic servants in South Africa where they have become acquainted with innovative farming methods, new technologies, consumer goods and urban ways of life. Rural Basotho women are often more eager to innovate than their husbands, more able to read and to understand the reasons behind proposed changes, and more able to undertake the tasks of rural development. There is no question but that women are, and long have been, involved in development in Lesotho. Nevertheless, important questions remain concerning the level at which women are involved, the benefits they receive, and the constraints which are imposed by a society still dominated by patrilineal norms and an economy in which it is primarily men who have access to wage employment.

The scale of foreign aid, and the infrastructure of civil service jobs which are related, is perhaps greater than that in any other African country. Given the important role of Basotho women in rural communities, and the importance of development projects in Lesotho, it

can be seen that questions concerning "Women in Development" are not just peripheral issues or temporary fads. The "Women in Development" issue must be seen as integral to Lesotho's entire economic and social life, and vital to any attempt to understand the realities of present-day Lesotho.

3. Homogeneity and mobility of Lesotho's population

The term urban in Lesotho refers to 16 officially designated townships: Maseru, the 9 other district headquarters towns, plus Peka, Maputsoe, Roma and the proposed international airport area. Rural refers to the remaining farm and village areas in which an estimated 90% of Lesotho's population lives. However, it is difficult to draw a sharp distinction between rural and urban populations. Maseru is unquestionably urban in an internationally recognized sense. As the nation's capital, it has a much greater total population, population density, growth rate, and concentration of government, industrial, commercial, educational and other institutions than any of the other official urban areas. Many of the district headquarters towns have more in common with the rural villages and roadside town which surround them than they do with Maseru. Furthermore many Basotho who live on farms and villages walk or ride to the "urban" towns to shop and attend to business several times a month; some even have regular employment in town while living at rural farm homes. Thus whenever I speak of "rural Basotho" in this paper I am using the term in a broader sense to include most of the people who live and work outside of Maseru.

The centralization of government decision making, public services and commercial institutions in Maseru influences development activities throughout the nation. Furthermore, Lesotho is a very mobile society with taxies, buses and planes bringing people from one end of the country to the other and across the international borders to visit relatives, tend to the sick, settle businesses, make purchases, attend school or seek employment. Because of this mobility Lesotho remains a remarkably homogeneous society with a single language, culture and history shared by most of its 1.3 million inhabitants. Most families are still influenced by a common set of norms in matters of marriage, property and family ritual. Most families have some members who farm in the distant mountains, some who work in the South African mines, and some who are employed in Lesotho's official urban areas. Thus I assume that many of the social and economic constraints to be discussed in Part I will have relevance to all segments of the population.

I. RURAL BASOTHO WOMEN

A. Traditional and changing family structures

1. Patrilineal family system

Lesotho is typical of other patrilineal and patrilocal societies based on a traditional polygynous and pastoral ethos which has been radically transformed but not completely abandoned.

Men are normally regarded as household heads whose wives and children are under their care, as men in turn are under the jurisdiction of a particular village chief. Descent is reckoned through male family members. Inheritance of status and property goes to sons, the eldest as principal heir, not to daughters. A woman normally moves at marriage to her husband's parents' home where she is given a new first name and adopts her husband's surname. As a new daughter-in-law she is expected to take over a large share of the family's domestic tasks while her contribution of a child to the husband's lineage is eagerly anticipated. She may return temporarily to her natal home to deliver her first child or in case there is a quarrel; or she may go to an urban area in Lesotho to join her husband and to seek work herself. Nevertheless she knows that once married, the place where she belongs is her in-laws' family; it is to them and to her husband that she should turn first for advice and assistance. If the couple remain living in their in-laws' village they usually try to establish an independent household nearby as soon as building site and money or materials for construction are available.

Marital status is a crucial variable in determining the economic options, jural status and degree of autonomy of Basotho women. A young woman may first be an unmarried daughter in her father's home; then a daughter-in-law in her husband's father's home; then a wife in her husband's home. She is clearly subordinate to the husband if he is present but she bears all managerial responsibilities if he is absent as a migrant worker, if he deserts her, or he is seriously ill or incapacitated. Should the husband die, the widow remains in the home and attains full status as household head although she is expected to consult with her in-laws and with her own sons as they become adults. Should a woman be separated or divorced or be an unmarried mother, she is in an anomalous position: no longer fully belonging in her natal home where men's wives are expected to replace men's sisters, yet not able to stay with the man who one impregnated or married her. Such women may become independent household heads in urban and peri-urban areas if they find ways of supporting themselves; if unable to do so they usually remain as subordinate members of their natal families.

2. Female headed households

It is often stated that 60-70% of Basotho households are female headed. This broad generalization fails to consider the marital status

of the household head and to distinguish between absent and resident husbands. Unfortunately national census reports do not give such information concerning households heads. Thus we must turn to specific sample surveys or case studies to obtain more accurate representative figures.

In the study I conducted in 1977 in a southern lowland village near Mohale's Hoek, I found the following breakdown of household heads (Table 2):

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION AND MEAN AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS
BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS
IN A VILLAGE IN RURAL LESOTHO

Sex	Marital status	Number of households	Percent of households	Mean age of household head
		(N)	(%)	(years)
<u>Male</u>				
	married, migrant worker	116	39.2	39.7
	married, non- migrant	68	23.0	51.5
	widowed	7	2.4	62.4
	unmarried, separated or divorced	8	2.7	49.9
<u>Female</u>				
	widowed	81	27.4	58.9
	unmarried, separated or divorced	16	5.4	54.7
<u>Total</u>		296	100*	49.3

* Rounding error

From these data we can see that nearly a third of the households are de jure female headed--primarily the households of elderly widows, while over a third are headed by young migrant men who leave their wives as de facto household heads, or more accurately as household managers during the periods of migrant absence. The Hololo Valley Project in the north of Lesotho found a similar pattern. They conducted a census of 4256 households and reported 73.1% of households headed by males, about half of whom can be assumed to be migrants, and 26.9% headed by women. (Hololo Valley Report 1980, Vol. II:B2). Likewise Van der Wiel reported 34% of Thaba Tseka and Phuthiatsana area household heads to be women and another 34% to be absent migrants, giving 68% managed by women. (Van der Wiel 1977:37-8)

3. Residential groups

Rural villages have usually grown up around the homesteads of an original settler and his patrilineal descendants, augmented by newcomers who have given their allegiance to the village chief or headman. Residential sites are normally allocated to individual married men; only very rarely to women, although widows usually continue to occupy their husbands' homes. On a residential site, a homestead is developed, with several houses, stone livestock enclosures and perhaps a garden and fruit trees, all centered around a clear level courtyard. The physical homestead is occupied by a household, the group of individuals under the jural control of a particular household head to whom the site is understood to belong.

Large interdependent patrilineal extended family groups were typical of early Basotho society, associated with large herds of cattle, cooperative farming and building activities and common family rituals and dispute settlement. However, the individual household has become the basic social and economic unit through a hundred years of migrant labour and monetization of the economy. Individuals now earn their own bridewealth, bank their wages and make household purchases of furniture, clothing, food and building materials. Cash hire of tractors, purchase of seeds and fertilizers, and payment for building supplies and labour all tend to undermine the importance of the extended family. Because of this increased economic individualism there is often considerable conflict between family members over the limited materials resources available in rural communities and the money brought back by wage-earning men. Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may accuse each other of selfishness or even witchcraft, while siblings may fight or go to court over rights to family property. Large extended family groups nevertheless remain important sources of material assistance, advice and labour in times of need and such groups still gather in both rural and urban areas for ritual and jural matters in which all are concerned.

Although wives come into marriage from other families, they grow to have increasingly important places within their new families, particularly if they contribute their labour, produce children, and are able to establish and maintain stable marriages despite the prolonged

absences of husbands. It is not unusual to find that almost all the key figures at a family feast or funeral are in-marrying wives; while the men by whom they are linked may be away in the mines or deceased. When a man dies, all the relatives are expected to help plough his widow's fields the following spring even though on other occasions relatives will expect payment or labour exchange for such work. Relatives will gather to negotiate bridewealth payments when a daughter of the family marries and to slaughter a sheep to mark the arrival of a new bride or an infant member of the patrilineage. Such rituals are vital occasions by which Basotho men and women maintain the fabric of reciprocities upon which they may have to depend in times of physical or economic distress despite the barriers created by distance, generation gaps, and individual household walls.

The average household size in Lesotho is 5.03 de jure members, or 4.4 de facto members (1976 census). Detailed studies of household sizes indicate a trimodal distribution. The smallest usually consists of a single individual or elderly couple whose children have all established independent households, or an elderly widow living with a grandchild. In the middle are nuclear families of husband, wife and children. Nearly half of the lowland households I studied in 1977 were of this type. The largest households are usually co-resident extended families of one or both parents with their unmarried children and grandchildren, one or more married sons with wives and children who have not yet established their own households, and perhaps additional relatives, herdboys and other dependents. Elderly women with very limited financial assets and labour resources are heads of most of the smallest households. However, there are also elderly widowed women as heads of some of the largest households. Such women are able to give care to many dependents as long as homestead resources and their own physical strength lasts, but in turn they become dependent upon their heirs as their energy wanes.

4. Marriage under civil and customary law

In order to understand the economic and social position of women we must begin by seeing the nature of marriage in Lesotho. Despite 150 years of mission influence and efforts to abolish bridewealth payments, bohali (bridewealth) remains basic with cattle or cash being given by the husband's family in return for the transfer of a woman's labour and reproductive capacity. This is often regarded as a way of compensating a girl's parents for what they have spent to rear and educate their daughter, as well as a way of stabilizing marriage and defining rights over women and children.

A dual legal system operates in Lesotho and hence two forms of marriage exist. Customary Basotho law is still operative but Roman-Dutch law is superimposed. Educated, urban Basotho and some rural couples choose to marry under civil law with a magistrate or a church minister as officiant. Such marriages must be monogamous and can only be dissolved by a decree of divorce issued by the High Court in Maseru, a long and costly procedure. Many other Basotho initiate their marriage through customary family negotiations and bohali payments, and then later go to

church to have their marriage blessed and to obtain marriage certificates. In these cases too only the High Court can grant a divorce. Possession of a marriage certificate is particularly valued by women as a means of guaranteeing monogamous marriage rights, and as proof of their status as wife should there be disputes concerning property, children, migrant remittances and insurance.

The majority of marriages are still arranged under customary law, and even civil marriages are not regarded as complete by many family members unless accompanied by payment of bohali. The full bohali is still reckoned as twenty cattle, ten sheep and a horse (or twenty-three cattle) although it is usually paid in cash. It is rarely paid in full but the debt binds the two families together with payments protracted over many years.

Marriages of today often begin with elopement, the young man taking the girl to his parent's home without her family's approval. Her family is subsequently informed and should be given the first six head of bohali cattle (or cash equivalent) as a fine for the girl's abduction, or as the first installment on the marriage bohali. If the relationship develops well, and particularly if a child is born, an additional four cattle or equivalent will eventually be paid. This completes ten cattle, generally regarded as the essential part of the bohali which is sufficient to define a genuine marriage and the husband's family's rights to children which are born.

Several researchers have analyzed the persistence of high levels of bridewealth in Lesotho in terms of the mechanisms of redistribution of migrant earnings. They argue that the very fact of male migrant labour serves to strengthen the role of bohali. Through bride-wealth payments the wages earned by men in the mines (or in urban Lesotho) are redistributed to the benefit of a much larger group than the individual nuclear family. Earnings are redistributed upwards to the parents who can no longer earn money themselves, and to the parents of girls who may lack wage-earning sons. Whether bohali is given in livestock or cash, it provides an important contribution to the subsistence fund and investment potential of many rural families. The fact that such payments are often protracted over many years reflects the difficulties of establishing marriage under the uncertain conditions of migrant separations; but it also assures the gradual contribution of economic assets from migrant men to a wide circle of rural households.

The security of a wife's position is marked by the stage which has been reached in this transfer or bohali. Thus a woman who eloped but for whom little or no bohali has been paid may live as a daughter-in-law and wife for a time. But should the couple quarrel, or should the man desert her for another woman, she has no security or property rights for she has not yet been "properly" married. On the other hand, a woman who has been married with ten cattle paid knows that she has a secure place in her husband's family and rights

to remain in the house and to use the assets of homestead, fields and livestock which belong to her husband and his heirs. Should he subsequently prefer another woman she can go to court and insist that as his legal wife she cannot be dispossessed. For this reason women who are not employed and hence have no other economic security are usually as anxious as men to see bohali paid and their marital rights secured.

5. Concerns and constraints of young married women

The fact that young women move from natal home to in-laws-home and then again to independent households, might seem to limit the contributions they can make to development projects. It is certainly true that during the first few months of marriage they will be preoccupied with adjustments to a new family and new way of life. They may also be restricted by their in-laws from joining in social groups or travelling about to attend meetings or courses. Once they begin building their own homes they may have more autonomy but also may be busy managing building activities if their husbands are away and perhaps also preoccupied with pregnancy or child-care. Nevertheless young married women do take significant roles in rural activities that address their needs and recognize their constraints.

The fact that women move from community to community means that they can play important roles in the diffusion of new ideas, perhaps introducing tie-and-dye skills or commercial poultry raising from their natal homes to their married homes--if development workers genuinely seek out the ideas and skills which local women have instead of simply imposing preconceived development plans.

When young wives begin to establish their own homes and obtain fields, they are eager to create homesteads and farms of which they, their husbands and their children will be proud. In fact they may know more about available building materials, local contractors, agricultural input sources, fencing supplies and furniture than their migrant husbands. The homestead, garden, fields, and healthy educated children are seen as crucial to the survival of most rural women who cannot hope for wage employment and cannot depend on a husband's remittances forever. Thus projects which assist women in individual productive homestead-based investment activity, in rearing and educating their children, in obtaining food from gardens, fields and animal raising, and provide small but dependable female controlled incomes, should gain more response from women than those concerned with uncertain cash crops or large livestock investments.

Important constraints on women's ability to participate fully in development activities are problems of nutrition, pregnancy, maternal and child health, and the care of small children during the childbearing years. Development projects must bear this in mind. Expanded provision for clinics, family planning projects, rural day-care centers and nursery schools are needed to create the conditions for young mothers to participate fully in other productive activities. Provision of village water supplies, roads, more efficient cooking devices, grinding mills close to

home, and other labour saving technologies are also important.

6. Changing patterns in marriage and family life

Despite the importance of traditional patrilineal norms for marriage and family life, there have been significant changes leading to the increased autonomy of women. Domestic conflict, individual economic distress and community social problems often result from the tensions between traditional and emergent patterns.

a. Independence of widows: Widows who formerly were expected to be absorbed into the households of the brothers of their deceased husbands, are now recognized as household heads. They are able to manage their own economic affairs, make all necessary decisions, represent themselves in court, and continue bearing children who are regarded as legitimate children of the deceased. Widows who are left with considerable economic assets are in strong and independent positions and can play major roles in community life. Other widows, however, may be left with few assets and may be cut off from the assistance of family which they would have had in the past. Their greater independence may mean even greater economic hardship, rendering them among the poorest of the rural poor, particularly if they have no children of their own. Such women are most in need of assistance to cultivate their fields, to obtain the barest necessities of life, and to have security in illness and old age. I found that 70% of the women I studied in the age group between 55 and 64, and 81% of those over age 65 were widowed. Almost no widowed women remarry, whereas almost all widowed men marry again.

b. Small nuclear families: The trend towards early domestic fission and the establishment of small nuclear families in tiny houses on independent residential sites gives young wives much more independence than they would have had in the large extended families of the past. Their independence may bring problems of loneliness and lack of advice and support when they must bear all the responsibilities of child care, home building and agricultural work along. The independence and long separations due to migrant work may lead husband or wife or both into extra-marital affairs which undermine the fragile young household both wish to establish.

c. Polygamous survivals: Polygamy, which was once the norm in most African families, has virtually disappeared in Lesotho. In only a few families in isolated rural areas does one now find a man actually living with more than one wife in the same household group. Nevertheless, the polygamous background remains important in understanding the economic position and the marital problems many Basotho women face.

There remain many remnants of polygamous households such as groups of widows, children and grandchildren of deceased polygamists. The customary laws of inheritance and rights of widows are postulated on the basis of polygamous families, and hence determine the relationships

between members of such remnant polygamous families.

In addition to such remnant polygamous families there are many men who desert a first wife and establish a second household by customary marriage in another location. The second woman may receive affection and cash support from the man, but if the first wife remains in her married home, has established good relations with her in-laws, and had a recognized marriage in the first place, she retains rights to the household property. She may even leave her home and go to South Africa or urban parts of Lesotho for a time if she must work to support herself and her children, but be able to return and claim her position as a wife in her husband's lineage.

Family disputes and court cases are often preoccupied with conflicts between women who have claims upon the same man. As in many societies, adultery on the part of a woman is severely condemned whereas a man's relationships with several women is more readily tolerated on the model of polygamous marriage. Yet women often turn to men other than their husbands for company and for economic assistance when husbands are long absent or negligent in providing financial support. The return of migrant husbands is often marked by marital conflict and sometimes severe physical wife beating as a husband attempts to reassert his position as household head and his control over his wife's sexuality. Women may resort to abortion or even to infanticide rather than face the husband's wrath in cases of adulterine pregnancies. Violent fights between rival men and even between rival women are also common.

d. Unmarried mothers: No figures are available on the number of pregnancies among unmarried women, but it appears that this situation is increasingly common. Such premarital children are usually absorbed into the family of the young mother's parents and raised as if they were younger siblings of the mother. If she subsequently marries another man, she will probably never have her own first child living with her. If she does not marry, she may go to town to seek work so that she can send money back to support her child. If she is working in Lesotho and has additional children outside of marriage, she may bring her children to live in the urban area where she works. Many development projects assume the male headed nuclear family or the larger patriarchal extended family as the norm, and thus neglect such families of unmarried women. Likewise Basotho custom and law regarding the rights of children to inherit and the allocation of building sites, fields, etc., assume that households are only established by men when they marry. Reports of a recent meeting of the Lesotho National Council of Women (INCW) urged that the law should guarantee the rights of all children, that illegitimate children should have full rights in their mother's families, and that unmarried mothers should be given building sites so that they may live peacefully with their children (INCW 1980 meeting report).

As economic opportunities for educated women to find employment have increased in Lesotho, more and more women find that they can manage to support their children without a man. An increasing number of young women claim that they do not wish to marry and be "under the control

of a man" but they anticipate having children as a natural part of their lives as women and as a means of securing their own futures.

e. Separated and divorced women: Actual divorce under customary law is extremely rare, for bohali would have to be returned and complex inter-family links severed. Because of the gradual nature of establishing a customary marriage, however, it often happens that a couple separate before ten cattle have been transferred and marriage definitively established. The man is then free to marry another woman, but the first woman may be left in a very difficult position: no longer having access to the earnings and household assets of the man with whom she began a marriage, but no longer acceptable as a bride by most village men. Many such women eke out a precarious subsistence existence in the rural areas, dependent on help from their brothers or other relatives. Others move to the roadsides and towns where they seek domestic work or brew beer or even engage in prostitution in order to obtain a small share in the money which is in the hands of the returning migrants, the urban elite and visiting expatriates.

Among the educated urban population marriage is usually established by civil law; civil marriage can only be dissolved by the high court. Statistics show a much lower divorce rate in Lesotho than in most western countries, although separation, desertion and extra-marital affairs are common. Table 3 shows the high court records on divorce compared, in a few cases where information was available, with the total number of civil marriages.

Table 3

INCIDENCE OF DIVORCE CASES IN THE HIGH COURT

year	proceedings instituted	decrees granted	N civil marriages	year	proceedings instituted	decrees granted	N civil marriages
1965	12	7		1973	52	30	
1966	16	12		1974	31	13	
1967	28	16		1975	54	31	
1968	21	13		1976	56	26	
1969	27	17		1977	69	23	
1970	29	22		1978	100	41	5108
1971	23	14		1979	82	27	5345
1972	48	36	3649	1980	107	37	5256

Source: Poulter et al 1981:28 with current data added

Despite the low divorce rate, the increasing chance of marital failure and the economic and legal problems faced by separated or divorced women are recurrent topics of conversation in Maseru, and cause for anxiety on the part of both rural and urban women. Mothers often say they want to educate their daughters so they can support themselves should marriage fail. Young girls, married women and divorced or separated women all seek opportunities for furthering their education and for employment, business or other income-generating activities so that they can be assured of the means of survival and control over their own lives and assets without having to depend upon undependable marriages. Such growing economic independence and self-reliant attitudes among women may either be the result, or the cause, of marital conflicts.

f. Matrifocal tendencies

We can see that these changes in Sesotho family life point to growing matrifocal tendencies within this patrilineal system, whether for wives or migrant workers or for unmarried, separated, divorced or widowed women. The risks of marital failure and widowhood and the limited economic opportunities in the rural areas intensify women's eagerness to bear, rear, support, educate and maintain contact with children and grandchildren to whom they must look for support in old age. Matrifocal patterns are often extended over several generations as women care for their daughter's children and as working women send money home to help their mothers, sisters and other female relatives.

B. Socialization and education

Socialization in the home and community, and both formal and non-formal education, are nearly as important as marriage and family life to understanding the position of women in Lesotho and the differing options of individuals.

1. Socialization for subordination

As children grow up in rural Lesotho, much of their education comes through the informal life of the home, the verbal instructions they are given, and their play and work activities.

From an early age boys' interests and activities are turned away from the home towards the fields and mountains where they herd and play, towards the towns where they are sent on errands, and the more distant places where they expect to work as adults. Little boys play at herding puppies about the yard or go out all day with the older boys to herd. Responsibility for sheep, goats or cattle may begin by the age of six or seven. Boys learn that they must be dependable in caring for livestock, must endure loneliness and extreme weather conditions, and must assert themselves with the help of sticks and stones to control recalcitrant animals and to defend their grazing rights. Some boys herd and help plough for their own families while others are loaned or hired out as herdboys to richer cattle-owning families who send their own sons to

school. Boys also play with elaborate wire model cars in anticipation of the time when they can board the real cars, buses or airplanes to seek work in the towns of Lesotho and South Africa.

The activities of rural girls, on the other hand, are primarily turned inwards towards the home and village where they will probably spend their entire lives. The tasks they are given and the attitudes with which they are inculcated prepare them for a life of subordination and service to elders, infants and males. Even toddlers play at carrying water on their heads or follow their mothers into the fields to help gather wild vegetables or dung for fuel. Much of girls' play centers around constructing and furnishing play houses where they act out adult domestic roles, learn a wide range of tasks, and actually care for younger siblings. Girls take on an increasingly large share of the routine domestic work, freeing mature women for farming, travel, shopping, attending clinics, or participating in food-for-work programs. Girls are expected to help in the early mornings by folding bedding, emptying chamber pots, sweeping, drawing water, cooking and heating water. Again after school the girls are expected to be home helping clean, cook, press clothes, water gardens, feed small animals and do other household chores while their brothers may gather at the kraals after milking time to play or chat while they wait for supper to be served. On weekends such tasks as laundry, gathering firewood and taking grain to the mills occupy much of a girl's time.

A Mosotho woman educator explained how the socialization of girls often inhibits them from taking their full place in modern society. She remembers that throughout her childhood she was expected to serve the needs of the men in the family and given the feeling that she was less important than her brothers. Girls are taught to defer to men, to obey their orders and to avoid the kraals where men and cattle congregate. "Hey my daughter, have you swept your brother's room and heated his bath water yet?" "Carry this food to the ploughsmen." "Go get some fuel, your father is home and is cold." "Are you eating before you have served the men?" She pointed out that it is women themselves--mothers and grandmothers--who preserve and pass on these patriarchal attitudes to their daughters.

Both boys and girls have important and demanding tasks to perform in rural Lesotho. Boys, however, serve the needs of animals over whom they gain mastery; as adults they should support the women and children who are their dependents. Girls and women, on the other hand, serve the needs of men who have mastery over them and upon whom they are dependent for the homes, land, livestock, money and family status upon which a secure rural life depends. The arrival of a busload of men back from the mines with money in their pockets and gifts for relatives and girlfriends reinforces this lesson.

In the female world of domestic relations and friends in school and village, girls develop social skills and learn to assert their wills and leadership abilities; but vis-a-vis men and boys they must learn to take second place. It is no wonder, my Mosotho educator said, that women

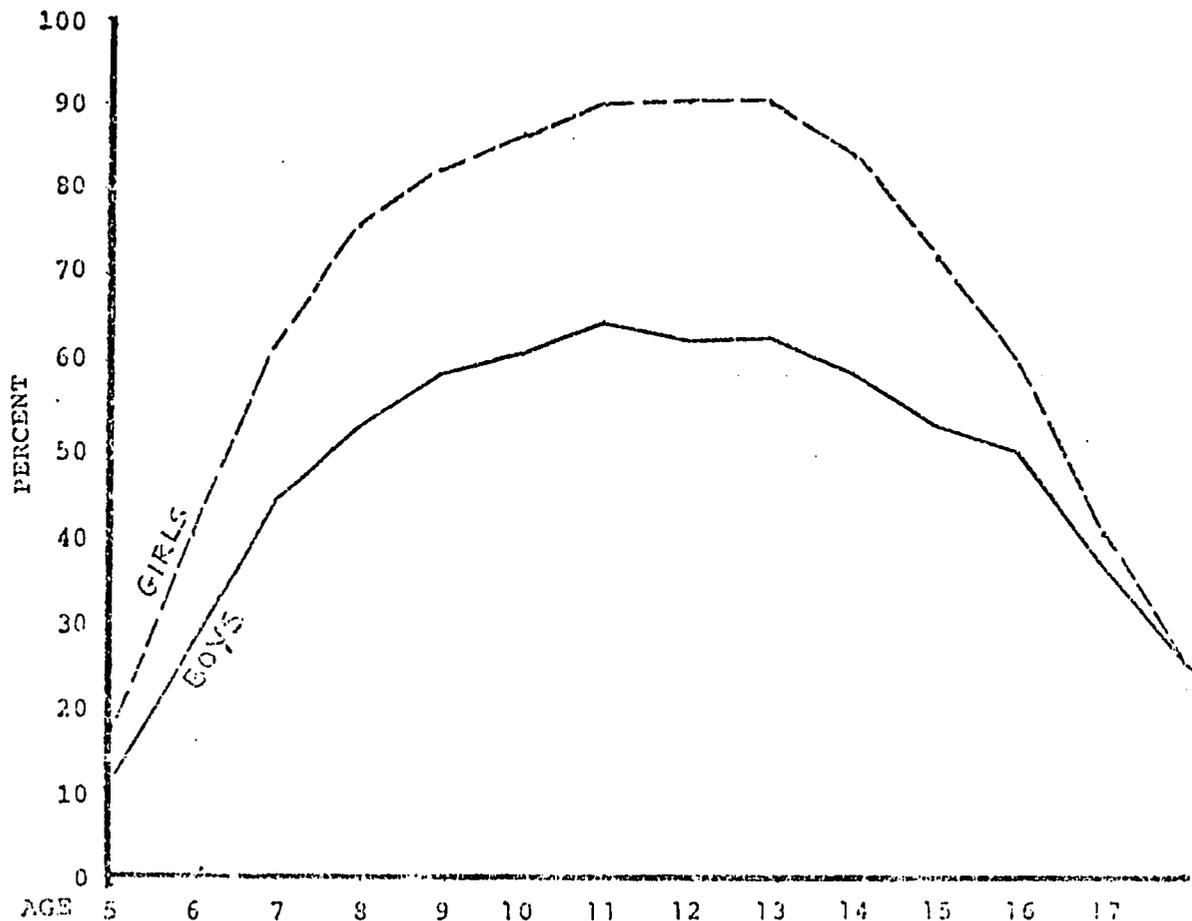
in administrative positions often find it difficult to take command. There are many new opportunities for women who go far in education and enter urban employment, but there are few role models to help the rural girl break free from childhood socialization to take advantage of the new possibilities.

2. Formal schooling

Lesotho is unique in the extent to which more girls are able to attend school and to attain higher levels of education than their male companions. Because so many rural boys must spend their early years herding and then seek wage employment in late adolescence, many lack the opportunity to attend school. Figure 2 shows what proportion of Lesotho's citizens were attending school at the time of the 1976 census, according to sex and age.

Figure 2

PERCENT OF LESOTHO'S CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL
BY AGE AND SEX - 1976

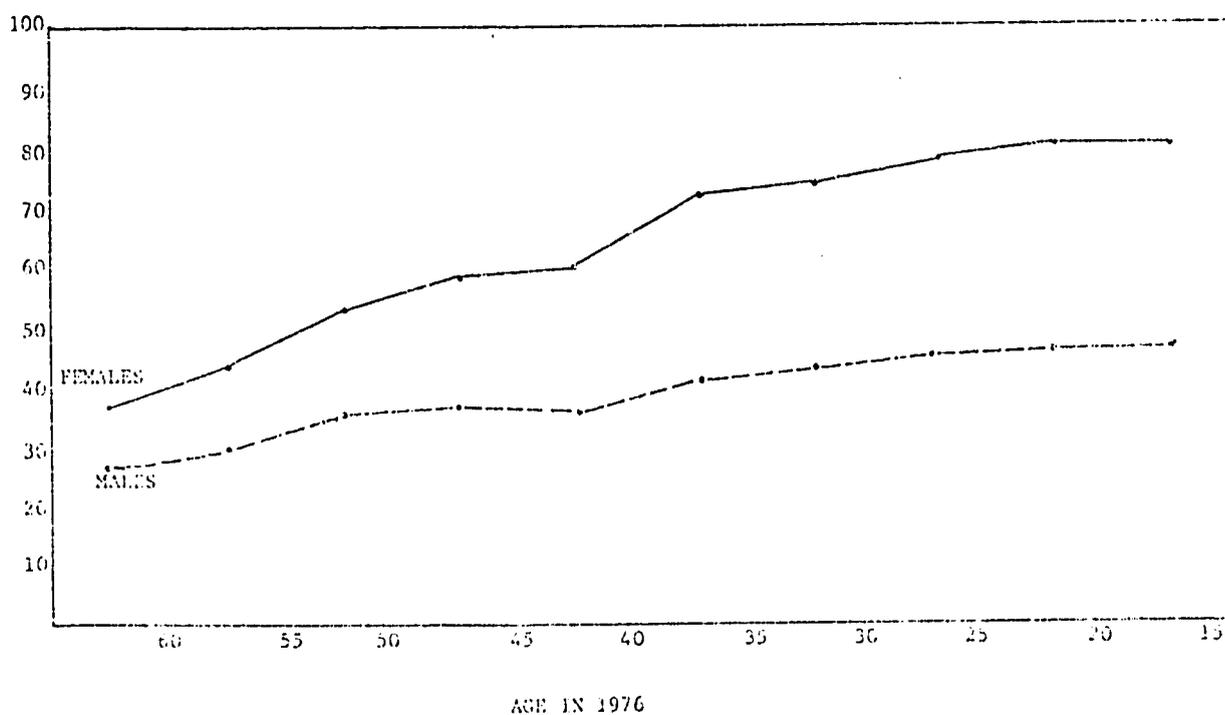


Data from the Educational Statistics Bulletin of 1979 show that at every pre-university grade level, and in every one of Lesotho's ten districts, girls outnumbered boys although the enrollment of boys grew faster than that of girls in the primary grades. In 1979 female students comprised 59.1% of those in primary schools, 59.5% in secondary schools, 58.0% in Technical or Vocational schools, and 75.9% of those in the National Teacher Training College. (Bureau of Statistics, Education Statistics 1979)

If we take the attainment of at least four years of schooling as a rough index of literacy level, we can also say that Basotho women of all ages have a higher level of literacy than men. This is shown in Figure 3 which presents the number of persons having completed at least grade four in each decade of the population, divided by sex. In contrast, a recent report on Illustrative Statistics on Women in Selected Developing Countries prepared for USAID shows that out of 24 countries reported, not a single one had more literate women than men in the total populations over age 15. In another set of 22 countries, only Jamaica had more girls than boys enrolled in school. (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1980:10-11)

Figure 3

LESOTHO: COMPARISON OF MALE & FEMALE EDUCATION PROFILES
FOR THOSE WITH AT LEAST FOUR YEARS OF SCHOOLING



Source: Data provided by the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education

3. Uses of literacy and education

There is no question but that Basotho women are uniquely blessed by educational opportunities. Nevertheless critical questions remain concerning the uses to which literacy is put and the effects of sex-role stereotyping and other constraints on women's choices of school subjects, vocational aspirations and employment opportunities.

In rural Lesotho, literacy in Sesotho and simple arithmetic are important for conducting business with government, shops, clinics, mine recruiting and passport offices, for correspondence between migrants and their families, and for collecting money and packages from the banks and post offices. Women make a great deal of use of literacy in connection with church activities. Some read the Sesotho weekly newspapers, Sesotho novels and their children's school books. Some also keep simple financial records of beer sales, contributions to funerals, and village savings and cooperative groups. Certainly there is great potential for the use of literacy in supporting and expanding development activities. However in many places the most popular reading materials among women are South African mail-order catalogues advertising the latest fashions and furnishings and other consumer goods.

Despite the numbers of girls and women attending schools, the aspirations of most remain limited to traditional female jobs such as nursing, teaching and clerical work. (Droegenkamp 1976:26) Many girls now enroll in typing and book-keeping courses with the expectation that this will give them an easy entree into the modern world of urban employment, only to find themselves walking the streets of Maseru unable to obtain jobs. There is a need, on the one hand, for more emphasis on courses relevant to the tasks of modern rural development: not just the traditional domestic arts or commercial courses but agriculture, carpentry, the design, construction and maintenance of homes and village water systems, and efficient use of available energy and other natural resources. There is a need, on the other hand, for challenging young women to obtain a solid foundation in math and sciences so they may go on to study in scientific and technical fields where new job opportunities and innovative rural development can be expected.

4. Non-formal and continuing education

Brief mention should be made of the traditional initiation schools which once played an important role in the education of Basotho youth. There are no figures on participation in these institutions in the nation as a whole although initiation schools (or circumcision schools-- as they are often called) still have a place of importance in certain rural areas, particularly for males. In a study of 415 males and 476 females over age 14 in the Mchale's Hoek district in 1977 I found that half of the males and just under a quarter of the females had been initiated. However, the fact that only 4.2% of the women between the ages 25-34, in contrast to 52.2% of the men in this age group, were initiated

indicates the declining role this institution plays for women.

In recent years a number of new opportunities for continuing modern education in the rural areas have been developed. The Lesotho Distance Teaching Center (LDTC) has recently surveyed all types of non-formal educational institutions and activities in Lesotho. They found a total of 375 organizations or groups offering non-formal educational opportunities. Some are small local groups; others are large umbrella organizations at the national level with many local groups under their supervision. Directly under LDTC itself there are 400 students of all ages and from all parts of the country enrolled in Junior Certificate (10th grade) study programs by correspondence, and 111 enrolled in Matric or O-level programs (12th grade). 57% of the JC level students are female and 44% of those at O-level. These students receive lesson books, assignments and tutorial assistance by post, as well as listening to relevant radio broadcasts and meeting for occasional seminars and examinations. LDTC also operates literacy programs designed to reach those who have never attended school--primarily herdboys in rural areas.

The Institute of Extra-Mural Studies (IEMS) of the National University of Lesotho has pioneered in offering a wide range of short courses, conferences and seminars throughout the country as well as part-time certificate, diploma and degree courses in Maseru. Their annual report for 1979/80 showed that 67% of the 3235 participants in the short courses and seminars were women.

Many of the IEMS courses as well as other courses conducted by various ministries and voluntary organizations are held at rural Farmers' Training Centers. Some provide in-service training for extension workers, teachers and other government employees. Others reach innovative villagers interested in business skills, cooperative management, livestock, piggery, poultry, fisheries, food preservation, sewing, knitting and other development oriented skills. The Farmers' Training Centers report for 1980 showed that out of a total of 2369 participants in their short courses for adult farmers and other non-professional rural people, 1470 or 62% were women.

C. Rural household economy

1. Household assets and rural inequalities

Much of the existing analysis of rural economic levels in Lesotho is based on agricultural assets, numbers of migrant workers per household, and estimates of per capita income. Such data are important and well summarized in the ILO/JASPA report, Options for a Dependent Economy. This report concludes that the distributions of cattle, land and miners' remittances imply a much higher degree of inequality than hitherto assumed, both for rural areas and for the country as a whole (ILO/JASPA, 1979:261). More recent studies have suggested that the impact of the South African mining companies' present policy of "stabilization" of the labour force and the provisions of the Lesotho Land Act of 1979 will tend to exacerbate this situation. (Clarry 1980:58-61 and Spiegel 1980).

Spiegel points out that with the reduction in opportunities for new recruits to enter the mine labour force, "A growing number of rural households will no longer be able to depend on remitted earnings" and "in all likelihood many of them will also be unable to gain access to arable allotments" (Spiegel 1980:1)

When considering the place of women in development it is important to examine the nature of households which fall at the lower end of the scale of distribution of assets as well as to look in detail at rural women's economic activities. If agricultural assets, numbers of migrant workers, and estimated household income are taken as basic indicators of economic level, it is clear that small female headed households make up a substantial percent of the poorest of the poor. However the stage which a household has reached in its developmental cycle and the age of household head are also important variables.

Consider agricultural assets. Arable fields are usually allocated to married men, the ideal being three fields to support a man's wife and children. The average number of fields per landholding or "farming" household in Lesotho was 2.17 in 1969/70 and the average size of holdings was 4.91 acres. In fact, however, many young married men must wait until middle age before they obtain fields, either by intergenerational transfer from older family members or by fresh allocation from the chief if other fieldholders move, die or fail to utilize their lands.

Under the present system of chiefly allocation, households headed by mature men and by widows generally have more than the average number of fields. I found that the average number of fields per village household was 1.7; younger households of migrant men averaged only 1.4 fields, resident men averaged 1.9 fields while widowed female household heads averaged 2 fields each. Only 5% of the widowed female heads were without fields, while 18% of resident male heads and 22% of migrant male heads had no fields at all. The percent of landless households in the country increased from 7.2% in 1959/60 to 12.7% in 1969/70 and was as high as 18% in some farming areas in 1979/80. (National agricultural census data for the first two figures and Hololo Valley Socioeconomic Analysis Vol. I Provisional Draft P. 123 for the third figure)

The distribution given above shows the extent to which the traditional land tenure system supports the rights of widows to retain use of the land first allocated to their husbands. The individuals most disadvantaged in this system are separated and divorced women who are rarely allocated fields in their own right and have lost access to their former husbands' fields. Most women in this position remain as subordinate members of another household, helping in the farming activities of other households in order to obtain small amounts of food. Many must go to the urban areas in order to seek off-farm means of surviving.

Although widowed women may have fields, they frequently lack the means to cultivate them. Cattle are only available for ploughing

if there are men or boys to work with them or if there is money for hire. Similarly access to tractors which men own depends upon cash for payment. Unless female headed households have wage earning sons or cattle and male labour, they may have difficulty utilizing their fields. About half of the households in Lesotho own no cattle while less than 10% of the population own nearly half of the total national herd. (LASA II, 1978:VII-11) Traditional sharecropping arrangements and more recent government sponsored sharecropping programs do something to help ease the plight of households without cattle for ploughing. It will be important for someone to examine the type of participating households in the new "Food Self-Sufficiency" programs to see how fully female headed households share in the benefits.

The new Land Act has not yet been implemented with regard to arable holdings, but when it is operative fields will become heritable property and thus the growing number of young families will have to wait even longer to acquire fields, while junior sons may have no chance at all. Furthermore it will be possible for field-holders to lease their land to others; thus the wealthy will be able to increase their holdings at the expense of the children of those who are forced by poverty to lease their land. Already in many peri-urban and urban areas, field-holders are accepting cash payments in return for allowing the more affluent members of the community to obtain the lands and building sites. Thus economic inequality and the numbers of landless Basotho are increasing.

Far more important than arable land or cattle is the distribution of migrant earnings which have been estimated to provide about 71% of the average rural household income (Van der Wiel 1977:88). The migrant remittances received by many young nuclear families offsets their lack of agricultural assets in the early stages of the household developmental cycle. Older households of retired migrants usually have fields, adult labour of both sexes, and perhaps also cattle, whether or not they receive remittances from migrant sons. Small female headed households are the most disadvantaged, lacking male labour at home and either lacking migrant working members, or being dependent on the whims of a young son who may contribute little to his mother's household. Van der Wiel noted that 40% of the households in the Thaba Tseka and Phuthiatsana Project areas had no migrant member (Van der Wiel 1977:86).

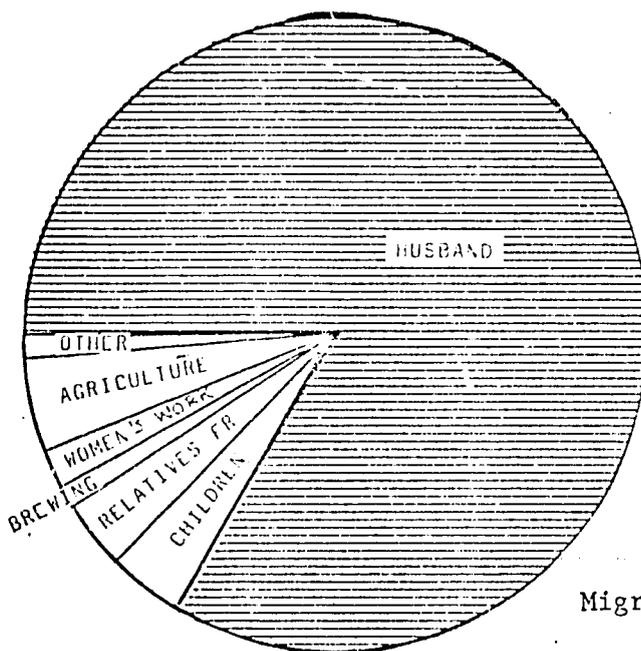
2. Rural Cash flows: income

In order to gain a picture of how rural households obtain the cash which Lesotho's increasingly monetized economy makes essential, I conducted a cash flow study among 33 families in a village in the Molele's Hoek district in 1977. Each wife or female household head agreed to keep a record of all known money received and money spent during four representative months. The sample was proportionately divided between households with migrant male heads, with resident male heads, and with female heads (primarily widows). Figure 4 shows the reported total amounts and reported sources of money. Details of categories appear in appendix W. It can be seen that

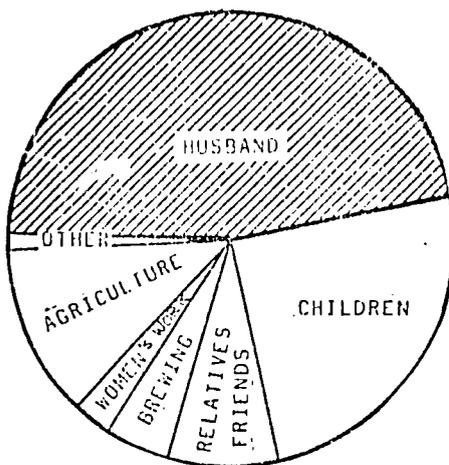
CASH FLOWS IN TYPICAL VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS:
SOURCES OF CASH INCOME

Figure 4

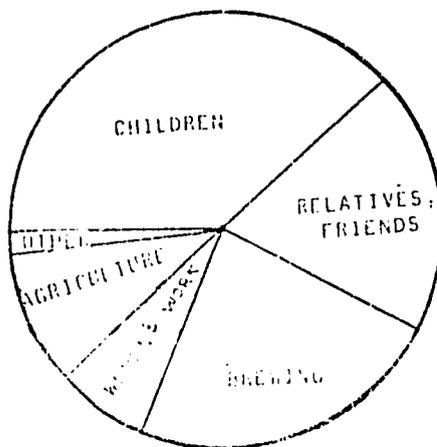
AVERAGED OVER FOUR SAMPLE MONTHS



Group A
Migrant male household heads
R 106.41
(13 cases)



Group B
Resident male household heads
R 53.91
(9 cases)



Group C
Female household heads
R 51.75
(11 cases)

the households with migrant male heads received fully twice as much per month as either other group although they had fewer members than the other two types of households. The substantial contribution of remittances from migrant husbands is clear. For group B, resident husbands contributed nearly half of the household income; some men were on pensions, others were locally employed, and others earned money by ploughing, planting, hauling and building. Both groups B and C had more mature household heads; thus most had employed adult children who made occasional contributions to their parents, particularly during ploughing season. I found, however, that the average contribution of migrant sons and grandsons was much less than made by husbands. This is important because statistical studies often calculate household income on the basis of number of migrant workers, ignoring the great variations in remittances which exist.

Limits of time and resources prevented me from including the value of agricultural produce consumed by each household. Cash agricultural earnings were included and contributed between 5 and 12% of the cash flows. Most of this came from payments received for ploughing rather than sale of agricultural produce. However, brewing and related sales contributed an average of 23% of the cash income of the female headed household group and 84% in the case of one divorced woman. This shows the importance of sorghum to the most disadvantaged rural women. Lacking other income they can at least invest their time and labour to transform grain into beer through which they too can gain a small share in the money which comes home in the pockets of migrant men.

3. Rural cash flows: expenditures

Figure 5 shows the reported household expenditures for these three groups. Detailed expenditures in each category are given in appendix IV. Households of migrant workers reported higher levels of expenditure than those in the other two groups. Proportions of money spent on food, medicine (including toiletries and cosmetics), soap and fuel are roughly comparable. The large amounts spent by the first two groups on home construction and equipment (primarily home furnishings) is striking. This is partly because families of young migrants are often preoccupied with building and furnishing their homes, and because the mature households of group B often include married children preparing to establish independent households. Also significant is the relatively large amount spent on agriculture by the families of young migrant workers. Almost all are engaged in cultivation even though a quarter of them do not have fields; husbands send money to wives who arrange to invest in sharecropping on the fields of others. I found that during October, the usual month for ploughing, cash flows were higher than in any other month sampled. The female headed households spent more on clothing and education, perhaps because they included more school-age adolescents among their members.

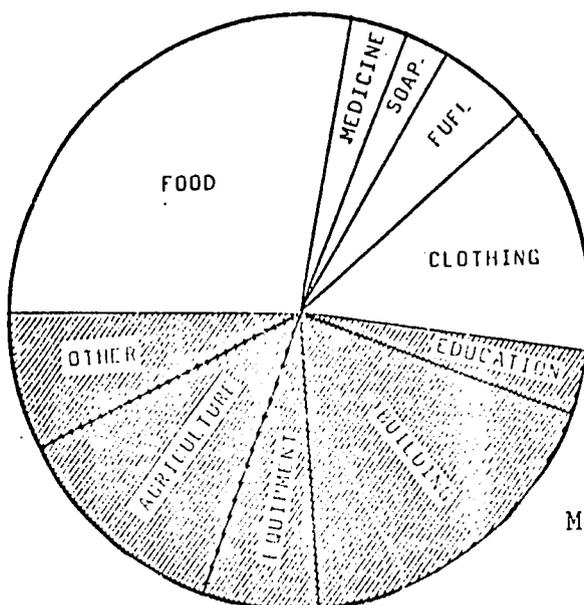
4. Impact of male economic activities on rural women

The traditional sexual division of labour among Basotho was based on a complementarity between the economic activities of men and women.

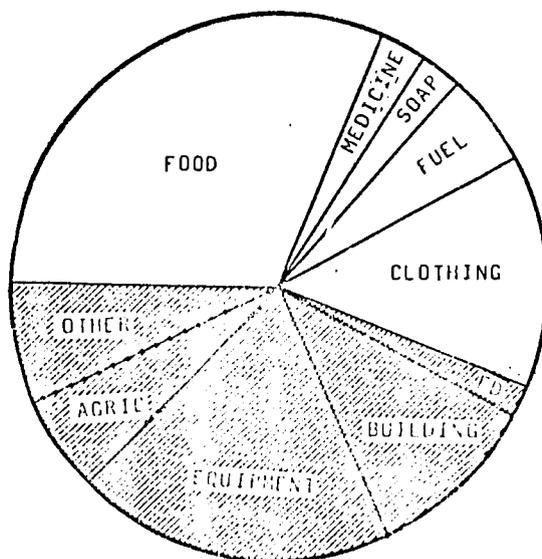
CASH FLOWS IN TYPICAL VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS: EXPENDITURES

Figure 5

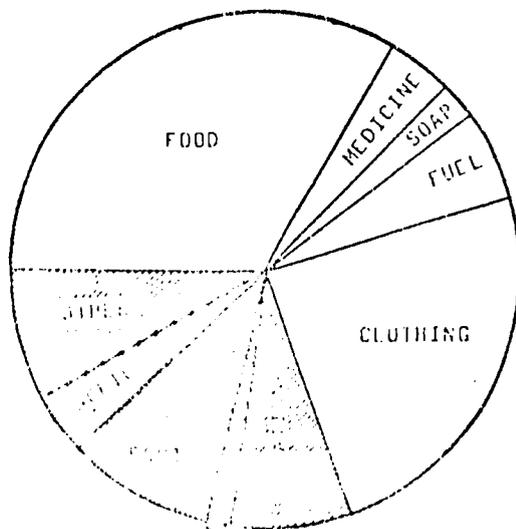
AVERAGED OVER FOUR SAMPLE MONTHS



Group A
Migrant male household head
R 90.60
(13 cases)



Group B
Resident male household head
R 77.52
(9 cases)



Group C
Female household head
R 72.45
(11 cases)

Women were primarily responsible for human reproduction, domestic activities, gathering vegetables, grain production and food processing. Men were responsible for livestock, hunting, and matters of wider family and political concern. Although women were in some ways subordinate to men, there was a recognized balance between the two spheres.

Economic, technological and social changes have greatly increased women's dependence upon men and decreased their autonomy - without decreasing their domestic, agricultural or managerial tasks. The introduction of the iron plough and then of tractors means that men are now essential to initiate the agricultural year. If men do not perform these tasks themselves they must work to earn money to hire other men as well as to provide the increasingly costly inputs of certified seeds and fertilizers. If houses are to be built, if modern furniture, radios, utensils, clothing, school uniforms and books are to be purchased, if school and medical fees are to be paid, it is primarily to men that rural women must look. Men learn from an early age that most of the work they do will be paid in cash. But most girls who have no jobs learn that they must find a boyfriend or a husband in order to obtain desired gifts and essential cash.

One village woman expressed the interrelation of money and marriage in a diary she wrote. She said:

Most Basotho women are not working and they don't understand that even though they have many family problems, a man bears a heavy load too. They should understand that one can't get everything at the same time. They should try to manage with what they are sent, even though it is difficult because of the rising prices. They should do what they are told to do by those who are working. A husband sends money. He may say "R10 should be given to my mother, another R10 should pay the herdboys, and with R40 you should see what you can buy for family food. I will send money to buy clothes for the children and for other purposes." But perhaps a woman won't do what her husband has told her to do, and then she will complain that the money is little. This matter of money has led to many separations lately. (emphasis mine)

She went on to explain that a man may arrive home and want to know how the money sent was used. If he finds no visible improvements because it may all have been used for food he may start quarrelling. If she has turned to brewing and drinking with customers, or has taken financial help from a male friend, the husband may be so sure that the marriage comes to an end--particularly should an adulterous pregnancy result. Thus the combination of female dependence on male earnings, and female dependence in the absence of husbands, may have disastrous results.

There are certain legal measures and migrant company provisions to help the women left behind by migrant workers in cases of desertion, illness or financial emergencies. However these are often unknown to rural women or require so much travel time and legal know-how that women cannot avail themselves of such help. A wife can go to the migrant recruiting offices in case of emergencies to ask that a portion of the man's wages be sent home or deferred pay be released. Gordon's study of "The Women Left Behind" gives a detailed explanation of these procedures and argues that they must be much better publicized and simplified and more guidance must be given for women to be able to take advantage of them. (Gordon 1978) The Deserted Wives and Childrens Proclamation also gives certain rights to women in distress as do laws requiring a man to support the child of a girl he has impregnated; however such laws are almost impossible to enforce.

Despite cases of desertion and neglect of dependents, there is no doubt that the survival of most rural households depends on the economic activities of working men for the cash flows which make both rural subsistence and investment possible. The economic activities of men who are home on leave, between contracts, unemployed, or who are working in the rural areas are also important.

First, men's greater opportunity for wage earning and their control of household money means that they continue to spend money while in the rural areas. Although the amounts may be small compared to what they spend in the towns of South Africa and Lesotho, their local spending is the basis of much of the female-income generating to be discussed below.

Second, men are the principal travellers, truck and tractor drivers, road repair workers, builders, government technicians and civil servants, and owners of major trading shops, cafes and grinding mills which women patronize.

Third, the payment of bridewealth and financing of family funerals and feasts by men redistributes assets through the rural communities.

Fourth, some migrant men make important labour contributions while they are home, or after their migrant careers are over. It is often asserted by men and by the mining companies that Lesotho's migrants come home in the springtime to plough or at shearing time. However, in my studies I found that many non-agricultural factors determined times of migrants return and of beginning new contracts, particularly their desire to be home with their families at the Christmas season and in cases of family feasts and funerals.

In a study of the activities of migrants while in the villages, Van Brunen interviewed 124 migrants or their wives. The following table summarizes her results, showing the percent of the men who were said to have engaged in each of the following activities:

Table 4

REPORTED ACTIVITIES OF MIGRANTS
WHILE HOME ON LEAVE

% who engage in each activity	Type of Activity
60.5	Agricultural work on their own or parent's fields (ploughing, only 18.5%, planting, cultivating, transporting, gardening, hoeing)
50.8	Herding (primarily to observe and supervise regular herdboys)
40.3	House improvement (construction or repair)
29.8	Agricultural work outside their own households
79.8	Socializing (receiving visitors, paying visits, attending village beerhalls)
90.3	Other activities (football, reading, playing cards, hunting, going to church, chopping wood, dancing, singing, listening to the radio)
81.5	Playing with children

Source: Van Drunen 1977:169-170

Van Drunen gives details for a smaller group interviewed about the manner in which migrants were involved in agriculture. She found that 21.7% contributed neither money nor labour, 50% sent only money, while 27.4% were home for some part of the agricultural work year. Even when men are home it is difficult to determine how much labour they actually contribute to agricultural and household tasks. Van Drunen summarizes her study by saying:

Only if a migrant comes home for an explicit, previously announced reason, such as ploughing or another well-defined task, is he morally obliged to work; otherwise he is free to do as he pleases. All that he does during his homestay is a hobby, not a duty, and therefore not "work" according to Basotho traditions.

(Van Drunen 1977:94)

Women often complain that their men just sit around drinking beer, playing games and visiting girl friends while on leave. For example, I asked one wife if she felt that life was easier when her husband was home or away. She said that it is nice when he visits, but

when a man is at work, nothing is lacking and the family is well off. If there is work planned, like ploughing, he can just send money and the job will be done at once.

Thus economic pressures can be seen to force both men and women into accepting the separations which migrant labour requires.

D. Women's economic activities

1. Rural women's tasks and allocation of time

Although rural women may not be regarded as "economically active" for many statistical purposes, and are not paid for their work, there is no doubt of the important contribution they make to the economy of Lesotho and of South Africa. Because they receive no pay, women will often say "Ha ke sebetse" meaning "I am not working." Yet their work of household and farm management, of reproduction and care of children, the ill and the elderly, and maintenance of the fabric of rural social relations make possible the earnings of migrant men and the profits of the industries in which the men are employed.

It is also true that many rural women bear a tremendous burden of work, particularly in isolated villages where there is no clean, close water supply, where fuel is scarce, food is limited, shops and clinics are distant, and bad weather, rough terrain and lack of roads make travel difficult.

Accurate analysis of daily activities and seasonal patterns in all geographical zones is urgently needed in order to plan the timing of development activities and assess the availability of "manpower" (sic!) for agriculture, infrastructural development, and new income-generating activities. Ashmore is presently conducting such a study in Makhhotlong in relation to seasonal variations in nutrition, health and labour. I conducted a brief study in 1977 in a single lowlands village. My study was limited by lack of resources and pressure of other work: hence I could only investigate one village, near a town, at only one period of time, which was harvest season. Nevertheless it does give some indication of the daily activities of one group of rural women.

Table 5 shows the average number of minutes, and percent of reported time, which was devoted to each of the principal activities. This adds up to just over 13 hours, which is typical of the short,

cold, winter days. (See appendix IV for details of activities included in each category).

Table 5

ACTIVITIES AND TIME ALLOCATIONS OF
WOMEN IN A LOWLANDS VILLAGE IN LESOTHO

activity	average time allocated (in minutes)	percent of total reported time
Crops and gardens	106	13.4%
Animal care	8	1.0
<u>Total agriculture</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>14.5</u>
Wage employment or cafe sales	10	1.3
Brewing and selling beer	34	4.3
Sewing and knitting	17	2.2
<u>Total income-generating activity</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>7.7</u>
Cooking and food preparation	137	17.4
Fuel gathering or purchase	22	2.8
Cleaning house	52	6.6
Laundry	34	4.3
Child care	29	3.7
House maintenance	8	1.0
Going to town on errands, shopping	33	4.2
<u>Total domestic work</u>	<u>315</u>	<u>40.0</u>
Eating (estimated time)	60	7.6
Personal hygiene, etc. (estimated time)	60	7.6
Visiting other households	27	3.4
Relaxing, socializing at home	151	19.2
<u>Total personal, relaxation, other</u>	<u>298</u>	<u>37.8</u>
Total of all activities	788	100.0

It was found that the number of women in a household and their age made significant difference in allocation of tasks. Older women took a greater role in gathering firewood, wild vegetables and in brewing. Younger women did more of the laborious routine domestic work such as cooking, child care and laundry, and made most of the trips to shops and clinics. Only women between the ages of 20 and 64 were interviewed, but I found that much of the domestic work was actually performed by school girls and elderly women. Thus households with several women

can divide the tasks, while young women living with small children, and elderly women living alone must perform the whole range of household and agricultural activities even though they may be the most burdened by pregnancies, sick children and their own ill health and failing strength.

The two most significant variables I found in this study were a woman's control over the labour of others, and her access to the wages earned by the labour of others. A woman has more leisure, more time for agriculture and gardening, or more time for income-generating activities if she has sons to run errands, transport loads, and to herd; and if she has daughters or daughters-in-law to carry water, cook, and wash dishes, do laundry, mind the baby and go to the shops. If she has a dependable wage-earning husband, son or daughter she can also count on money with which to reduce her domestic drudgery by buying paraffin instead of gathering brush and dung, to grind at the mill instead of at home, and to buy flour, cabbages and tinned food instead of producing or processing her own. She can count on money to pay for ploughing and agricultural inputs and she may even hire other women to perform some of her domestic and agricultural tasks such as smearing floors, grinding grain, gathering fuel and hoeing her fields. If she herself takes wage employment she will either hire other women to do her domestic work or will expand her household to include a relative or client to help at home. Thus domestic tasks must not be seen as insurmountable obstacles to other productive female activities---rather as work which can be shared and reallocated if necessary. However programs to provide more amenities, services, labour-saving technologies and cooperative child-care facilities might enable far more rural women to engage in productive rural development projects.

2. House building and homestead development

For a woman, a home of her own represents independence from in-laws, a secure place to live and rear her children, a center for other economic activities, a possession which she can care for and embellish, and a refuge in old age. One of the greatest worries of a rural wife is that marital discord may force her out of the home which she has established and managed over the years. Husbands and wives are both anxious to build, but the cash economy of today and the type of modern homes desired has transformed the division of labour in construction activities.

The building of a traditional rondavel in the past, and in some mountain and foothills areas today, depends upon shared family labour. Men level the site, use oxen to haul poles and rocks, erect walls and roof and tie on the thatch. Women cut thatching grass, bring mud and dung and water for smearing, construct mud shelves, decorate interior and exterior walls, doorways and windows, and perhaps also brew and cook for those who work.

In most lowlands areas and near towns and roads everywhere rectangular houses with brick or cement or mud walls, galvanized iron

roofs, glass windows and metal door frames are being built. This calls for more expensive building materials and more specialized building skills. The materials can be purchased in traders' stores throughout the country and builders and carpenters can be hired in many villages and towns. Thus in many cases for the family to build their own home the man must spend his time away from home earning the necessary money and the woman must spend her time purchasing materials, hiring and supervising builders, and hauling water for the masons. She will also usually do the final plastering with mud, smearing of floors and decorating.

A modern home also requires modern furnishings instead of the open hearths, mud shelves, mat and skin bedding, and clay and wooden utensils of the past. Again money is needed; much of migrant's earnings go to furnishings and utensils. Furthermore, an increasing number of homesteads are being securely fenced, calling for the outlay of several hundred maloti worth of wire, poles and specialized labour. In some low-land areas it is even possible to lay pipes and install a water tap in or near the homestead, greatly increasing the productivity of kitchen gardens and easing domestic chores.

Although husbands may sometimes come home to help build, and are the ones in whose name a site is given and who send money for construction, women may be even better informed and take much more active roles in building than men. Women's interest in household design, building materials, construction techniques, furnishings, maintenance and other types of non-agricultural construction and investment are topics to which few development projects have addressed themselves.

3. Women's roles in agriculture

In light of the wealth of literature on agriculture in Lesotho (see Bibliography) I will not attempt to describe the whole of Lesotho's agricultural system or policy, but will confine myself to specific issues related to women's roles.

a. Who are Basotho farmers? - the landed and the landless

Some studies of agriculture in Lesotho regard only those households with arable land holdings as "farm families". Data shows that well over half of such farming households have women as either actual household heads or as household managers in the absence of migrant husbands. BASP data from 1980 show that 28% of farm households (field holding households) were headed by women, primarily widows. However an additional 27% of all farm households are managed by women, in the absence of their husbands. Thus in fact 55% of their sample of farms were actually managed by women for much of the year.

We should consider two other groups who play significant roles in agriculture even though they are not heads of land-holding households. First, there are the households which cultivate on the land of others through sechhlole or share-cropping arrangements. It has been estimated that 25% of Lesotho's fields are cultivated by sechhlole--o

word derived from the verb ho arola or divide. In seahlolo, two parties agree to provide some mix of the basic factors of production: land, inputs (primarily seeds), and labour (men and cattle to plough, women to feed the ploughsmen, and women from both households to weed and harvest together). After harvest the households divide the produce equally. We must include among farmers those who invest their labour, their ploughing teams, or their money to share in the cultivation of the fields of others.

Many of the sharecropping "investors" are young landless families of migrant workers or men employed in Lesotho. Through seahlolo they can make a start in agriculture before they obtain fields of their own. Others are land-holding families with resident husbands owning ploughing teams or tractors who thus increase the number of fields they cultivate. However because they must provide female hand-labour to weed and harvest, the number of fields they cultivate is limited.

Once the initial task of ploughing is performed or paid for by male labour, the remainder of the agricultural operation is usually in the hands of women from the two households. They weed, harvest and winnow together. Through such seahlolo agreements young landless families can participate in crop farming, their field-holding partners are often elderly female members of the community with long agricultural experience but now lacking the matla (energy or capital) to plough their own fields. Agricultural projects should not neglect these landless investors, including the women who are the principal managers and labourers, for they may be eager to learn new ways if they are included in agricultural training programs.

Since the mid 1970's a number of new government sponsored sharecropping programs have been developed under what is now generally called the "Food Self-sufficiency" programs with Chinese, South African and government sponsored technicians providing the inputs and tractors. It is not clear what effect this will have on the young landless families and the local Basotho tractor and oxen owners. Nor is it clear whether the new Land Act will encourage poor land-holding families to lease their fields to the more affluent instead of operating through the old seahlolo arrangements.

A second group of landless farmers are those women, among the poorest of the poor, who exchange or sell their labour for small shares in field produce or for small cash payments. Should men be widowed, divorced or deserted they remain in their patrilocal homes, retain their fields, and usually remarry. On the other hand women who are widowed before their husbands have obtained fields may never get them; and women who are deserted or divorced may have to return to their natal homes where they have no rights to fields. Such women, as well as those who are unmarried mothers, must find ways to support themselves and their children. If they have no access to cash income,

the only way they have of obtaining food is by selling their labour to other farmers. In my study I found that 67 women out of 227 households said that they had hoed on the fields of others for food or cash. Again at harvest time there are many women who help to harvest and winnow in return for a basin of grain per day. Some who hoe and harvest for others are young and just do so to help a friend or relative, but most are the oldest and poorest village women.

Any agricultural project which is concerned with the welfare of Basotho farmers, not simply with increasing production, must recognize the growing body of landless farm labourers and the exchange mechanisms whereby rich farmers can obtain the labour of the poor. Programs which encourage the mechanization of weeding and harvesting and the use of herbicides should consider the effects such strategies may have on labour opportunities of Basotho women farm workers and the availability of the wild vegetables which women normally gather from the fields. It is also important to monitor the impact of the new Land Act when it is implemented for agricultural holdings. Agronomists hope that land will concentrate in the hands of better managers, making technological change, soil conservation and higher yields possible; but will this process render more and more women redundant to field cultivation and unable to avail themselves of old mechanisms for sharing in field produce?

b. Seasonal labour demands and sexual division of labour

The LASA research group prepared a helpful summary calendar of typical crop production activities. This is given in Table 7, modified to indicate which tasks are typically male (x) or female (o) responsibilities. Naturally there are variations in seasonal labour demand according to ecological zone and particular weather conditions. Furthermore it should be recognized that this table indicates the full range of time during which some households perform each task, not the actual number of person-days required.

The traditional sexual division of labour has not been significantly altered by the absence of migrant men, for younger boys and older men have been drawn into the farm labour force, and mechanized traction has supplemented ox-drawn teams in many areas. Only in the most isolated rural areas and under the most unusual family circumstances will women participate directly in plough and plant operations with cattle.

In early spring men repair ploughing equipment and arrange ploughing team or make tractor repairs, as they watch for the first rains. A few men prepare the soil by ploughing in late winter. Most begin to plough when the rains come in October, either broadcast the seed as they plough or returning in a few weeks to plant in rows with ox-drawn planters. Before the ploughing begins women are making arrangements about where to obtain seed, who will plough for them, and whether they will sharecrop or not. During ploughing time

Table 6 CALENDAR FOR OPERATIONS
FOR TYPICAL CROP PRODUCTION PRACTICES IN LESOTHO

Production Operations	Timing and Duration											
	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug
<u>Summer Crops:</u>												
<u>Maize</u>												
Land Preparation	xxxxxxxxxxxxx											xxx
Plant		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Cultivate & Weed		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Harvest								oooooooooooo				
<u>Sorghum</u>												
Land Preparation	xxxxxxxxxxxxx											xxxxxxx
Plant	xxxxxxxxxxxxx											
Cultivate & Weed		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Harvest								ooooo	oooooooooooo			
<u>Beans</u>												
Land Preparation	xxxxxxxxxxxxx											xxx
Plant		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Cultivate & Weed		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Harvest								oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo				
<u>Wheat</u>												
Land Preparation	xxxxxxxxxxxxx											
Plant		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Harvest					oooooooooooo							
<u>Peas</u>												
Land Preparation		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Plant		xxxxxxxxxxxxx										
Harvest								ooooo				
<u>Winter Crops:</u>												
<u>Wheat</u>												
Land Preparation							xxxxxxx					
Plant							xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx					
Harvest		oooooooooooo										
<u>Peas</u>												
Land Preparation										xxxxxxx		
Plant										xxxxxxx		
Harvest					ooooo							

Source: LASA Report No. 2, VI-7, modified

As most of the field crops are grown in all four ecological zones of Lesotho, the calendar of operations reported here reflects a composite schedule for the entire country and may not necessarily be representative of any particular zone. The timing of operations is also based on a normal water-year. Operations usually performed by men, by women.

they often work as many hours as the men do to provide food and drink for the workers.

From the time the first sprouts appear until harvest, women weed and try to protect the crops from invaders: stray grazing animals, birds, and hungry herdboys when the maize ears are full. The use of insecticides is still not common, but where it is used it is primarily applied by men because of their contacts with male extension agents and access to the chemicals and sprayers. Surely this is an area in which women could be trained to take a much more active role. Weeding with hoes is the major responsibility of women during the months of December to February, although men with oxen sometimes cultivate between the rows if planters were used. Men will rarely weed with hoes unless wives are ill or deceased or unless there is a cooperative work group specially arranged.

As the crops ripen, women and children begin to go to the fields to bring home maize and pumpkins or peas to meet the family's daily food requirements. Many reports of yields completely neglect the importance of this daily "gathering"; sharecropping programs which prohibit early harvest have little appeal for women who must feed their families daily.

When the crops are ripe it is primarily women who go to the fields to harvest. They may ask an old man to prepare a flat clear threshing floor, and may ask men and boys to help carry the crops home by ox-cart or on donkeys and horses. If crops must be carried without animals it is invariably women and girls who do so.

Threshing of wheat and sorghum is often done by a group of men with flails or by men driving cattle or horses over the grain. If men participate in these tasks, women must spend more time than the men. They must sort and stack the grain ahead of time, and then prepare and serve food and beer, as well as being on hand to sweep and stack and sort the grain throughout the threshing process. Thus whether women thresh alone or call upon men to help, they are involved throughout the process. The shelling of maize and legumes is done almost exclusively by women. Neighbours are usually glad to help because they will be given crop residues for winter fuel. Winnowing of grains and classing/sorting of legumes are women's tasks. Men usually haul and store heavy bags of grain which are sometimes sold but usually stored for domestic use.

Once the crop is harvested many women continue to go to the fields to cut the dry stalks for winter fodder and fuel. If this is not brought back to the homestead it will be eaten by the cattle of others.

Detailed studies of agricultural labour demands have been made by the Lesotho Agricultural Sector Analysis group and others,

raising the issue of whether, in the absence of many migrant men, there is sufficient male labour to meet peak season demands. Concern has also been expressed about the female labour supply. Calculations have been made on a basis of a female farmer's work as equivalent to only 40% of a "male person-day". The ILO/JASPA report (1979:91) and a more recent LASA paper (Nchapi 1980:19) have challenged this assumption in light of the amount of arduous agricultural labour actually performed by Basotho women. Some writers see rural women as terribly overburdened; they consider that additional income-generating activities for women might reduce the already limited labour supply, just as migrant work takes men away from productive agricultural activities. Other studies, however, see rural women as an under-employed and under-utilized resource. It is felt that these women could contribute much more to rural agriculture and other rural development activities than they presently do if given the necessary training, resources and community services. If off-farm activities are planned with sex-specific seasonal labour demands in mind, the level of female productive activity, security and fulfilment could be greatly increased without necessarily reducing agricultural productivity.

c. Access to male labour and to ploughing operations

Agricultural analysts often assume that because men plough, it is they who take all initiative in field cultivation, without recognizing the managerial roles of the majority of Lesotho's farmers, the women. Throughout Lesotho's history it has been women, not men, who have borne the primary responsibility for grain production and vegetable procurement in order to provide the family's daily food. Thus I do not think that the absence of male migrants has necessarily pushed women into "agricultural tasks to which they are unaccustomed" (World Bank Annex 3, 1980:1). It is extremely rare, for example, to see a woman directly engaged in ploughing or planting with cattle, although she will rise early, with the men, to carry seeds to the field and to provide food for the workers. Women have always had to feed their families and to devise strategies whereby they can obtain fields, and then obtain male labour for the initial ploughing and planting. Since it is men who control cattle and ploughs and planters, men who drive tractors, men who earn the wages with which traction can be hired, and men who control most of the government agricultural assistance programs, it is primarily through their relations with men that women can find the means to initiate cultivation.

A female headed household which owns cattle can usually count on the ploughing labour of the relative or hired herdboy who cares for the cattle throughout the year. She will probably combine her cattle with the male labour of other households to form a joint ploughing team which will plough the fields of all participants.

A variety of traditional exchange mechanisms exist where-
b households without cattle can obtain ploughing--apart from cash hire. If a woman has a willing husband or son but no cattle, he may contribute his labour to a neighbour's ploughing team and thus the woman will

get her own fields ploughed. If she has sorghum she may prepare beer and food and then invite willing ploughsmen from other households to join in a letsema la lipane, a cooperative work group of ploughing "spans". Thus she may exchange her grain and labour for the male labour and cattle which she lacks. She may have a male friend to whom she appeals for help; or she may ask her male relatives or in-laws to plough--which they may do because of cooperative ties built up over the years by the woman's participation in extended family activities. Thus time and labour which a woman devotes to social and ritual activities may have economic significance often overlooked by expatriate agricultural "experts".

Sharecropping is one of the most important ways such households without cattle can obtain traction, but this requires giving up half of the yield. Government-sponsored sharecropping projects can be of great assistance to such households if the weather is good, the yields are sufficient to cover cost of inputs, and the credit and payment arrangements are promptly fulfilled. Some women whom I interviewed in 1977 were very sceptical of sharecrop programs which encouraged fodder and cash crops; they said that what they wanted from the fields was food for their children or sorghum for brewing. The more recent "Food self-sufficiency" program has apparently been more enthusiastically received, perhaps because the emphasis has been on providing traction and other initial inputs for the traditional food crops which the principal farmers--women--value so highly.

Although men do most of the ploughing work, these new government sharecropping programs with capital-intensive foreign inputs, as well as the increasing number of Basotho entrepreneurs with tractors for hire, is having profound effects on the division of labour. With capitalization of ploughing and monetization of the economy, the majority of Basotho men become peripheral to the agricultural process. What they now must give are simply their fields and their money; not their labour or technical knowledge or interest. Women can manage all the subsequent operations once the fields are ploughed. Perhaps in the newest "Food self-sufficiency" programs even the money of men, and the labour of women, will become unnecessary -- a sobering thought for Lesotho's future.

d. New forms of animal husbandry

In a very perceptive study of innovative income-generating activities for rural women, Ribeiro discusses the idea of introducing dairy cattle to rural women. Despite the traditional sexual division of labour she argues that women may prove to be more efficient managers of dairy farms than men. Because men's traditional association with cattle leads them to assume sufficient skills, women might be "more receptive to instruction based on scientific methods". (Ribeiro 1979:14). She advocates "the establishment of a credit system easily accessible to women to motivate their...procurement of stock by their own means." (ibid). She believes

that this would foster female independence in management of dairy herds with the increased supply of milk enhancing family nutrition and providing income to rural women. There already are a number of women in urban and peri-urban areas who take primary responsibility for the care of one or two dairy cows which are kept near the home rather than being herded on the veld. But traditional taboos separating women from cattle still have a powerful influence on Basotho agriculture.

The rearing of poultry and pigs, however, has proven to be of great interest to rural women farmers. Fowls are regarded as household animals to be cared for by women, not men. Pigs are sometimes scorned by men and spoken of as "the cattle of women." Both fowls and pigs can be cared for close to home; they can be fed on food scraps and brewing residues; and the slaughter and sale of these animals are considered women's domain, although if a wife earns considerable sums her husband may still try to claim the money as his own. It is significant that the newly organized Woman's Bureau is giving high priority to organizing training programs and providing technical, material and financial assistance to women's groups interested in poultry and piggery projects. Perhaps the approach through cooperative women's groups will enhance their independence in this field.

e. Private and communal gardens

In the changing land allocation and tenure system it appears that large residential sites are increasingly being allocated allowing householders substantial amounts of land adjacent to their homes--land which can be fenced to keep out livestock and which can be inherited. Under such conditions women may be able to grow a large proportion of their family food if encouraged to make maximum use of intensive horticultural practices: composting, mulching, intercropping, water collection in dams or tanks, simple irrigation methods and use of appropriate insecticides. Such garden sites adjacent to the house are usually regarded as women's concern. A husband home on leave may help his wife to spade up a garden, to plant fruit trees, to erect a fence, and to install a water tap if there is a water supply where this is feasible. Such activities are regarded as part of the man's home-stead improvement work. However the major tasks of planting, weeding, watering and harvesting are in the hands of women as is the daily gathering and cooking of food and drying or bottling of fruit. If a woman can grow a small marketable surplus she usually controls the money earned by the sale of vegetables.

Communal gardens have been encouraged by programs within the Ministries of Agriculture and Rural Development as well as by Village Health Workers, with small amounts of assistance from UNICEF and other donors to provide for tools, seeds and fencing. Community gardens appear to have been most successful in mountain and foothill areas which are far from the traders shops and cafes supplying imported produce. Many community gardens in the lowlands have failed because of petty rivalries,

political tensions or because of competition from imported South African produce (see Mueller 1977:338-354). Community gardens probably have greater chances of success if they are combined with village water supplies which make regular watering or irrigation possible, with health and nutrition programs, and if they are supported by regular extension services. School gardens, Young Farmers Clubs, and courses at Farmers Training Centers as well as new projects to be organized through the Woman's Bureau and FAO, can play an important role in encouraging maximum production from both communal gardens and individual homestead orchards and garden plots.

f. Access to modern agricultural technology

In some parts of the third world it has been claimed that men are the primary recipients of modern technological innovation while women have been left behind to cultivate with ancient tools and ancient methods. To a limited extent this is also true in Lesotho where men have received most of the modern agricultural training, jobs and loans, and where the control of modern technology and the profits it makes possible are in the hands of men.

The first agricultural innovation in Lesotho was the ox-drawn plough, a tool which revolutionized agriculture in the 19th century by requiring cattle-herding men to participate in the previously female domain of grain cultivation. Along with the iron ploughs came ox-drawn harrows, cultivators, planters and carts. Men now drive the tractors, trucks and harvesters wherever they are used. With transport, it is men who can carry produce to the towns for sale. Thus a few men are able to perform the tasks previously done by many men and women, and to reap the financial rewards of selling their produce or their services. Nevertheless the hand labour operations which make up 83% of total agricultural labour inputs continue to be performed by women (LISA Research Report 2, 1978:VI-12). The tasks women perform are almost entirely those done by hand without animal or mechanical assistance. However, although female farmers work with simple hoes and sickles instead of modern machines, it is not true to say categorically that they "follow primitive methods" or that "modernization has hardly touched them." (Janelid 1977:6).

g. Cash crops or subsistence farming?

In addition to new tools, new cash crops have been primarily controlled by men in many third world countries. The introduction of wheat was of particular significance in Lesotho. New lands could be cultivated because wheat grows at elevations too high for maize and sorghum. Men were actively involved with this new cash crop which the missionaries and white settlers introduced. Men ploughed, helped to harvest and thresh, and carried the crop to South Africa's booming mine towns where they made substantial profits. Women were less essential since wheat does not normally require weeding. However

subsequent demand for male labour in the mines and competition from South African agriculture reduced Lesotho from being a granary to a labour reserve (Murray, 1980).

The earning opportunities in the mines are now so much greater than those in agriculture that few men appear to be seriously interested in either food production or cash cropping. It was estimated that in 1976 an average mine worker could earn as much in 14 days of migrant work as he could hope to gain from crops in an entire agricultural season (Wilken 1979:25). Thus it is not surprising that the majority of young Basotho men seek off-farm employment, leaving crop cultivation in the hands of women. If new crop mixes and farming techniques are to be introduced, it is primarily women who must be convinced of their utility. But women will only be convinced if they are sure that their children will have enough to eat and if they feel that cash income will be available.

Most discussions of cash crops in Lesotho completely ignore what women perceive to be the most important cash crop of all: sorghum. Agronomists often regard sorghum as a typical subsistence crop. At one time it was the nation's staple carbohydrate, although it has now been replaced by maize and wheat for most food purposes. However many rural women see sorghum as a cash crop over which they, as women, have control. The market importance of sorghum does not appear on national survey data because most of the female-controlled sales are small unreported amounts sold from day to day within the village or used in the home-production of beer for sale. One woman said that "sorghum is life" for a Mosotho woman because it can be sold as grain, it can be fermented and sold as malt, and it can be brewed and sold as beer. "With sorghum", she said, "we can obtain the salt and sugar and soap and paraffin that we need."

It has been suggested that there is a difference between male and female perceptions of the risk situation regarding agriculture, leading women to be more concerned with farming than most men. Female dependence on male earnings is precarious, and few rural women can find wage employment. Thus

for women it is quite conceivable that the farm represents a degree of security much more akin to that of true subsistence farmers. It is a fall-back enterprise, a hedge against risk that gives it a significance far beyond its value as income producing enterprise (Wilken 1979:24).

However it must be remembered that the monetized economy of Lesotho makes it imperative that families have a source of cash as well as food. Hence women in the rural areas must have means to obtain dependable cash flows which they can use for school and clinic

fees, transportation costs, construction, utensils, paraffin, clothing and other consumer goods. Successful rural development projects for women must take an integrated approach which sees subsistence agriculture, basic community health and educational services, labour saving technologies and infrastructure, and income-generating activities as inseparable.

h. Are women farmers innovators and decision makers?

Questions are often asked regarding women's attitudes towards modern farming and the degree to which they can take and carry out agricultural decisions. A recent report states that "many women are not permitted to make decisions." (World Bank, 1980 Annex 3:8) It goes on to quote another paper which says that:

A farmer, even an absent migrant worker, retains the power of decision making in respect to his farm.... In case the husband is absent the wife has to obtain his agreement before a farming operation can be initiated, to employ a contractor sharecropper, or to get a loan from the local credit union. Only when the woman is the legal head of a household can she make all decisions at appropriate times in regard to all farming operations. (Janelid 1977:8)

Such broad generalizations, often repeated in brief agricultural papers by foreign visitors, greatly underestimate the innovative desires and decision making potential of Basotho women farmers. (See Section III-A for a more general discussion.)

(1) Such generalizations are usually based on stated norms about Basotho culture, rather than action-based reality. For example, several village wives told me that of course they select their own sharecrop partners, for it is the women who must be able to work together. But then they arrange for their husbands to be formally asked as a matter of respect. A man in the Ministry of Agriculture said that "women are very good at making decisions and then making men feel that they have actually done so." They hear about a new idea and say "I must talk to my husband about that" then go and persuade him to approve the course of action already decided upon.

(2) Generalizations often ignore the one-third of rural households which are female headed.

(3) They ignore the wives of resident husbands. These couples usually act together as a decision-making team. The man is as dependent upon his wife's willing labour in cultivation as she is upon his cattle and cash, so they usually discuss matters until mutually agreeable solutions are reached.

(4) They ignore the great variety of personalities and marital relations which exist. Some migrant workers have completely deserted their families, rarely if ever sending money and leaving their wives to make decisions and carry them out as best they can. In other cases men are preoccupied with their working lives and just send money home, leaving all decisions in the hands of wives who simply write to inform the husbands of action taken. Other migrant men are very interested in their farms and write with detailed instructions or even come home to help plough. But most men realize that while they are away, women must make the on-the spot decisions if the rains are too early or too late, if the oxen are sick or the tractor contractor fails to appear.

I am sure that many rural wives are better informed about new agricultural practices, seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and technical assistance schemes than their husbands. Women attend the pitsos, read brochures which are circulated, hear agricultural programs on Radio Lesotho, and frequent the shops and offices where agricultural inputs are available; while migrant men live in an urban, industrial world of underground labour and occasional moments of relaxation. However, the few men who do remain in rural areas and are actively engaged in farming have a greater influence than their numbers would suggest. This is because of their monopoly over the initial ploughing operations, their control of money, and their patriarchal role as advisors and helpers to female relatives. An alliance between the small number of active male farmers and the large number of young and middle aged female farmers, is essential to achieve agricultural change. Female farmers rarely appear among the studies of "better farmers", not because they lack interest or will to modernize, but because, if married, they are not household heads, and if alone, they lack the capital and contacts which enable some male farmers to acquire large holdings of land, equipment and livestock and to produce large marketable surpluses. Lacking the economic base, most female farm managers, whether female household heads or wives of absent migrants, dare not undertake risky new investment strategies without clear authorization from husbands or the advice and support of other male relatives.

4. Income generating activities and wage employment

Table 7, based on the 1976 census reports, shows the relative proportion of women for the nation as a whole who were economically active or who stated that they were seeking work. Although rural-urban distinctions are not given the fact that 7435 of the 11,031 women who claimed to be seeking work were living outside of Maseru District is some indication of the numbers who would like wage employment.

Table 7

LESOTHO CITIZENS, TEN YEARS AND OVER,
BY SEX AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Status	males	females	females as % of total
Employed for wages	179,436	32,274	15.2%
Government	9,713	5,626	36.7
Private sector	50,198	13,822	21.6
Outside Lesotho	117,506	11,728	9.1
Not stated	2,019	1,098	35.2
Self-employed	19,807	12,123	38.0
Unpaid family worker	74,448	81,403	52.2
Work-seeking unemployed	13,360	11,031	45.2
Other	137,640	329,427	70.5
TOTAL	424,691	466,258	52.3

Source: 1976 Population Census Tables, Vol. III tables 12 and 13

We have seen that rural Basotho, both men and women, feel the need for cash income as well as agricultural production and the development of family, homesteads and community. A woman may work from dawn to dusk in the fields and house, yet say that she has no work (mosebetsi), meaning she has no means of earning money. Women are particularly anxious for ways to obtain money which they themselves earn and control, in order to escape the trap of exclusive dependence upon male wage earners. The need for job creation is clearly recognized in all the Five-year development plans and other major economic studies, although the concern is too often exclusively with male unemployment (see ILO/JASPA 1978:31). The need for employment and income-generating activities for rural women has emerged as a primary focus of many "Women in Development" projects currently being planned or executed and recognition of this need appears in virtually every new project paper.

a. Brewing

Lesotho does not have a long-standing female market tradition as do many West African countries. Furthermore, Basotho

entrepreneurs must compete with the mass-produced South African goods which are marketed throughout southern Africa. Nevertheless many rural Basotho women have responded to the market opportunities created by the wages sent or brought back by migrant men.

The oldest and still the most important income-generating activity is the brewing and sale of sorghum beer and a range of more rapidly brewed and much more potent urban variations. Women have traditionally given beer and food in exchange for the labour of men or women who are called together to plough, weed, haul rocks, build a kraal wall, bring large amounts of firewood, plaster a house or even chip a new grinding stone. Thus when men began to sell their labour for wages in the late 19th century, women began to sell their beer for a share of these wages. In all of Lesotho's towns, villages and roadsides women have set up regular beer halls or occasional home sales places. All of the ingredients can be purchased at the supermarkets, cafes and trading stores, although many women still brew with the sorghum they themselves have grown. I found that over half of the households I studied in 1977 brewed for sale at times, 20% brewed at least once a week and few had beer almost daily. For some women, particularly those who are deserted or divorced, brewing provides almost all of their cash income. Women can anticipate earning double or triple the cost of the ingredients.

Other women engage in related activities such as collecting and selling firewood to brewers, fermenting and grinding sorghum for sale, and rearing pigs, chicken and ducks on the beer strainings. There are also women who lack the utensils and capital or grain with which to brew, but who are taken on as clients by more prosperous women brewers. Some are hired for a few maloti a week to brew and sell for their patrons. Others are given a place to sleep and the use of the utensils to brew for themselves and for their patrons on alternate days.

b. Other forms of home production for sale

Some women produce and sell what they can from their own homesteads; others sell along the roadsides or markets in the major towns. Among items which are locally produced and sold one finds:

- Crocheted and hand knitted goods, particularly baby clothes and hats
- Machine knitted items, particularly hats and school uniform jerseys
- Machine sewn dresses, traditional print skirts and school uniforms
- Garden produce such as greens, tomatoes, carrots, onions, potatoes, peaches

- Cooked bread, fat cakes, meat fried fish, boiled maize, and full plates of food in towns or where people work and travel
- Chickens, ducks, eggs, pigs and pig meat
- Grass strainers, mats and hats
- Clay pots

In addition to such goods for local markets, there are places where women produce items which are collected by agents of Lesotho Cooperative Handicrafts and taken to Maseru for resale at the Basotho Hat and Shield, the main tourist shops. Many rural women have become dissatisfied with this arrangement, feeling that they receive a disproportionately small share of the profits. They would rather market their own goods directly but do not have access to markets and transportation. A few local handicraft cooperatives, such as the Roma Valley Cooperative and an ILO financed project at Thabana-li-'mele have flourished for a time, and then declined.

The CARE mohair spinning project has been the most successful effort to increase rural women's income-generating opportunities through home industry. Begun in 1977, the project has trained 1,900 women and has helped them to obtain loans through Credit Unions for the purchase of their own spinning wheels. CARE provides raw mohair and purchases the finished yarn, travelling to 14 different rural locations in order to meet spinners near their homes. It also maintains quality control and has facilities for classing, dyeing and marketing the wool from Maseru. Despite criticisms concerning the drudgery of the work, health risks associated with mohair dust and cold working places, and the marketing monopoly, no other project has been so successful in actually creating productive new earning opportunities for rural women and in developing dependable markets. (See Ribeiro 1979 p. 23-24)

There are other handicraft projects, particularly in the fields of weaving and pottery, but most of these are concentrated in Maseru or other urban centers. Almost 500 weavers have been trained in Lesotho of whom all but 3 are women. Lynn Williams, who worked with a weavers training program, managed by FRIDA, 1979-1981 reported a high drop-out rate among young and married women: the most dependable, long-term weavers were found to be mature women with children in school, particularly women who were widowed, separated or divorced.

Projects concerned with expanding women's income-generating potential will certainly want to expand agricultural production, handicrafts and clothing manufacture. But they should also consider training women in less conventional crafts and businesses which could help meet rural needs and replace urban or foreign imports. For example, rural women might be trained as carpenters and sheet metal workers to make furniture, rat-proof storage bins, metal gratifiers, solar ovens, etc.

They might learn to repair primus stoves, leaking water buckets, broken windows and pipes, and sewing and knitting machines. Women already work in many of Maseru's joineries and some are now studying carpentry and metal work at Lerotholi Training Institute (LTI) and in a new training program for school leavers: Lesotho Opportunities Industrialization Center (LOIC).

c. Retail trade

Despite the goods mentioned above, there is in fact a very small amount of local production for sale in Lesotho. The majority of goods which women buy and sell are those brought in from South Africa. In most of the major urban centers there are wholesale dealers who sell imported consumer goods and food to individuals bearing traders' licenses. There are also cafes which sell South African vegetables and fruits to individual hawkers as well as trucks which bring produce from South African farms. Some Basotho themselves go across the border to purchase goods and food at wholesale prices. In Mokhotlong, where there is no wholesale dealer, there are women street vendors who pay R10 for a round trip truck ride to Natal in order to buy fresh fruit and loaves of bread to sell.

Women are as active as men in retail trade, although large cafes, shops and trucks are usually owned by men. Many small businesses are licensed in the husband's name, but actually managed by the wife. Thus records of commercial licenses issued do not adequately reflect the full participation of women in business. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that in three common categories of business licenses issued in Maseru district, women held 21% of the general trader's licenses, 26.7% of the general cafe licenses, and 55.5% of licenses in textiles.

A study of small rural businesses by a student at the University of Lesotho revealed that the profits of some village cafes selling goods like soap, salt, sugar, tea, biscuits and paraffin may be extremely small, yet the dealer benefits by being able to purchase his or her own supplies at wholesale prices and by having stock readily available. The biggest profits in retail trade are obtained by those who sell imported beer and spirits, whether or not they are legally licensed to do so. One man in a village near Mokhotlong who sold a variety of imported food from a small roadavel next to his house, also said that he imports about 480 cans of beer a week from Natal. Selling the beer at almost double the South African price he makes a profit of R100-R150 a week from beer sales alone.

There are also women who operate as itinerant traders, taking consumer goods throughout the country. Some travel about in public vehicles, in a friend's car, or simply walk from place to place selling whatever they have purchased in South Africa: stylish dresses,

baby clothes, kitchen utensils, wall plaques, perfume, pottery, cloth, etc. Some sell goods which their migrant husbands bring home. There are also many rural women who order household goods and clothing from South African mail order houses. These may involve pyramid buying schemes whereby women earn bonuses by introducing their friends to the pyramid. Thus South African consumer goods reach to some of Lesotho's remotest areas; and thus the money earned in the mines returns rapidly to South African business. Development projects encouraging female income-generating activities based on production for local sale must study local patterns of imports and retail trade in order to be realistic about market conditions and consumer preferences.

d. The construction industry

Most of Lesotho's construction work, as well as the making of cement blocks and fired bricks, is done by men, except for mud plastering and mud brick work. However, just as rural women with money now hire men to build for them, so women in the urban areas hire men to build rows of one-room apartments which they rent out to temporary urbanites. As an extension of such arrangements, some women also hire men to make bricks and blocks to sell to others. Women in rural areas also cut thatching grass and reeds for sale. I believe that if women were given training in more aspects of the building trade and in real estate management they could take a much larger share in this rapidly expanding sector of the economy.

e. Transport

This is another area in which women have hitherto played little role (except for carrying headloads) but may increasingly become involved with modern forms of transportation. Ox-drawn carts and sledges and horses are men's responsibility. However women in the mountains do ride horses often. Donkeys are used everywhere by women and children for transporting grain to and from the mills and goods from the shops, and provide a source of income for owners who hire them out to others. There are an increasing number of women among the urban elite who have drivers licenses and their own cars. Some rural women in prosperous families have learned to drive pickup trucks and help to haul goods for construction or retail sale. There are also a small number of women who now own taxis, manage vehicles owned by husbands, or are themselves licensed taxi drivers.

f. Wage employment and paid piece-work

The number of formal-sector paid jobs available in the truly rural areas, outside of the 16 designated urban areas, is extremely limited. Most jobs are concentrated in the urban areas; these will be considered in Part II of this report. A few jobs exist in rural schools, missions and rural development projects, industries, large farms and at

the homes of wealthy rural residents. Some extension agents, court clerks and police are sent to villages to work - women among them. Labour intensive road construction and maintenance crews stay in camps along the roads - a few women among them in clerical or cooking capacities. A few rural shops and cafes employ women as clerks and cooks.

Most rural dwellers who seek wage employment must leave their homes to obtain work; this is an accepted way of life for rural men but not for women. It is usually only those who have gone far enough in education to seek skilled work, or women who are unmarried, separated, divorced or widowed, who can leave their rural homes for wage employment.

Market forces operate to keep the pay earned by rural women at levels which are generally lower than what is earned by men, and lower than what women could earn in urban areas. Even male day labourers must be offered salaries sufficiently high to compete with urban and mine wages, whereas women are so eager for work that they will settle for much less than established minimum wages. There are girls who have dropped out of school and women without husbands who earn as little as M10 or M20 a month doing cooking, cleaning, laundry, child-minding and brewing for other women. Their employers are usually women who have regular employment as teachers, nurses, shop clerks or government employees who must take from their own salaries to hire domestic help. Other employers are busy local businesswomen, or chiefly families. Some women also do occasional domestic tasks, or agricultural work for other women: grinding, smearing floors, cleaning slaughtered animals, weeding. The employment of women by other women to perform these typically female jobs is a clear indication of the growing specialization and monetization in the rural economy. Tasks which were once matters of intra-family cooperation or patron-client relationships now involve the buying and selling of labour. This is another aspect of the growing social and economic inequality in Lesotho.

5. Food-for-work programs

Under the supervision of the Food Management Unit of the Government of Lesotho, both the Catholic Relief Services and the World Food Program provide donated food which is allocated to village workers as an incentive for participation in rural development projects, as well as distributing food through schools and clinics. In 1980 CRS was providing for 8775 workers each quarter and WFP was committed to about the same number. Workers, who are 98% female, receive a package of food worth M18.75 for every work period of 15 five-hour days. Those working on Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Development projects such as conservation works, footbridge and access roads receive an additional 50c per day cash payment. Many rural women who have no other means of earning money welcome this opportunity to supplement their food and perhaps their cash supply. It is calculated that food-aid programs provided 14.8% of Lesotho's major cereal imports in 1979/80 and 6.5% of the total supply, and involved about 35-40% of rural women

in either Food-For-Work or pre-school clinic programs (Bryson 1980: 19, 36).

Serious questions are being asked about the economic and political implications of Food Aid programs: are they a disincentive to agricultural production; do they take away labour which is needed in agriculture; and are they managed by particular political interests? A recent study by Bryson deals with these issues. She concludes that Food-For-Work appears to supplement, rather than substitute for women's other income earning opportunities, and that it may be timed to avoid peak season agricultural work. (Bryson 1980:27-29.) She notes that Food Aid provides a framework for reaching rural women with resources which are directly useful to themselves and their families and which can be depended upon and controlled by women themselves. (Bryson 1980:35) By continuing to provide the major part of payments in food, rather than in cash men are prevented from using the earnings for their own purposes, and are less inclined to join the Food-aid work force themselves. Agricultural experts often ponder about the labour supply for agriculture, particularly at ploughing, weeding and harvest periods. Yet young women are eager to migrate to the towns to find work and older women gladly take local jobs at low wages, do piece work for others, or join in food-for-work programs. This suggests that the problem is not an absolute lack of agricultural labour in the rural areas, but rather the uncertain results from field cultivation and the overwhelming need for cash income.

6. Social aspects of women's economic activities: cooperation and conflict

a. Women's cooperative groups

Women who have some means of making or earning money often participate in some form of savings or credit associations, whether formal cooperative societies or informal village groups.

There are 449 registered cooperatives in the country. The best organized are the 56 Credit Unions and 15 Credit Union Study Groups. Some are general purpose credit societies, some are specifically concerned with mohair spinning or agriculture, and some are consumer cooperatives. Credit Union members make regular savings, and on this basis are able to obtain loans for a variety of productive investments such as purchasing a spinning wheel, a sewing machine, seeds, fertilizers, fencing, baby chicks, or tractor hire. Well over 65% of the country's Credit Union members are women, and in recent years they have taken a larger role in managerial committees than in the early days of the movement. There are other types of registered cooperatives, concerned with handicrafts and agriculture, for example. In addition, there are unregistered groups such as women's communal garden committees and clubs where women share in new skills and productive activities.

Small informal savings associations in which many rural women participate are common, particularly among those who brew regularly. One type is a rotating credit association, often called setokofele (from English, stock-fair). A small group of women will meet regularly, say once a week, at the home of each member in turn. The host member brews beer for the day which is sold to members and other customers. In addition, the members bring a fixed sum of money or even soap powder, paraffin or dishes, to give to the host for the day. In this way members bind themselves to make regular weekly savings, and can be assured of a single large sum of money or goods at dependable intervals. Small village groups may have receipts of only M10 or M20 per session, but groups attracting large crowds in the bigger towns, and selling spirits and food as well as home-made beer, may take a hundred Maloti or more at a time. Such beer-based rotating credit associations developed in urban South Africa in the early part of this century and are a common feature of both rural and urban economic life throughout southern Africa--serving both economic and social purposes.

Village burial associations also exist in many places, particularly involving the elderly and less affluent members of the community who cannot afford commercial insurance policies. Members meet and make small regular contributions to a fund which is recorded and banked. Withdrawals are made to assist with burial expenses whenever a member dies. In the village where I lived some member always brewed on the occasion of a meeting, so that the brewing profit was added to the burial fund.

Such informal savings and insurance funds, common throughout rural Lesotho, indicate rural women's own efforts to provide economic security. Many rural women have a rudimentary knowledge of book-keeping and are meticulous in recording expenditures and receipts for such groups, as well as for funerals, church groups, home building and business ventures, migrant remittances and mail-order purchases. Women who engage in new income-generating activities will need and welcome training in book-keeping and business management; but their teachers should be aware of the economic attitudes, experience and skills they already may have.

b. Conflicts between husbands and wives

For a rural woman to begin earning money on her own may substantially alter her relations with other family members. As long as the husband is the only source of rural status, land rights and cash income, the wife is inevitably subordinate to him. New economic opportunities for women present serious threats to the economic basis of male authority. Basotho themselves are well aware of this. In a conference on women and development in 1977 Lesotho's Queen 'Mamohato said:

The theme of this seminar is altering the power structure in the African family. Any trend toward a democratic pattern of family life is thwarted by the fact that the husband is also the employer, and the terms of employment are unchangeable. This seminar must...come to grips with this issue.

(Queen 'Mamohato 1977, Women in Development Conference)

While urban husbands and wives usually agree that it is good for a wife to contribute to the family income, less educated rural men steeped in traditional value systems are often unwilling for their wives to earn money on their own or to spend time attending conferences and training programs and working away from home. They fear the new independence of their wives and the new social contacts they may establish. They may also fear that wives will neglect domestic tasks--including washing and cooking and cleaning up for the husband himself.

One informant who worked with a rural weaving project described typical phases of the conjugal relationship when a woman became involved with the weaving project. At first the husband might outright forbid his wife to work, or attempt to do so, even beating her should she disobey. But if she persisted against his will, or began working while he was away from home, his anger might change when he saw that she was actually able to bring money home. Then he would assert his right as a Mosotho household head, demanding that she hand over her wages to him just as he would expect his children to do. A third stage would be entered when she began to conceal her earnings or give up only a portion and find private ways to save or utilize the remainder. Such secrecy between husband and wife in money matters is common, each one hiding his or her personal financial business from the other. Mistrust and conflict then grow, with accusations of money being withheld or misused and that adulterous sexual relationships may be involved. Finally a fourth stage or direct conflict and perhaps even separation may be reached, the wife no longer feeling bound by financial dependence on her husband, and the husband no longer able to exert control over his wife's actions.

Economic independence may thus be the cause of domestic friction when men are unwilling to relinquish traditional roles; but more often it is the result of already existing domestic conflict which forces a woman to find some way to support herself and her children. Women without husbands are most in need of wage employment or income-generating opportunities, and most free to attend training programs and committee meetings, to seek new markets and work places, and to use their earnings as they wish. Other relatives will begin to turn to them for financial support--asking help with school fees, clinic costs, clothing or accommodation.

Although some economically active women have no husbands, and others experience marital conflict, there are cases among rural as well as urban families, where husbands and wives work well together, each one supporting and approving of the economic activities of the other. I think, for example, of one entrepreneurial rural family. The husband owned a truck with which he made regular trips to South Africa, a tractor with which he ploughed and hauled for many village families, and a number of cattle and small stock. He slaughtered imported sheep for sale in his small butcher shop and provided transport and import services for many villagers. His wife owned and managed a prosperous village cafe as well as a beer hall and a cement block making business. She encouraged her daughter-in-law to raise poultry and invited the nutrition agent to hold classes at her home. The household employed four men and two boys to herd and make cement blocks, four women or girls as sales clerks and domestic helpers, ten women to hoe for several weeks a year, and provided piece-work or patronage to five destitute widowed neighbours. Marital conflicts of their early years seemed forgotten as they had learned to respect and encourage each other in using their talents and time to the fullest. Stereotyped assumptions about authoritarian men and marital conflicts fail to appreciate the productive partnership which families such as this reveal and the broad impact they can have on their communities.

7. Management training and legal problems of women in business

Although many urban women and a few of their rural sisters are beginning to find new opportunities in wage employment and business, women still face practical and legal constraints. One of the biggest is that they are often uninformed about their rights, unaware of resources which could help them, and untrained in the basic skills of business management. The Institute of Extra-Mural Studies (IEMS) at the National University of Lesotho has begun holding courses to provide training in these fields. They offer evening courses in business studies at diploma and certificate level in Maseru, with 71% of those enrolled being female. IEMS also offers short courses under its Businessmen's Training Center, with women making up 58% of the participants.

A special IEMS organized course for women in management was held in 1980, attended by about 40 business women and leaders of women's organizations from various parts of Lesotho. A presentation given at this time by Mr. E. Mapepe of the University's law department gave a comprehensive picture of the rights and problems of women in the business world in Lesotho. Mapepe began by saying that in almost all societies there is the belief that women are inferior in all respects to men, and that they need the leadership and guidance of men. "Any attempts to change the laws will be futile and new laws will not be enforced unless the social beliefs of society itself

are reformed." However the very existence of such a course, the eagerness of the women participants, and the content of the presentation showed that social and economic changes are indeed taking place in Lesotho. Women are now eager to know and claim their legal rights, to make the most of their new opportunities and to change the laws that hold them back. The opinions of Basotho men in these matters are less clear.

The main legal points discussed were the following:

(1) In order for a person to participate in business he or she must have full legal capacity to enter into a business contract and defend his or her rights under such contract in a court of law.

(2) Under Roman-Dutch law, which is the general civil and commercial law in Lesotho, women younger than 21 cannot enter into a contract unless assisted by their guardians (normally their parents) or unless widowed or divorced. Women who are married are regarded as adults but, since the basic form of marriage is "in community of property" the husband is regarded as family head. He is said to exercise marital power over his wife, meaning that she has no power to deal with the outside world without the authority of her husband. Thus he must authorize all contracts she enters with the following exceptions:

(a) She may purchase household necessities on her own.

(b) She may enter into contracts connected with public trade if her husband gives initial approval for her to enter into business.

(c) She may have a bank account or insurance policy in her own name and under her own control.

(d) If employed, she is entitled to receive her own wages.

It is only if special arrangement is made before marriage that Basotho can marry "out of community of property and without the husband's marital power," - a very rare occurrence in Lesotho.

(3) Under customary law, which applies in matters of family relations for most Basotho, every person is considered as a member of a family and every family has a head, who is normally the husband. If the husband dies the eldest son or the widow becomes head. The family head acts as representative to the outside world, conducting any agreements which affect the family and giving authority to contracts entered into by family members. Property is regarded as belonging to the family, not to individuals, so that it too is under the control of the household head. Contracts are understood to be made

between the entire family and another party, not between individuals, and the head has ultimate responsibility for and authority over his family. A rural or unemployed woman is thus limited in her ability to obtain credit, for the only things she could offer as collateral are regarded as under the husband's control, whereas an urban woman may have her salary, bank account, etc.

The reality of the situation today is that individualism, migration, urbanization, monetization of the economy and marital separations all undermine the customary view of family and property. Individual men and women now live in towns far from family control, and often enter into contracts in their own right: taking jobs, building houses, holding bank accounts, making hire-purchases agreements and even buying cars. Furthermore, wives of migrants must often take initiatives without being able to obtain the husband's authorization. The problem, then, is what happens if something goes wrong with such contracts? Who is responsible? The customary law has no answers, so the courts must sort out each case with few precedents to follow.

As a former judicial commissioner of Lesotho noted in 1960, the position of women under the old African tradition was that of minor children.

Before they are married they are children of their fathers; after their marriage they are children of their husbands; and during their widowhood they are children of their heirs.

(Duncan 1960:4)

The reality of the situation is now that women's economic and social roles and opportunities are changing rapidly in both rural and urban areas, even if cultural norms and legal provisions are slow to catch up with reality.

II. WOMEN AS LEADERS AND WORKERS IN DEVELOPMENT

A. Traditional political structures

It is often assumed that women play no role in traditional political structures associated with the chieftaincy. It is true that in the past only men served as chiefs, only men attended the village court (lekhotla) which gathered daily near the chief's cattle kraal, and only men attended public community meetings (pitsos). However, women of the chiefly families, both daughters and wives, have always been powerful and respected, particularly because of their role as mothers of chiefly heirs.

In the present day all this has changed and women have come to play significant roles in all areas of public life. This is particularly true because many men of chiefly families now work in South Africa or in Lesotho's government and private sectors, leaving their rural duties in the hands of their mothers (widows of former chiefs) or their wives. In addition, as we have seen, widows are now given full recognition as household heads if they have no adult sons. Thus there are many chieftaincies throughout Lesotho being filled by widows in their own right, or until there is a male heir old enough and willing to take office. The economic rewards of being a chief are so small compared to wage employment, and chiefly powers have declined so much, that many male heirs are loath to take office as long as well-paid jobs exist in the towns of Lesotho and the mines of South Africa.

A study in 1977 revealed that of the 655 chiefs receiving regular monthly salaries, 27.3% were women, while other women were serving as chiefs in the temporary absence of their husbands. Chiefly authority is a function of position, not of sex. Women who are chiefs settle disputes and conduct all the necessary business of their office, working with the local clerks and chiefly advisors. They are generally given the same cooperation and respect that a man would have. However one senior woman in the government noted that, although there are many women chiefs in Lesotho, she has never seen a woman as an official advisor to a chief.

Women do not just come and sit around the chief's office to socialize or listen to disputes as men do, but they come to the office freely to bring complaints, request land allocations, arrange for stock transfers and conduct whatever other family or personal business they have. A man is certainly not necessary to transact such business for the modern rural woman, although a wife will usually let her husband do so if he is present.

Women of today attend pitsos along with the men. They usually outnumber men at such gatherings and are fully as vocal and articulate as men in voicing their opinions and participating in public decision making. Of course there remain certain matters which are regarded as the particular concern of one sex or the other. For example, a pitso called to consider livestock problems and grazing rights may

be attended almost exclusively by men, unless women come to complain about stray cattle in their fields, or unless a special effort has been made to involve women. Likewise discussions which deal specifically with childbirth and dispute settlement between women may be referred, in some traditional villages, to an informal "woman's court" consisting of adult village women under the leadership of the senior chief's wife or widow. There is some interest in the revival of this institution as a way to involve rural women in combating social problems in the rapidly changing rural areas. During the past year IEMS has run a series of workshops for women chiefs, wives of chiefs, and other prominent rural women. The aim is to give public recognition to the work of these women, to encourage and train them to take the initiative in rural development, and to assure them that it is their right and responsibility to do so.

B. Modern political structures

Women were granted the vote in 1965 and have participated actively in party politics at both national and local levels since then. The Basotho National Party (BNP) has reputedly has more success than the other parties in winning the allegiance of rural women. Although there have been active women leaders and supporters in the other political groups, they have never been in a position to form a mass base among rural women.

The BNP, which has ruled since independence, has established two types of village committees in which women play important roles. There are Village Development Committees which are intended to give the local people a voice in planning rural development activities, and Land Allocation Committees which now have the major say in granting arable lands and residential sites. Some members of each committee are elected and some are appointed by central government and/or political authorities. Women are often in the majority on these two groups as well as participating actively in the less explicitly political groups like Village Water Supply, Agricultural and Community Garden Committees.

Partisan political conflicts remain a disruptive feature of village and of national life. Memories of past political conflicts continue to divide groups of local women and well as men, and frequently undermine rural development efforts.

C. Village level women's organizations

There are a variety of village women's groups which provide the grassroots basis for many development activities. There are, for example, community garden groups, nutrition and home economics study groups, wheel spinning cooperatives, and other Credit Union related groups. There are women's groups associated with the major church denominations which often include training in handicrafts and other skills as well as worship, Bible Study and service to the sick and destitute. There also exist branches of several national women's organizations such as Homemakers, Beiteko, etc. In some communities

there are also women's dancing groups, prayer-groups and the informal brewing-based savings associations already mentioned.

Of particular significance since 1980 has been the creation of a four-level structure concerned with women's affairs. At the village level is a new organization called Easali ba Lets'olo la Iketsetse Lesotho (Lesotho Women in Self-Help). This organization was created through initiative from the Prime Minister's Office in order to coordinate and mobilize the many groups of women who were already participating in the "self-help" projects associated with the two Food-For-Work schemes. Recognizing that most of the participants in these projects were rural women, the government decided to create a national organization at the grass-roots level, "in order to serve the objective of developing the rural areas." (MULPOC, 1980:5) There is a Central Executive Committee, plus district and village level committees, which work in close association with the existing District and Village Development Committees. Mats'olo a Iketsetse (as the organization is often known), serves not only to recruit and organize the women who participate in "self-help" projects, but encourages and assists these local groups to plan their own rural development projects and income generating activities.

D. National coordination of women's organizations and activities

Some of the local-level women's groups existing before Mats'olo a Iketsetse started were initially established by national or international societies, while others evolved at a local level but later became affiliated with international women's groups. The various church groups, for example, have long been associated with denominational women's organizations throughout the world.

Similarly, some of the local groups are affiliated with the Lesotho National Council of Women (LNCW) which was established in 1964. Its six member groups at present are:

- Lesotho Homemakers' Association
- Lesotho Women's Institute
- Boiteko Women's Association
- Housewives League
- Business and Professional Women
- Ikaheng Women's Club

The total membership of these groups in 1980 was between 2,000 and 3,000. The LNCW has taken initiative in organizing 12 day care centers for working mothers with funding assistance from UNICEF and staff training opportunities in Israel. Other such centers are operated through the Lesotho Day Care and Community Center Group which is assisted by DANIDA of Denmark.

After independence the government placed women's voluntary organizations under the Ministry of Interior's Department of Rural Development,

which has since become the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Development. Groups associated with the LNCW continue with this link and have received some assistance for their activities through this Ministry.

A number of international and national conferences related to women in development have been held since the mid-1970's. These gave many Basotho women the opportunity to share ideas with women of other nations. These meetings increased their awareness of the need for concerted effort to work for improvement in the status of women and participation of women in development. The Economic Commission for Africa's Women's Task Force has assisted and stimulated efforts towards coordination of African women's activities. The fellowship officer in the UNDP is Lesotho's link with UN-based women's activities. The international donor community has also become increasingly interested in Women in Development projects, so that new sources of funding are available. Within Lesotho itself there were conferences on some aspect of women in development in 1977, 1978, 1979 and 1980. In these sessions questions were raised about the social and legal systems which still tend to discriminate against women, the lack of economic opportunities and economic independence for women, the gap between rural and urban women, the persistence of women's own feelings of insecurity, and the lack of coordination of women's activities.

In partial response to these concerns the government decided to establish the second institution concerned with women's affairs: a Bureau of Women's Affairs within the Prime Minister's office in December, 1979. In brief, the terms of reference of the Women's Bureau are:

- To ensure harmony between national development plans and women's organizations.
- To coordinate all development activities by women as individuals or as groups.
- To help with drawing up and interpretation of projects desired by women's organizations.
- To provide women with training in leadership skills, handicrafts and appropriate technology.
- To ensure just and fair treatment of women and the removal of all forms of discrimination.
- To monitor projects submitted by all women's organizations for funding and to ensure that expeditious action is taken to implement them within the resources available to the Government.
- To disseminate information on women's development programs nationally and internationally.

(Directorate of Women and Youth Affairs
1981:8-9)

The Bureau of Women's Affairs is headed by the Commissioner of Women's Affairs who provides liaison between the Government and local women's groups. The Bureau is structurally distinct from the Mats'olo a Iketsetse organization; however shared leadership, office space and political interests make for very close ties between these two groups. (See appendix VI)

The status of the older women's groups is unclear, for the LNCW is still associated with the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Development, yet it also falls under the jurisdiction of the Women's Bureau.

A third and higher level institution, the Directorate of Women and Youth Affairs, came into being in 1981. According to its report of July, 1981:

Policy formulation, general administration, training, data collection, project formulation, appraisal, monitoring and evaluation are done by the Directorate of Women and Youth Affairs on behalf of women's organizations. All communication and requests from the Women's associations to other Ministries or donors will have to be done through the Directorate.

The Directorate is also under the Prime Minister's office. The fact that its two principal officers are men has been a cause of some concern on the part of Lesotho women.

Finally, a fourth institution has been created under the Prime Minister's Office: the Women's Project Identification Committee, which has responsibility for prioritizing women's projects. This committee is chaired by the Director of Women and Youth Affairs, and is composed of representatives of the technical Ministries, the Lesotho Council of Women, the Lesotho Women in Self-help (Mats'olo a Iketsetse), the Commissioner of Women's Affairs and the Projects Planning Unit of the Directorate of Women and Youth Affairs.

This four level institutional structure is currently working on a number of proposals to assist rural women in development activities, with particular emphasis on the establishment of a Women's Training Center at the old Thabana-li-'mele handicrafts site, and encouragement of small income-generating activities and a revolving fund to provide loans for such projects. There are also plans for a review of laws that affect women, and for projects to assist women refugees in Lesotho. With the growing international interest in women's activities, the Directorate and the Women's Bureau are being called upon to play a strategic role in negotiations with all newly proposed WID projects -- a role which is not always understood or welcomed by those who are working in the other branches of the civil service and in established development projects.

E. Women in the civil service and in development projects

1. Extent of female employment in government

Expatriates who have read that decision-making is a male domain in Lesotho are often amazed to see the important role which women now play at all levels in the civil service. With the exodus of many educated men to work in South Africa in the mid-1970's when mine wages were greatly increased women came to dominate the lower levels of the civil service. An ever-increasing number of training programs in clerical, secretarial and book-keeping skills developed to train young women for such posts. More recently there have been many women obtaining university degrees in such fields as sociology, economics, commerce and public administration. As opportunities have opened up for men, who previously dominated the civil service, to move into highly paid posts with international agencies and private or parastatal organizations, a steadily increasing number of middle and high-level government positions have been filled by qualified Basotho women. There are no women as cabinet ministers, but in late 1981 there was one woman as a Permanent Secretary, three at the Deputy Permanent Secretary level, two or three at comparable levels, and perhaps a dozen women as heads of divisions within the 15 government ministries.

Sex disaggregated data on government employment are, unfortunately, not yet available. The Cabinet Personnel Office is currently working on a computerized system for processing the entire government staff list. It is hoped that within a year such information will be readily available. At present, details can only be obtained by working through available staff lists of individual ministries. We can take the case of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Development as an example. In July of 1981 42% of the total 291 listed positions were held by women, representing all grade levels except the very highest: that of Permanent Secretary. Some ministries, like Water, Energy and Mining, with its strong engineering bias, or Interior, with its concern with traditional chieftaincy affairs, have more men than women. Others, in which the majority of local level workers are women, like Education and Health, have more women than men working in the field, but men still hold most of the top level positions. In Agriculture, women make up all the home economics and nutrition staff and are important in horticulture, planning and administration but play a lesser role in the other divisions except at clerical and financial levels.

All of the ministries employ about an equal number of men and women at the lowest, daily labour level: women as cleaners, men as maintenance workers and watchmen, and both as gardeners.

2. Performance of women in administration

Are women in administrative positions able to function as effectively as men, given the patriarchal nature of traditional Basotho society? The answer which I was given in interviews with a number of civil servants of both sexes appears to be "yes" on a professional level

but personal relations and stereotyped attitudes create some problems.

One man admitted that men sometimes make light of a young woman as colleague, saying to themselves "Who is this little girl telling me what to do?" They know, however, that they must follow government procedures and have proper respect for designated authority. A woman said that she finds it helpful to put instructions to subordinate men in writing, for then it is clear that she is acting in her official capacity. If a subordinate fails to obey she has documented proof to require compliance. One informant said that Basotho women in administration may be hampered by three forces: men's reluctance to treat women as adults; the jealousy of other women who see them as competitors for the same jobs or the same boyfriends; and by women's own lack of confidence in themselves, which is often the results of childhood socialization into stereotyped sex roles. Another woman felt that professional women are prevented from advancement because their domestic responsibilities may interfere with their new professional opportunities. After work, when men can go to the hotels for a drink and a bit of extra-office business, professional women must rush to buy food and then rush home to see that their children have been cared for, the house cleaned, the husband's supper cooked, the clothes ready for the next day's work. Men are free to go off to international courses and conferences while women can only do so if they have dependable household help and their husbands' approval--or if they have no husbands. Thus the interface between the domestic and public life affects women much more than men in their professional capacities. Nevertheless, when women do enter the civil service or, in fact, any type of employment, they seem to make a total commitment to their jobs and always manage to find a way to cope with the additional responsibilities they bear for home and family.

In order to manage both their jobs and their homes, professional women almost always hire other women as domestic helpers. Because of the unrecorded number of women who work as domestic servants it is safe to say that any job creation which provides a regular salary for a Mosotho woman is probably creating at least one additional job for a woman in the informal service sector.

An important question to ask about women in the Civil Service--and indeed about men who find employment in government--is the relative importance of professional qualifications and family connections. From the employment records of recent graduates of the National University of Lesotho it appears that any woman who has a university degree can expect to find employment and advancement opportunities within government. How long this will continue remains to be seen, as the number of graduates and the level of unemployment for both sexes increases. It is certainly no longer true that anyone with only a 10th grade (JC) or 12th grade (CSEC and Matric) certificate can find work easily. Males with this level of training can still find work in the Republic of South Africa or Lesotho, whereas most females in this position can only obtain jobs through the contacts which relatives or friends provide.

Families which belong to the chiefly or professional elite are better able to assure that their children can afford the sort of education which will give them the qualifications necessary for top positions. Furthermore, many of the women holding senior posts in the government have added advantage of respect accorded them because they are the children of, or the wives of, men in high position. Also women who are secure in their family and political position dare to be much more outspoken in public than others. However more and more Basotho women from all social groups and political backgrounds are obtaining the academic credentials and the professional experience to enable them to take important roles in public life. Most of them are eager for training opportunities which will help them improve their skills and gain the confidence necessary to overcome old inhibitions, to take advantage of new opportunities, and to set new patterns of equality between the sexes.

3. Women in secretarial and clerical posts

Women at the lower levels of the civil service, as well as the private and parastatal sectors, face additional problems. There appears to be an unhealthy cycle of unskilled people being hired for unchallenging jobs, with little explanation, responsibility or training given to them. Unsatisfactory, indifferent and unproductive performance is too often the result. One secretary employed by an international organization said "I don't know anything about these development projects they support. We are in the background. They just call me if they need a letter or something typed, without ever explaining what it is all about."

At the clerical level, as well as the senior decision-making level, much more could be done to train, to involve, and to challenge the Basotho staff who are hired. Also more could be done to train women workers to overcome the cultural inhibitions which may limit their performance and to learn to take more decisive, efficient and confident leadership roles and hence to contribute their full potential to the development efforts of the agencies which hire them.

4. Stability of the female work force

When data on the civil service staff list are available they should give some indications of the relative stability and length of service of men and women. It is often said that women don't stay on jobs long because they go off to get married, to have babies, or to follow their husbands. On the other hand, it is said that men who are given technical or advanced training then leave for highly paid jobs in the Republic of South Africa or abroad. Both men and women are eager to leave low-paid and unchallenging jobs in order to move on to posts which offer more prospect for advancement and training. However there are far more educated women looking for work in Maseru than men, with the result that women often stick to secure jobs because there are few alternatives available. Furthermore, women who must support their own children and fear the uncertainties of modern marriage probably value the security of a long-term dependable job over the risks of speculation on the job market. Finally, although women's

time on the job may be affected by pregnancies and maternity leave, poor job performance and absenteeism because of alcoholism is almost exclusively a problem of male, not female employees.

5. Conditions of service for women workers

The civil service grading scale assures that female government employees receive equal pay for equal work according to job experience and academic credentials once a post has been allocated. The same applies in most private jobs. However there remain obstacles to equality for workers in both categories. Some complaints are difficult to document because they are not a result of any defined policy. Women often mention the following types of informal job discriminations:

- That men are advanced more rapidly to higher levels in businesses or on the government establishment list than women.
- That qualified women are often hired and retained for many months on a "temporary" basis, while male colleagues are quickly confirmed in regular salaried positions. While on such "temporary" employment, wages are lower and rights to paid maternity leave, study programs and other benefits are not established.
- That women are often given senior responsibilities on an "acting" basis, only to be replaced as soon as a qualified man is available.

Other problems which are of great concern to professional and other working women are well-established features of the Public Service Regulations, the Employment Act, or established policy of the Civil Service or of private employers. For example:

- According to the Public Service Regulations of 1969 (governing all establishment posts) if an unmarried female civil servant on regular pensionable status gets married, she automatically loses her post and must request re-employment; but this can only be on a "temporary" month-by-month basis. She is thus no longer eligible for a pension and only gets a "gratuity" after at least ten years of government service.
- According to a 1970 Amendment to the Public Service Regulations, it has become possible for a woman to petition to remain on a pensionable basis; but by 1981 only one or two women in Lesotho had been granted such status.
- Dependents' allowance of 60% of salary is automatically given to men in the civil service who are on study leave, but only to women if they can prove "that they themselves are the sole bread-winners of their respective families". (National Empower Circular No. 47 of 1977) This creates particular problems for women who must contribute substantially to the support of their own children even if

married, as well as to women who have financial obligations to siblings, parents and other extended family members. Many women must forego training opportunities because they have obligations which can only be met by continuing on a full salaried basis.

--By the Employment Act of 1967 as amended in 1977, all salaried women are entitled to 60 days of maternity leave which "may be paid leave." This is a short period indeed, and since many employers do not give paid leave, women often return to work only a few weeks after delivery.

--Women are also legally entitled to half an hour twice a day if they are breast-feeding a child, but this is utterly unsatisfactory for a mother of an infant if there is considerable distance between home and place of work. Perhaps the new emphasis on the value of breast-feeding will support efforts to bring about changes in this area, as well as to make more creche and day-care facilities available for urban working mothers. As one leading woman civil servant said, "Having a child is a service to the nation for which women should be given adequate leave and recognition."

--According to civil law, a husband has the right to take his wife from a job, since she is not legally able to enter a contract without the husband's authorization (although she may actually have done so in her husband's absence.) A husband in a professional family will rarely take such action, but it is a threat which a man can always hold over his wife's head and it does happen with less well educated, more conservative husbands who resent a working wife's new economic independence. In a number of jobs a married woman is even required to produce a letter of approval from her husband before she will be accepted.

6. Extension workers

The village-level delivery system for rural development activities depends upon extension workers and technical field personnel from the various ministries such as Agriculture, Cooperatives and Rural Development, Education and Health.

The Ministry of Agriculture has the largest civil service staff

in the districts, with a total of 235 men and 153 women in 1981. Women make up 100% of the nutrition and home economics staff, 30% of those in crops, 18% in livestock, and 12% in the extension section itself, which is primarily concerned with supervision and operation of the Farmers' Training Centers. Current policy is to combine the formerly specialized crops, livestock and forestry workers into a single core of generalist extension workers. This policy is being resisted by some on the grounds of past specialized training and the fear that women will not be well received in matters dealing with large livestock. If the policy is implemented it may further restrict the opportunities for women to be employed within the extension service except in the traditionally female fields of home economics and nutrition. Yet it is recognized that the majority of Basotho involved in crop farming, horticulture, poultry and pig raising, and fuel wood gathering are women; thus female extension workers with the same frame of reference as women farmers, are urgently needed in these fields.

Several reasons are given for reluctance to appoint women to agricultural extension positions, even in crops. It is often said that women do not want to work in the rural areas; that they will not ride on horseback or motorcycles; that they are not easily satisfied with available rural housing; that marriage and pregnancy may prevent them from remaining in their posts; that their modern manner of dress may alienate the villagers to whom they are sent. However if these were insurmountable problems, it is difficult to explain the presence of 80 qualified nutritionists and home economists successfully working in the districts, many assigned to village locations. Furthermore, among male staff too there are problems of reluctance to take mountain postings, impermanence due to upward job mobility, and socially unacceptable behavior. Several informants insisted that it is not gender, but character, maturity, and commitment to rural development which are the essentials for effective extension work by either sex. Certainly it would be wise to make an effort to recruit and train more mature women who already live in the mountain areas and are settled, respected members of the rural farming community. Such staff would be more permanent than young urbanites of either sex whose ambitions are to climb the central civil service ladder. Such a strategy would also help to meet the desperate need for rural employment opportunities for women. When the Farming Systems Program advertised for survey data collectors in their rural prototype areas there were 33 applicants, all but 2 of whom were women, and all 13 of the successful candidates were women.

The Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Development established a cadre of young Community Development Assistants (CDA's) in 1980 in response to the government's policies of decentralization and integrated rural development. Their responsibilities are to motivate villagers to full participation in all types of development activities and to assist in the support and payment of participants in self-help (Food-For-Work) programs under this ministry. A tabulation in April of 1981 showed 43 men and 68 women in the ministry's district staff. At the top level there were 7 men as Officers in Charge of Ministry Affairs (OIMA's) and one woman as acting OIMA. At the middle level there were 6 men

and 9 women. At the grass-roots level there were 20 men and 58 women, with an additional 10 men as drivers. Thus in this ministry, women seem to have the opportunity to play a very significant role in extension work. This may be linked to the importance which the government attaches to the self-help projects whose workers are 98% female. However the CDA's are generally very young people, just out of school, with no specialized training for their jobs. The real organizers of the self-help projects are the village women's groups now organized in most places as Lesotho Women in Self-Help groups, and the paid foremen, almost all males, who give technical oversight.

Village school teachers play a crucial role in local rural development. As in many other fields, women predominate in the lower levels and hence are more often found than men in the small village primary schools. Data on regional distribution of teachers by sex are not available. However, distribution by qualification and type of school is summarized in Table 8. Since most of the unqualified teachers are found in small village primary schools, and since most rural areas away from towns do not have secondary schools, it is evident that women make up the majority of rural village school teachers.

Table 8

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS
BY QUALIFICATION AND SEX

qualification	male	female	total	female as % of total
Primary				
Unqualified	201	1494	1695	88.1
Qualified	1023	2064	3087	66.9
Secondary				
Unqualified	73	105	178	59.0
Qualified	408	354	762	46.5
TOTAL	1705	4017	5722	70.2

Source: Educational Statistics, 1979 Tables 6, 7, 27

Likewise in the medical field women play the majority roles in the rural areas, single-handedly staffing about 80 rural clinics to which hospital-based doctors and the "Flying Doctor Service" make fortnightly or monthly visits. Most of the doctors are men; however all but two of Lesotho's 400 to 500 nurses are women. In 1980 a new program was inaugurated to train experienced double-qualified nurse-midwives to be Nurse Clinicians. There are now 22 such women who have just graduated and another group being trained. The Nurse Clinicians will manage rural health centers from which they will provide basic medical services and offer training and supervision to cadres of volunteer Village Health

Workers. Most of these nurses are the chief bread-winners for their families. The few who are married may find it difficult to accept postings in isolated mountain areas away from their husbands and children. However this problem is faced by many Basotho women who find they must live apart from their families in order to continue in professional posts or other types of wage employment.

F. Women in the private and parastatal sectors

As the number of factories, shops, hotels, banks and other commercial enterprises expands in Maseru and some of the district centers, more and more women are finding employment opportunities. Preliminary data from a study by the National Manpower Secretariat gives a breakdown by sex and job level in this sector within Lesotho. (Table 9)

Table 9

By Industry

Industry	males	females	total	females as % of total
Mining	461	10	471	2.1
Manufacturing	552	901	1453	62.0
Electricity	200	27	227	11.9
Construction	2190	48	2238	2.1
Commerce & Tourism	2474	4187	6661	62.9
Transport	349	49	398	12.3
Business, Service, Finance, Engineering	590	462	1052	43.9
Other Services	168	220	388	56.7
Totals	6984	5904	12888	45.8

By Occupation

Occupation	males	females	total	females as % of total
Professional, Technical	336	72	408	17.6
Administrator, Managerial	280	57	337	16.9
Clerical and related	1267	1305	2572	50.7
Sales workers	1459	3212	4671	68.8
Service workers	215	497	712	69.8
Production workers	3427	761	4188	18.2
Totals	6984	5904	12888	45.8

Source: preliminary data, National Manpower Secretariat, 1983

Women can be seen to predominate in manufacturing, commerce and tourism, and in "other services." They represent 45.8% of all employees recorded. However it should be noted that there are more men in the top professional, technical, administrative and managerial levels with women in the majority at the lower clerical, sales and service levels.

This survey covered 400 major establishments: those with at least 20 employees, except for the category of "other services" where some with as few as 10 workers were included. There are no comprehensive data on the many smaller businesses and manufacturing enterprises, nor on self-employed workers and privately employed persons. Employment data from the 1976 census are illuminating but already out of date in Lesotho's rapidly changing economy. If current information existed on small knitting and sewing operations, restaurants, cafes, street vendors and domestic servants, for example, women would be seen to play an even greater role in both the formal and informal sectors of Lesotho's economy. Of the 90 to 94 business projects assisted by Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation (BEDCO), 21 are owned and managed by women and many employ women workers.

There are no figures on the numbers of women employed in domestic work, although the 1976 census lists 45,128 Basotho women in Lesotho and 7,884 in South Africa working in "community, social and personal services," which includes those personally employed as "domestic hands." (Statistics, 1976 Population Census Tables, Vol. III, Table 16.) The wages received by women in domestic work, particularly within Lesotho, are often lower than the government's established minimum wage of M2.00 per day. A study of work opportunities in the formal and informal job sectors conducted by university students in 1980 showed that self-employed workers, such as craftsmen and women and street vendors, generally made more than those with the lowest paid jobs in the formal sector (Teillet-Waldorf 1980:28). It is essential to document the innovative strategies of urban men and women seeking to make a living in the informal sector.

Women play key roles in the leadership and membership of the labour movement in Lesotho. In the Lesotho Council of Workers, 66.8% of the 8468 adult members are women, as are most of the office staff. There are also many women members in the Lesotho Federation of Trade Unions, and again women play major roles in union leadership.

G. Training opportunities

The creation of new jobs falls far short of the goals set in the Second Development Plan, but women have claimed a large share of the urban jobs which do exist. Such opportunities, as well as the increasing number of private businesses in which women are engaged, and the linking of salaries to academic qualifications, have stimulated women's eagerness for opportunities to continue their education. Basotho women of all ages, whether married or single, employed or unemployed, find ways to continue their education. Table 10 gives the most current available data on enrolment in various study programs. This illustrates the extent to

which women participate in training programs which are supported by government funds and/or international donor agencies.

Table 10

PART-TIME STUDY AND ADVANCED TRAINING PROGRAMS
SHOWING PARTICIPATION BY SEX

Program	males	females	total	women as % of total
Lesotho Distance Teaching Center				
Correspondence courses - Junior				
Certificate(Grade 10)	172	228	400	57.0
0-Level or Matric (Grade 12)	63	48	111	44.0
Center for Accountancy Studies	37	11	48	22.9
Lesotho Agricultural College	71	72	143	50.3
Lerotholi Polytechnical Institute				
Technical Training School	68	4	72	5.6
Lerotholi Technical Institute	176	6	182	3.3
Commercial Training Institute	5	152	157	96.8
National Teacher's Training College (1979)	198	624	822	75.9
National University of Lesotho				
Institute of Labor Studies (IEMS)	13	18	31	58.1
Part-time Business Studies Program (IEMS)	71	173	244	70.9
Part-time degree Program (IEMS)	29	31	60	51.7
Full-time degree Program	589	502	1091	46.0
Basotho graduates from foreign- sponsored courses overseas (1976-80 total)	150	73	223	32.7
Basotho students abroad as of Dec. 1980	305	122	427	28.6

It can be seen that there are more women than men in most of the lower level courses except for technical training schools. More men than women have the opportunity to go abroad for advanced education. Sex role stereotyping continues to play a role in the type of study women undertake. The majority of women who have studied abroad are in the fields of secretarial work, home economics, health and education; very few have

been in management, business or the technical and scientific fields.

H. Village level development workers

In addition to the voluntary women's organizations and women who participate in village committees, cooperative societies and self-help projects, groups of village level workers or "village practitioners" are envisioned in several new development projects. For example, Village Health Workers, Village Water Minders, Village Sanitation Officers and Village Energy Technicians are mentioned in USAID funded projects. The first two programs have already become operative although further expansion in numbers, training and support structure is planned.

There are at present about 500 Village Health Workers (VHW's) trained and supervised from 27 rural hospitals and clinics. The government hospital in Quthing, Scott Hospital in Morija and St. Joseph's Hospital at Roma took early initiative in instituting such Primary Health Care Systems.

The program at St. Joseph's is illustrative of how the system is presently working. The program began in 1978 with a series of village meetings or pitsos in the Roma area at which the Mosotho nurse in charge explained the program and asked that villagers be selected for training. A two-week workshop was then held in which the trainees (16 women and 2 men) discussed what they themselves felt to be needed in order to make their communities better places. On the basis of issues the trainees raised, a curriculum was then developed for a second two-week workshop held a few months later. Subsequently the VHW's have met for weekly or fortnightly training sessions at the hospital and have been visited by the supervisor several times a month. In 1980 a second group of 25 were trained, coming from Thaba Bosiu, Nazareth and Peka. Training sessions have dealt with the following topics:

1. Recognizing and treating common ailments such as diarrhoea, scabies, colds, sores and wounds.
2. Medical conditions for which villagers should be motivated and assisted to attend the hospital or clinic, such as ante-natal care and childbirth, ongoing TB treatment, fractures and serious complaints.
3. Environmental health work such as protection of water supplies, construction of latrines, and provision of nutritious food by growing gardens.

The VHW's receive no salary, but are entitled to free outpatient treatment at St. Joseph's Hospital for themselves, and an initial medical kit which they keep replenished by charging villagers very minimal fees for simple medication and treatment.

One typical VHW near Roma is a woman in her late 50's who was once a village school teacher. Having her own well-appointed village home and

receiving financial assistance from her adult working children, she is not anxious to leave the village or to seek regular employment. She has 60 households in her care and tries to visit each home several times a month. She keeps particular watch on TB outpatients, pregnant women, mothers of young children and those with other known medical problems. She attends to simple cases at her home as the need arises. She keeps a record book of individuals who come for help, of advice or medicine given, and of fees received (typically 1c for aspirin and 10-20c for dressing a wound or sore.)

Another VHW in the mountains is a 30 year old widow, anxious to fill her time and her loneliness by helping others. Having little education she has no hope of finding employment in the town which is an hour's walk away, although she derives a small income from renting an extra house and selling goods which her truck-driver brother regularly brings from Natal. Through her new role as a VHW she feels that she is able to play a constructive role in the modernization process which she values.

The St. Joseph's program has had a remarkable rate of continuity in its VHW's. Of the first 18 trained, all but one (who died in a road accident) were still serving in mid-1981. Three of the 17 had been forced by financial problems to take full or part-time employment but were continuing to provide primary health care after hours. The supervisor attributed the success of the program to the careful selection criteria which were introduced at the initial village meetings: that the VHWs must be settled, mature married people who already enjoyed the respect of the village. Thus the training and equipment simply gave recognition and specialized medical resources for them to continue in already established roles within the community. I am sure that much of the success should also be attributed to the ongoing participatory type of training, the regular supervision given to each individual worker, the technical support which the hospital gave for gardening and environmental health projects, and the enthusiasm of the supervisor herself.

The Village Water Supply program, with UNICEF assistance, has already trained 250 Village Water Minders to provide regular maintenance services for pipes, communal taps, protected springs and occasionally for diesel pumps. Another 547 Village Water Minders are to be trained under the new USAID funded expansion of the Village Water Supply project. About 25% of the present Water Minders are women. Each person receives a basic tool kit upon completion of his or her week long training course. They do not receive payment from the government, but are to be paid by the village itself, usually with current village contributions but occasionally from funds deposited when a village water supply was first requested.

1. Participation of women in agricultural development projects

Recognizing the importance of Basotho women as household heads and farm managers, and the "Women in Development" concerns of donor agencies, a number of projects are anxious to assure full female participation in project activities. Certainly women attend village pirsos, visit agricul-

tural offices and Village Distribution Points to buy inputs, and participate fully as members in Village Development and agricultural committees. For example, in the village where I lived in 1977, the majority of the members of a new "Farmers' cooperative" were women. Women also took operational positions on the cooperative committee serving as secretary and treasurer, measuring field acreage and recording ploughing fees. However, as is usually the case in Basotho organizations which involve both sexes, it was a man who took the leading role as chairman and men who came as extension agents and tractor drivers.

The new Farming Systems Research Project has made a great effort to involve both men and women in its village agricultural committees and to employ local women for data collection. At recent training programs for agricultural committees in the three prototype areas there were 41 male and 55 female committee members. USAID's new Range Management Project may have more difficulty, for both men and women are likely to assume that any activity concerning livestock is the affair of men. If such a project is genuinely supposed to involve and benefit women as the project paper says, it will have to make an extra effort to overcome cultural stereotypes and insure women's active participation.

Women are welcome and invited to attend agricultural courses held at the five Farmer's Training Centers. Annual reports show more women than men attending courses for adult farmers and participating in young farmers' training programs. However many village women farmers are unable to attend agricultural courses because of child care responsibilities or because their husbands or in-laws won't allow them to spend the nights away from home. Agricultural projects which aim at involving women should make concerted efforts to organize training courses in villages during early evening hours or slack-season periods so that women will be able to attend despite such family-imposed restrictions.

J. The role of the mass media in rural development

A very powerful force for changing rural attitudes and conveying information is the radio--often neglected by expatriates who cannot understand Sesotho. Probably 50% of rural households either own or listen to a radio at some time during the day. Radio Lesotho devotes much of its time to educational, public service and development-oriented programs. Woman's Bureau sponsored pitsos and meetings of Lesotho Women in Self-Help groups are regularly announced. Many of the radio programs of the ministries of Agriculture, Cooperatives and Rural Development, Health, Education and of the Food and Nutrition Coordinating Office and the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies are planned and presented by women announcers and information officers.

However, much radio time is also devoted to the re-broadcasting speeches by leading government officials; almost invariably these are men. Thus, although women play a major role in announcing and providing technical development information, the radio tends to reinforce the traditional cultural norms and political realities of men as public leaders in the highest positions.

III. WOMEN AS DECISION MAKERS AND INNOVATORS

A number of frequently asked policy related questions about women in development have already been discussed within the foregoing descriptive sections of this report. However there are two issues which cut across all topics dealt with; they will be looked at in more detail in this summary section.

A. Are Basotho women decision makers?

The first, and most frequently asked question about women in Lesotho is whether they are really able to be independent decision makers, or whether "decision making and command over resources (remain) male domains" (MULPOC, Lesotho Country Paper 1980:2) Apparently contradictory statements are often seen in donor agency reports, strategy statements and project papers.

As in all social questions, it is necessary to distinguish between cultural norms and action-based realities. Generalizations are often based on stated norms about the culture, or on survey questions which ask who normally makes decisions about a particular issue. Subsequent case studies may show women taking far more initiative in making and carrying out decisions than they dare to admit. (See Section D-3-h for detailed discussion of women in agriculture). One mature woman expressed the dilemma of many professional Basotho women by saying "We as women feel we must retain our culture and preserve Basotho values"; yet she herself, and others like her, are taking creative leadership roles within the government's development programs.

A second essential distinction to make is that between decision making in the public, professional domain, and decision making in the private or domestic domain. As we have seen above, there is no doubt but that Basotho women now hold many senior positions in which they make and carry out decisions including control of ministerial planning units, approval of development projects, allocation of government funds, office and staff and project administration, and assignment of tasks to subordinates. The extent to which they are really decision makers is often difficult to tell, because the outsider cannot know all the pressures which operate upon individuals. Women as chiefs generally have male advisors and relatives who may influence decisions, but a woman's seniority in age, wealth, and lineage is very important. Women in the civil service are respected and must be obeyed because of their qualifications, experience and position. However we have seen that the most senior positions in the government, particularly those at the cabinet level, are all held by men. Furthermore, the top posts in the political party structure are also controlled by men. It is unclear to what extent the private relationships of kinship and marriage, as well as the inhibitions of early sex-role socialization and the current pressures of party politics impinge upon the autonomy of women in high level positions. Many women, like many men in the civil service, are articulate and forceful if secure in their family and political positions, while others may have to be more cautious for fear of losing the positions they have achieved. Women in the private sector take a great deal of initiative if they are in business for themselves,

but their scope is much more limited within firms owned and operated by foreign, male-dominated organizations. Likewise women working in international donor agencies are often surrounded by senior male expatriate staff which may prevent them from taking the decision-making initiatives of which they would be capable.

Turning from the public to the private domain, we must again make an important distinction: between rural and urban households, or between households controlled by traditional rural norms and those which are committed to more modern ways of life, wherever they happen to be located. In the rural areas and the more traditional urban families, the man is still recognized as the household head, responsible for decision making, in control of household resources, and responsible for all the actions of his dependents. Even the female household heads who have no husbands may feel obliged to turn to male relatives for decisions or approval in certain matters if their economic position is not secure. But again distinctions must be made, and it is certainly no longer true that "amongst the Basotho ... men are given all the powers of decision-making and responsibility" (Farming Systems Project Paper 1978:42).

All Basotho with whom I spoke, both men and women, insisted that women do in fact make many of the decisions within the family, as well as decisions about cultivation and household property in the absence of their husbands. Again it is important to recognize the relationship between cultural norms and action-based reality. When a husband is present, it may still be the woman who is the innovative decision maker, but she may then find a way to persuade her husband to support the decision she has already taken. One woman said "It's good for men's mental health to feel that they are running things." Husbands and wives normally must consult with each other about allocation of family property; it is actually rare for either party to make an absolutely independent decision which goes against the will of the other. When a husband is absent, a young inexperienced wife may seek the advice, instruction or approval of the husband through letter-writing or of male relatives who live nearby. A confident mature woman or one who is estranged from her husband may simply go ahead and take action as necessary. There are, however, many cases of conflict, often leading to severe wife beating, when a long absent man attempts to reassert his normative male authority over a wife who has grown accustomed to independent decision making.

A crucial variable in domestic decision-making is whether the matter concerns the nuclear family alone, or the larger patrilineal extended family. Matters of household property or child care, for example, may be considered as strictly household affairs and a wife may act on her own in the absence of the husband. However matters concerning baptisms, marriages, funerals, and the disposition of livestock, fields or property which are linked with the larger family group, may be referred to the husband and to his relatives.

Another variable is the nature of the marital bond. If a woman has not yet been married with bridewealth payment, or if she and her in-laws and husband are not getting along well, she may turn to her own family

for advice, or simply make her own decisions, perhaps even leaving her married home to take up independent residence and seek employment in one of the urban areas.

Perhaps the most basic variable is the control of economic resources --a theme which has run throughout this report. If a woman is totally dependent upon remittances sent by her migrant husband, she is almost totally bound by his wishes in the allocation of those funds. If she has an independent source of income she has a much greater degree of autonomy in the use of money. If a widow has no independent means, she must seek advice and support from the relatives upon whom she depends; if she has considerable household assets she may be fiercely independent in running her household, anxious to preserve her assets for herself and her children.

Turning from the traditional rural to the modern family we find women taking much more independent roles. One female informant said that rural women know how to win the battle quietly, acting the subservient role and letting their husbands feel dominant; but urban intellectual women have dropped the pretense of being subservient. They are confident and assertive, holding their own jobs, making their own investments and insisting upon new patterns of equality with husbands if marriage is to survive. Many young women with the means to support themselves and their children simply do not choose to marry and to be "under a man" in the first place. Others enter what they hope will be a happy modern marriage of equals, only to find themselves disappointed and separated in a few years. Thus young educated women strive to establish the security of education, a job, independent business ventures and assets, and a habit of making decisions for themselves and their children, fearing that they may have to take sole responsibility for their lives at any moment.

Simple generalizations about decision making in Lesotho--indeed in any society--are not tenable. If foreign assisted development projects are to pay genuine attention to the role of women in development in Lesotho they must take account of the changes which are actually taking place rather than let themselves be guided by old norms which serve to keep women in the background.

B. Are Basotho women conservative or innovative?

A second general question which is often asked is: are women in rural Lesotho conservative traditionalists as women are in many African countries, or are they innovators? It seems clear that in Lesotho women are eager to be in the forefront of change although there are many constraints which limit their options for action.

Lesotho is a very mobile society. Basotho women, as well as men, have participated in labour migration to South Africa for over a century. One is often amazed to learn how many women, often the most elderly, have spent long periods of their lives working for Afrikaans farm families near the borders, or for urban households in Johannesburg and Pretoria, as well as brewing in the back yards of South African cities and visiting

relatives in Natal and in the mining towns and Free State villages. Such women learned new ways of growing crops, processing food, using European household utensils, feeding their babies, and earning and using money. It is not only migrant men who have been influenced by the technology and consumer goods of the nation within which Lesotho is encapsulated. South African traders have brought new commodities to remote interior areas since the 19th century, selling the same furniture, stoves, tools, foods and which they sell in the Republic. The very fact that passport regulations as well as household and agricultural responsibilities keep most women in the rural areas today, makes them all the more eager to participate in the modern technological world to which their men migrate.

Secondly, the relatively high level of female literacy and education exposes women to new ideas and raises aspirations which cannot often be fulfilled in the rural areas. Women are keen to read about new products and activities. Where this hunger is filled by nothing except mail-order catalogues, women's potential for innovation is channeled into the desire for the latest fashions and consumer goods rather than into productive rural development activities. Women also listen to the technical advice given on Radio Lesotho and at pitsos; they may be much better informed than their husbands about the latest type of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, cultivation methods, and the environmental changes necessary for healthy living. Women have created their own cooperative work groups and savings associations long before there were any "development projects" to do so.

The problem is whether or not women have the power to take initiative to effect the changes they desire. The principal constraint is lack of money which they can control and use for communal and individual homestead and agricultural innovation. A second constraint is infrastructure. A mountain woman who must walk or ride a horse to Mokhotlong and then fly to Maseru to visit a sick relative is painfully aware of the difficulty of bringing goods and changes she wishes into her mountain village far from the motor road. A third constraint is health and child-care duties. Because of malnutrition, repeated pregnancies, and ill health, she may simply not have the energy to put new ideas into practice. A fourth constraint relates to the previous discussion of autonomy and decision making. To the extent that a rural woman is still controlled by her husband and in-laws, she may have no way to effect changes unless she has the financial means and the support of others within the community.

I believe that the impact of migrant labour of men may actually raise the interest of women in innovation and reinforce the conservative tendencies of rural men. This is because women are eager for a taste of the world in which their husbands live and work; but men who must be separated from their families are dependent upon the stability of rural families to provide the only security they can hope for. As they sit in the mine compounds many dream of the old familiar ways of home-- of their cattle, their fields, their rondavels and their families. If women become too independent and preoccupied with new activities, if the reciprocities of traditional families are broken, if there is too much social change,

they may find it difficult to fit back into rural living. It is not surprising that a returned migrant may lash out in anger at his wife if she has become involved in new economic activities and social relations or has undertaken homestead and farming innovations which he does not understand and did not authorize.

There are, of course, other migrants who are as eager as their wives for rural change, but they too must face the constraints of money, isolation and possible ill-health at the end of their mining careers. They may also face the disapproval of other members of their community who are jealous of anyone who seems too prosperous or too different from the rest. Given such constraints, one can understand why many rural men and women prefer to cling to proven traditional ways of survival in this difficult mountain environment, rather than risk their limited time, energy and assets on unproven innovations introduced by foreigners. As has been seen in many societies, it is only those who have the freedom to leave the rural areas altogether, who can risk a radical break from traditional ways. Only if there is adequate financial and technical support can the poorest of the rural community take the place which they would wish in the process of development.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

How can international donor agencies give greater support to the integration of women in development in Lesotho?

1. Do not impose stereotypes about women from other third world countries

Recognize the unique situation of Lesotho because of the migrant labour of men, the long contact with South Africa, the educational level of women, and the important role women already play in development at all levels.

2. Do not impose stereotypes from Western society

On the one hand, this means being free from old western assumptions of the colonial era: that woman's place is in the home, that households are normally headed and supported by men, that women do not take significant roles in government, that women prefer secretarial work to carpentry, etc. Lesotho is changing rapidly and Basotho women must be encouraged to find their own ways of participating in the process without being restricted by imported stereotypes.

On the other hand, we must be cautious advocating new ideas of women's problems and roles which are appropriated in Western legal, social and economic systems but which might have disastrous effects on Basotho society. Sexist language, for example, may be a serious problem in English, whereas it is irrelevant in Sesotho which uses the same pronouns for male and female. Language is, however, an issue in donor agency documents; if rural farmers are always referred to as he rather than she, western technicians are likely to forget that the majority of Basotho farms are managed by women. (Compare, for example, the use of "he" in Farming Systems PP with "he/she" in the Land Conservation and Range Management PP when referring to Basotho farmers.)

The liberation of women from traditional constraints is as important to Basotho women as to Americans or Europeans, but must be worked out by Basotho themselves in light of the overwhelming problems of the liberation movement for black men and women in southern Africa, and the disintegration of family life and trust between men and women, which are worrying features of contemporary Basotho life.

3. Be knowledgeable about women in both rural and urban Lesotho

Read background material on women in Lesotho. Observe and talk with women wherever possible--not as subordinates but as colleagues and friends. Learn to be listeners to women. This will require particular efforts for male expatriates whose sex, race and economic position may prove intimidating to all but the most confident and articulate women. Learn Sesotho and use to open new channels of communication. Listen to Radio Lesotho and be aware of what is in the Sesotho newspapers--with the help of a translator as necessary. Read reports about international conferences involving women in Africa, particularly where Basotho women have

participated, as well as the activities of UN Economic Commission for Africa's Women's Task Force in Addis Abbaba. Invite Basotho women planners and leaders to report on women's conferences, training programs and organizations and to give their own ideas concerning the economic, legal, social and professional problems Basotho women face.

4. Collect, report and utilize sex-disaggregated data

Include data on women in base-line survey designs and record sex-disaggregated data in project implementation and evaluation. Assist women to collect detailed information over time on the roles of women in each sector of the economy; note particularly their allocations of time, labour and money, and the legal and other constraints women face.

5. Include women in project planning, implementation and evaluation

This means being sure that there are women among the expatriate teams which write, execute and evaluate donor-assisted projects and among short term consultants and contracted technicians. Basotho women who are already playing significant roles in government may be unable to take the full initiatives of which they are capable if their only counterparts are white male members of the powerful foreign-aid technocracy. In 1980, for example, only one out of the 83 expatriates working above the volunteer level in the Ministry of Agriculture was a woman.

This also means making every effort to employ and encourage Basotho co-workers in project planning and implementation. If the available "manpower" pool does not include appropriate women candidates, extra efforts must be made at recruitment and training, and in providing the kind of working conditions which will encourage productive levels of performance.

At rural levels there must be sensitivity to the dynamics of male and female division of labour, communication and social relations. Female extension workers must be sought out and then given adequate support so that they can travel about to work with rural women.

6. Monitor all projects for their impact upon women

In this male migrant labour dominated society, all projects are in a sense "women-in-development" projects. Yet it is not sufficient to assume that because women are numerically predominant in the rural areas they will benefit from any type of development project. Nor is it sufficient to write a token paragraph about women in development in a project paper or a report. Explicit efforts may have to be made to identify and work with female-headed households, to take training programs to women if they cannot attend centralized courses, to build credit facilities of which women can take advantage, and to involve women in project committees and as beneficiaries of inputs.

Care should be taken in balancing traditional male and female domains to make sure that women do not lose out in the development process. For example, conversion of fields to fodder production may deprive a wife of land for cultivation of family food and the means of generating income by brewing. Restriction of cattle to distant fenced pastures and improvement of grazing land by removal of indigenous shrubs may deprive women of both dung and wood fuel. Village level planning must be taken seriously and must consider the needs of all segments of the population--not just select spokesmen.

7. Do not confine Women-in-development projects to traditional female activities, but give assistance to women who are seeking new opportunities in a rapidly changing society

The growing interest of the international donor community in specific women's projects can be an important supplement to more general development activities and can help to correct male bias in previous projects. However, WID projects should not be confined to traditional women's activities. In a speech which Queen 'Mamohato gave in 1977 she said that women should be told precisely and truthfully what is on the "development maps" they are offered and they should decide what they like best. She continued:

There are certain maps which are likely to be offered: maps appropriate to housekeeping and mothercraft..... (These are maps which) create mild interest in old women who may feel that something is better than nothing. (But) the maps that we would accept are those that outline development that is least rural and least womanish. They should present opportunities that may also interest young men no longer keen to inherit the plough and the ox's tail.

(Queen 'Mamohato, 1977 Women in Development Conf.)

This is not to deny the importance of nutrition, health and family planning programs, of village water supplies, labour saving technologies, handicrafts and agriculture. Such programs should certainly be strengthened to give women the health, the time and the support to provide for their families and to engage in additional productive work through which they can derive cash income and contribute to the nation's economy. Several new women-oriented development projects as well as the Woman's Bureau itself, have given high priority to supporting income-generating activities for rural women. Women only continue to brew beer for sale because it is a product they know how to produce with the resources at hand and for which a market is assured. Women must be taught new skills, appropriate to a realistic assessment of existing markets and of products and skills needed in the rural areas. Training and support might be given to women in such fields as irrigation, carpentry, sheet metal work, brick-making, home construction and maintenance,

and repair of stoves and machines for knitting and sewing.

Women need consumer education to protect them from false advertising, to help them make wise investment choices, and to understand the workings of credit unions, cooperative societies, bank accounts and insurance programs.

Women should have the opportunity to read and study the laws that affect them, particularly in the areas of family, property, contract, employment and land tenure. There should be chances to discuss and seek modifications in laws. There should also be counseling for women who cannot afford to hire lawyers, so that they may know and claim their rights. Women should also be taught about the migrant labour system and their rights as dependents of migrant men.

School girls and women need a wide range of role models and guidance in career planning in light of changing labour needs and new opportunities. Those who undertake careers in previously male-dominated fields, as well as those who work in the civil service and the business and professional world, should have opportunities for discussion and training as women, with women, which will strengthen their ability to use their potential to the fullest.

Finally, more programs should recognize and further develop the high level of literacy of rural women. Many women lack the chance to use their education once they leave school and take on the responsibilities of family, home and farm management. In addition to strengthening the work of the Lesotho Distance Teaching Center there could be study groups for women and rural newspapers and magazines. Such publications would keep rural women informed about development initiatives taken by women in different parts of Lesotho and Africa as well as encouraging rural Basotho women to write their own stories, articles and news items.

8. Be sensitive to, but do not be deterred by the political implications of women's activities

It should not be surprising that there are political overtones to women's activities in Lesotho, as in most other African societies. There are political aspects of every donor funded project in Lesotho as in the donor countries themselves. The very fact that the government of Lesotho has sought to enlist women's support for its policies and to establish a new institutional framework for coordinating and monitoring women's projects is testimony to the new awareness of the power women have, both in Lesotho and in the international community. To refuse to work through existing women's institutions because of politics would be tantamount to saying that women should remain like children, uninvolved in the power structures which determine a nation's destiny.

However donor agencies must be sensitive to the variety of political positions that exist. They must work to strengthen the technical capacities of all women's groups, ministries and projects

and strive to ensure that all Basotho women benefit, regardless of religious affiliation, party allegiance or geographical region.

9. Be sure that women at all socio-economic levels benefit from development projects

There is an increasing gap between the educated urban elite and both the rural and urban poor. There is a danger that women of the former group may benefit most from development projects--even those aimed at helping the rural poor--because of expanded employment opportunities, inputs and training.

Donors should also take care that efforts to increase agricultural production by high technology cultivation methods do not deprive rural women of opportunities for productive work in the fields and for their traditional shares in the crops they help to cultivate. Similarly the expansion of new capital-intensive industries, supermarkets and other businesses may boost GDP and benefit a few at the expense of the unrecorded income-generating activities of many rural women and urban women.

A comment by a woman in the central planning office serves as an apt summary: "Too many projects" she said, "have concentrated on developing production without developing the producers." The development of people, and utilization of their potential, is essential for the long term health and self-determination of a nation. Basotho women at all levels are already involved in the development process and must be given sufficient recognition, training and support to enable them to contribute to the fullest.

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A detailed study of the strategies of rural women under constraints imposed by the political-economy of South Africa and the internal political and economic pressures of Lesotho itself. Of particular interest are chapters 4, Village Life in Lesotho; 5, Socialization, indigenous apartheid; 6, Domestic Life: route to freedom; 7, Public life: route to power; 8, Sisterhood without solidarity?

*-----, 1977b, "Women and Men, Power and Powerlessness in Lesotho", in Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change, edited by The Wellesley Editorial Committee, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 13 p.

Strom, Gabriele Winai, 1978, Development and Depedency in Lesotho: The Enclave of South Africa, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala. 186 p.

FAMILY, MARRIAGE AND MIGRANT LABOUR

Agency for Industrial Mission, 1976, Another Blanket: Report on an Investigation into the Migrant Situation, Horizon, Transvaal. 46 p.

Observations by a group of Basotho theological students who spent their vacation participating as migrant recruits and observing the impact of migrant labour on families and society in Lesotho

*Gay, Judith S., 1980a, Basotho Women's Options: A Study of Marital Careers in Rural Lesotho, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge. 320 p.

On the premise that economic resources are generally controlled by men, this study traces the economic and social activities of rural Basotho women in relation to their marital status as it changes through their life careers. Based on a village case study conducted in 1977.

*Gordon, Elizabeth, 1978, The Women Left Behind: A Study of the Wives of the Migrant Workers of Lesotho, unpublished for the International Labour Organization, National University of Lesotho, Roma, Lesotho. 114 p.

A report of interviews conducted with a large sample of wives of migrants. Of particular interest is her attempt to identify those women experiencing maximum strain and the problems which they face.

Lipton, Merle, 1980, "Men of Two Worlds: Migrant Labour in South Africa" in Optima, Vol 29, No. 2/3, November 1980, published by the Anglo-American Corporation. 129 p.

A detailed and very up-to-date study of many facets of the migrant labour situation. Although published by the largest of the mining companies in South Africa, this report gives a

frank presentation of the problems faced within the mining industry itself and by miners and their dependents.

Mphuthing, M. A., 1981, Do Females Become Prostitutes Because of Their Background Factors? unpublished paper, National University of Lesotho. 56 p.

*Murray Colin, 1976a, Keeping House in Lesotho: A Study of the Impact of Oscillating Migration, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge. 350 p.

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Showers, Kate, 1980, "A Note on Women, Conflict and Migrant Labour," South African Labour Bulletin, Vol 6, No. 4, November 1980, 3 p.

Spiegel, A. D. 1975, "Christianity, Marriage and Migrant Labour in Lesotho". in Church and Marriage in Modern Africa, edited by T.D. Verryn, Groenkloof, Ecumenical Research Unit. 60 p.

*-----, 1979. Migrant Labour Remittances: Rural Differentiation and the Developmental Cycle in a Lesotho Community, M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town. About 250 p.

-----, 1981, "Changing Patterns of Migrant Labour and Rural Differentiation in Lesotho", in Social Dynamics 6(2) 1-13.

Examination of potential impact of the new "stabilization" policy of the mines, and the Land Act of 1979 within Lesotho.

Van Drunen, L., 1977. Lesotho Village Life and Migrant Labour, unpublished preliminary draft of a doctoral thesis, University of Utrecht, 185 p.

Van der Wiel, A. C. A., 1977, Migratory Wage Labour: Its Role in the Economy of Lesotho, Mazenod Book Center, Lesotho. 11 p.

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Borotheo, Ts'eliso, 1978, "An Economic Analysis of Rural Small Businesses", a research paper prepared for the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of Lesotho, under a vacation research program of the National University of Lesotho. 20 p.

Goy, Judith S., 1980b, "Basotho Women Migrants: A Case Study", Institute of Development Studies Bulletin, University of Sussex, Vol II, No. 4.

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Ribeiro, Roselyn N., 1979, "Lesotho, Women in Development: Working Paper for Income-Generating Activities and integration of administration towards community development and better family living" prepared for UNFPA, August, 1979. 46 p.

Teilheit-Waldorf, Saral, 1980, "Making it: A preliminary report on work opportunities in the formal and informal job sectors in Lesotho", a paper presented at the 1980 conference of the Southern African Sociology Association. With the assistance of NUL sociology students. 30 p.

Williams, Lynn A., 1981, "Final Report of the Weaving Training Program", USAID/Maseru. 33 p.

LEGAL STATUS

Maope, K., 1980, "Legal Rights of Women in Business World", an unpublished paper presented at a Women-in-Management Course organized by Institute of Extra-Mural Studies, National University of Lesotho. 11 p.

Morojele, L. C., 1963, "Legal Status of Women in Basutoland" in Women Today, Vol 6, No. 1. 2 p.

Poulter, Sebastian, 1976, Family Law and Litigation in Basotho Society, Oxford, Clarendon Press. About 250 p.

-----, 1979, Legal Dualism in Lesotho, Morija, Morija Sesotho Book Depot, 126.

Poulter, S., W. McClain, J.B.K. Kaburise, J. Mugambwa and D. Milazi, 1980, Law and Population Growth in Lesotho, Faculty of Law, National University of Lesotho, Roma. 96 p.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

*Janelid, I., 1977, "Promoting the Participation of Women in Rural Development" TF 247/SWE, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, 18 p.

A useful and often quoted summary of the position of women in area-based rural development projects. Unfortunately now a bit out of date and it places too much emphasis on women's constraints, ignoring the independent innovative roles many women now take. Her suggestions for a study of Labour Utilization patterns and decision-making in farm households as well as for a sociological component in Agricultural staff training have yet to be implemented.

LASA, 1978, Lesotho's Agriculture: A review of Existing Information, Lesotho Agricultural Sector Analysis Research Report, No. 2, Ministry of Agriculture, Maseru. About 160 p.

Letele, Anne, 1977, "The Role of Women in Development in Lesotho," United Nations Development Program, Maseru. 3 p.

Madland, M. 1977, "Women in Agriculture", Thaba Bosiu Rural Development Project, Planning and Evaluation Unit, Ministry of Agriculture Maseru. 5 p.

Nchapi, 'Mampiti, F., 1980, A Critical Analysis of Manpower Utilization Issues in Lesotho, Lesotho Agricultural Sector Analysis Research Report No. 9, Ministry of Agriculture, Maseru.

Turner, S.D., 1978, Sesotho Farming: The Conditions and Prospects of Agriculture in the Lowlands and Foothills, Doctoral Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London. 579 p.

A very detailed study of geographical, sociological and psychological aspects of Sesotho farming based on research in the Thaba Bosiu Project area. Of particular interest are Chapter 4, Methods and knowledge in Sesotho Farming, and Chapter 5, Social Networks in Farming.

Wallman, A., 1969, Take Out Hunger: Two Case Studies of Rural Development in Basutoland, Athlone Press, London.

Chapter 3, "Village Economy", remains a very perceptive description of rural social and economic activities.

Wilken, Gene, 1979, Profiles of Basotho Farmers, Lesotho Agricultural Sector Analysis Discussion Paper No. 8, Ministry of Agriculture, Maseru.

*World Bank, 1980, Lesotho: Agricultural Sector Review, Vol 1: Main Report (35 p), Vol II, Annex 3: The Role of Women (15 p).

A helpful summary of statistics and reports. Perceptive although necessarily brief discussion of constraints experienced by female farmers. The suggested "Strategies for the Future" are generally relevant and deserve serious consideration.

*Yeats, Leslie McKnight, 1978, Integration of Women in Development in Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho: AID's Efforts, South African Development Analysis, USAID. 90 p, 25 of which are on Lesotho.

The description of Basotho women's activities is very much second or third hand and very limited. Useful recommendations are made in such areas as credit, appropriate technology, day care centers, labour-intensive import-substitution rural cottage industry, training for women, marketing, rural infrastructure development, women's organizations.

EXISTING AGRICULTURAL SURVEYS - Providing some untapped data resources. This list is only suggestive of many surveys which have been conducted. In many cases data are on computer file with Ministry of Agriculture on the Ministry of Finance computer.

Thaba Bosiu Rural Development Project, such as the 1976 report on "Characteristics of Farm Households," Evaluation Study No. 9.

Senqu River Agricultural Extension Project, 1977 "Rural Sociology Technical Report, by John Gay, and 1978, "Attitudes of Village Farmers," also by John Gay and Tesfa Guma.

Hololo Valley, 1980, Socioeconomic Analysis of the Hololo Valley, Lesotho, Part II--Tables--published by FAO, 1980. Part I is in draft form only. Being a census of over 4,000 households this study has a vast amount of data waiting to be analyzed more fully with correlations such as sex and marital status of household head.

BASP (Basic Agricultural Services Programme) 1981. This is a large sample survey from many lowlands and foothills areas. Both baseline data and subsequent specialized surveys are being conducted, computerized and reported after analysis on each topic and geographical area is completed. Again there is much information on women as farmers which could be isolated by careful selection of variables for analysis.

Farming Systems Research Project, forthcoming. The base line data on the three representative areas with which this project is concerned will be available soon, as well as short studies on

specialized topics. Since the entire project has a research focus it would seem possible to utilize its data base and contacts to obtain answers to specific questions about women as farmers, such as access to credit, inputs, extension service and decision-making processes in female-headed or female managed households.

Also Thaba Tseka, Phuthiatsana, Khomokhoana Projects, etc. all have survey data.

SOCIALIZATION, MOTHER AND CHILD HEALTH, NUTRITION

Blair, Arthur and John Gay, 1980, Growing Up in Lesotho: A Basotho Interpretation, (Preliminary draft) prepared by students at the National University of Lesotho, Department of Education, 114 p.

*Bryson, Judy C., 1981, An Evaluation of Food Aid Programs in Lesotho with Emphasis on the CRS Program. USAID, Lesotho 153 p.

FNCO (Food and Nutrition Coordinating Office), 1979, Bridging the Gaps. Report of the Second National Food and Nutrition Planning Conference. 194 p.

Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 1979, Report of National Conference on Population Management as a Factor in Development Including Family Planning, Maseru. 117 p.

Lesotho Distance Teaching Center, 1976, Study of Pre-natal and Child Care Practices in Rural Lesotho, Maseru, 5 p.

Monyake, A.M., ed., 1974, The Kingdom of Lesotho: Report on the National Population Symposium, Maseru. 106 p.

*UNICEF, (Adams, S.B., UNICEF Consultant), 1976, Joint Evaluation of the Needs of Children and Women, Maseru. 117 p.

UNICEF, 1980, Country Programme Profile: Lesotho. 13 p.

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1977 - Women in Development Seminar for Anglophone Africa, organized by the Center for African Family Studies. Speech by Queen 'Mamohato Seciso.

1978 - Women in Development Conference, organized by Basotho women with Peace Corps funding.

1980 - Peace Corps Women's Conference.

1980 - Second ECA/UNEP Subregional Committee on the Integration of Women in Development. See especially the Country Paper:

Lesotho; Speech by head of Lesotho Delegation;
and Opening Statement by Queen 'Mamohato Seeiso.

1980 - Ts'ebetso ea Lesotho, National Council of Women.
See also the 1978 Report on the Activities of the
Lesotho National Council of Women.

*1981 - U.N. Integrated Reporting System on the Status
of Women, Country Report: Kingdom of Lesotho,
prepared by the Directorate of Women and Youth
Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister.

BUREAU OF STATISTICS: Government of Lesotho

1979, Annual Statistical Bulletin, 155 p. Includes tables from
1976 census.

Educational Statistics, 1979, 87 p. This includes helpful
analytical sections concerning changes over time and
comparisons by sex.

1976 Population Census Tables Vol III, 163 p. This includes
much important information on employment and demographic
features of the population.

1973, Report of the Lesotho Pilot Survey on Population and
Food Consumption. Data on household characteristics,
fertility, family planning, education and food supply
and consumption are given and discussed.

APPENDIX II - RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

(This is a provisional list of known research activities concerning women in Lesotho. Information on other ongoing or proposed research is invited to make this more complete.)

Academic Research: National University of Lesotho affiliation

- Ashmore, Rebecca - A research student from the University of Massachusetts in Physical Anthropology. Working in Mokhotlong as a Fullbright Research Student, studying seasonal patterns in nutrition and in women's allocation of time and labour to rural tasks.
- Cobbe, Louise - A research student from Florida State University in education. An investigation of the economic activities of women in the informal sector in selected villages near Roma, Mazenod and Thabana-li-'mele. The objectives are to provide context-specific planning information pertaining to women's non-formal education and training needs; and to contribute to our understanding of the role of Basotho women in national development.
- Kruger, Ilona - A research student from Germany. A study of the role of women in rural development comparing, in particular, one general development project and one which is specifically aimed at women's activities.
- Makara, 'Madora - A research student at Hull University in England, on study leave from her post with the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies of the National University of Lesotho. Although research details are not yet fixed, her hope is to investigate the role of women in administrative positions in Lesotho with particular reference to their educational needs.
- van Kesteren, José - A research student from in the Netherlands. She is a demographer spending half a year at the National University of Lesotho. She is conducting an investigation concerning fertility and family planning.

Development project related research:1. Basotho Rural Women in Development Project

This project is to be funded by UNICEF and administered through a steering committee including members of the Woman's Bureau and the various technical ministries, particularly the Home Economics Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture. A preliminary study has been conducted by IEMS in several target areas to understand the existing income generating activities, skills, problems and needs of rural women as a basis for project planning and implementation.

2. Renewable Energy Technology Project

In order to assist in planning techniques for fuel conservation and introduction of new and renewable sources of energy for domestic use,

studies are being conducted concerning energy use in general, and patterns of fuel use, cooking water heating, space heating and allocation of time to rural women's tasks. Mokhotlong is the first area in which such survey work will be conducted.

3. Farming Systems Research Project

Much basis data is being collected on farming practices in three prototype areas, as well as attitudes towards farming and other rural activities. Data analysis with sex as a variable will help to reveal more than is presently known about the activities and attitudes of female farmers in Lesotho.

APPENDIX III - RESEARCH SUGGESTIONS

(Again this is a provisional list, intended as a stimulus both to potential researchers, and to those involved in development planning in Lesotho who are invited to contribute further ideas for research needs)

1. Time and labour studies showing seasonal patterns in different ecological zones. Particular attention should be given to women's agricultural labour, to fuel and water collecting, to travel and to income-generating activities.
2. Cash flows of rural and urban households: The very limited data presented in this paper should be supplemented by studies in other ecological zones.
3. Laws affecting women should be analyzed as well as actual court proceedings and decisions. Basotho women should take the lead in identifying areas in which they believe legal reform to be necessary.
4. Women's economic activities in production, retailing and service sectors. In particular, data should be collected in women in the nonformal sector such as street vendors, domestic servants, and those who brew and sell beer.
5. Market patterns, in both rural and urban areas should be studied, in order to assist in realistic planning of female income-generating activities. Actual patterns of buying as well as consumer attitudes and preferences and the availability of produce and consumer goods should be documented.
6. Decision making by Basotho women should be investigated, not just norms, but action-based reality. Case studies of actual innovative decisions, such as the building of a latrine, the planting of a new crop, or the use of new technology could be studied to see how the decisions were actually reached. In addition there could be study of the nature of communication between migrant workers and their dependents to see the balance between female autonomy and male authority involved.
7. Available statistics concerning women should be collected and reported. In some cases this will involve laborious work through ledger books in which commercial licenses, marriage records, etc., are kept. It is important to make use of such data which already exists, before launching into yet another large survey type of research project.
8. Computerized data concerning women should also be analyzed. There are data from over 50 different surveys already in the data bank at the Ministry of Finance computer center which could be examined in new ways to shed light on the roles of women in Lesotho.
9. Bibliographic research and the establishment of a library on women in Lesotho should be undertaken, perhaps by USAID, another interested

donor agency, or by the Woman's Bureau. In particular there should be copies of the many conference reports, project papers, speeches by Basotho women, etc., which will be important primary documents for any subsequent research on women in development in Lesotho. Some group should take responsibility for locating and collecting such material.

10. Brewing of sorghum beer (joala) should be investigated in detail. Quantities, importance of income, amounts of fuel used in both rural and urban setting, ways of reducing fuel consumption, etc.

Details of Figure 2

PERCENT OF LESOTHO'S CHILDREN
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL BY SEX AND AGE COHORT - 1976

Ages	males		females	
	N attending	% of total males	N attending	% of total females
05	1952	11.1	2781	16.0
06	4110	27.6	5976	39.3
07	6084	44.0	8643	62.3
08	8199	52.5	11571	76.0
09	8651	59.0	12160	83.6
10	9576	61.1	13715	87.7
11	8563	65.1	12296	91.1
12	11346	63.2	16046	91.2
13	9557	63.6	14201	90.9
14	8187	59.2	12792	85.2
15	6714	53.8	9859	73.1
16	6223	46.9	9002	59.8
17	3952	37.7	4825	40.0
18	3095	25.2	3530	25.0

Details of Figure 3

LITERACY LEVELS IN LESOTHO

A COMPARISON OF MALES AND FEMALES WHO HAVE
 COMPLETED AT LEAST FOUR YEARS OF SCHOOLING SHOWING PERCENT
 OF EACH AGE COHORT

Age cohort	males	females
15-19	68.6	93.2
20-24	65.7	91.7
25-29	64.8	91.2
30-34	62.8	88.3
35-39	59.3	87.4
40-44	53.6	79.6
45-49	54.5	80.1
50-54	54.2	76.3
55-59	48.5	67.1
60-64	43.3	59.8
Total	43.1	85.7

Details of Cash Flows: Income Sources (Figure 4)Average of 4 months for all households

Rands	% of total	
41.96	56.8	<u>Husband:</u> Remittances sent or brought home by migrant husbands. Wages earned in Lesotho. Pensions received by former migrants or school teachers. Earnings in the local informal sector (off-farm): Herbalist, construction, transport.
11.99	16.2	<u>Children:</u> Primarily contributions by unmarried sons who were migrants. Some from locally employed unmarried sons. Some from young unmarried daughters working elsewhere but with their children being cared for by grandparents. One amount of R340 was bridewealth received. Note: More contributions from children came in October, the month of ploughing, than any other sampled month.
6.07	8.2	<u>Other relatives and friends:</u> Gifts from parents of a widow, from brothers of married women, and other unidentified relatives. Other unspecified gifts from friends--often a male friend of a widowed or separated or deserted woman.
5.35	7.2	<u>Brewing:</u> Sale of beer, sprouted sorghum
2.13	2.9	<u>Women's earnings and income generating activities:</u> (Other than brewing) Some village women had jobs in the nearby town, or as domestic helpers for other village families. Some had piece-jobs in agriculture (threshing and winnowing sunflower seeds for a government share-cropping project) or hoeing. Sale of firewood, thatching grass, reeds, garden vegetables. Sale of knitted goods and machine sewn skirts. Sale of grass items, primarily beer strainers.

Sale of cooked food.

Sale of imported goods from South Africa.

Sale of chickens, ducks, eggs, pork.

5.48 7.4 Agriculture:

Primarily income from ploughing and planting and hauling with oxen.

One item was a large fine a woman received when cattle entered her cultivated field.

Almost nothing was reported as field produce sales--perhaps there was little surplus in this sample, perhaps it did not occur during the sampled months.

Small amounts were reported from sale of wool and mohair.

.87 1.2 Other:

In this sample there were small incomes from renting rooms or buildings, renting a battery-operated record player, receipt of debts, withdrawal of money from bank accounts.

R73.85 99.9% (rounding error)

Details of Cash Flows: Expenditures (Figure 5)HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES PER MONTH
FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS

TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	AVERAGE AMOUNT R	RANGE* R	PERCENT OF TOTAL %
Food and drink	24.61	(1.09 - 138.59)	30.4
Medical, toiletries	2.69	(0 - 25.60)	3.3
Cleansing materials	1.95	(0 - 8.12)	2.4
Fuel	4.34	(0 - 15.09)	5.4
Clothing	13.70	(0 - 97.50)	16.9
Education, stationery	3.47	(0 - 77.00)	4.3
House building	8.95	(0 - 204.00)	11.1
Household equipment	8.15	(0 - 306.36)	10.1
Agriculture	6.87	(0 - 313.12)	8.5
Other	6.25	(0 - 45.00)	7.7
Total	80.95	(2.33 - 424.11)	100.1**

* Range here means minimum and maximum reported by any household in any month.

** Rounding error.

Details of Cash Flows: Expenditures (Figure 5)ITEMIZED EXPENDITURES ON FOODSTUFFS FOR THE ENTIRE GROUP
DURING TWO REPRESENTATIVE MONTHS

Item	July	October
Maize meal	R4.89	R6.03
Meat and chicken	2.09	3.36*
Wheat flour	2.41	2.48
Sugar	2.32	2.33
Milk	1.55	1.56
Vegetables	1.94	1.34
Fat, oil, margarine	.85	1.06
Tea, coffee, cocoa	.84	.81
Bread	.48	.79
Potatoes, rice, stamp	.81	.68
Fruit	.60	.59
Fish	.32	.48
Salt, spices	.30	.45
Biscuits, candies	.26	.39
Peanut butter, jam, custard	.10	.22
Peas, beans	.22	.21
Eggs	.29	.11
Soft drinks	.10	.19
Beer	.40	.43
Tobacco	.34	.42
Other unitemized groceries	.90	1.95
Total	R22.01	R26.48

* This includes an expenditure of R30 by one household for a sheep, used for a family ritual feast.

APPENDIX V: DETAILS OF WOMEN'S TASKS
DETAILS OF ACTIVITIES LISTED IN TABLE 6:
ACTIVITIES AND TIME ALLOCATIONS

AGRICULTURAL WORK

harvesting, winnowing, threshing and putting in bags, carrying from fields
sorting beans, maize prior to sale or use
threshing sunflower seeds (a paid job under government sharecropping program)
weeding and watering garden
selling, buying, transplanting seedlings

LIVESTOCK AND ANIMAL CARE

letting sheep, cow out of kraal and herding close by in absence of herdboy
feeding pigs, chickens, putting chickens in shelters at night.

REGULAR PAID WORK OR PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY BUSINESS

domestic work for another village resident
selling in cafe which is in the home.

BREWING FOR SALE

soaking grain to sprout it, drying and grinding it
cooking the brew, carrying water to brew with
straining the beer to prepare for sale
selling beer

SEWING

by machine on order for sale
by hand, sewing or mending
knitting and crocheting for own use or for sale

COOKING, FOOD PREPARATION AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

drawing water and heating it for bathing, washing, etc.
making fire to heat water, to cook and to heat house
making tea and serving it
going somewhere in the village to buy meat, vegetables or food
grinding maize, sorghum, peas at home or mill
grinding tobacco for personal use as snuff
cooking papa (maize pap) sorghum porridge (iesheleshele), beans, greens, cabbage, meat, eggs
kneading and baking bread
warming up food from previous meal or previous day
serving the food to husband, children, herdboy

Preparing baby bottles and feeding baby
(collecting greens in the fields is very common in rainy seasons,
especially by children and older women, but didn't happen to be
mentioned in this survey)

FUEL GATHERING

gathering dry weeds or grain stalks in fields
cutting shrubs on mountain sides
collecting dry cow dung in the fields
helping in kraal when the cow dung is cut and removed to dry for fuel
collecting horse dung around village
going to cafe to buy paraffin--often a task of children

CLEANING HOUSE

folding bedding in the morning, spreading it at night
sweeping, dusting, straightening, washing floor, shelves,
utensils
washing dishes and pots

LAUNDRY

preparing by sorting clothes, carrying and heating water
carrying clothes to water tap, spring or river, or water to the
house
washing, hanging, taking them in, ironing

CHILD CARE

washing, dressing, feeding, holding, changing babies
caring for a sick child
helping a new mother to care for herself and her child (a customary
courtesy of female neighbours and relatives)
helping a child with its school work

HOUSING

making arrangements for someone to build or repair a house
smearing the floor which includes digging dirt, gathering dung,
carrying water and mixing, moving furniture, smearing, cleaning
up (This is done perhaps monthly in less used rooms, every other
week in heavily used areas)

GOING TO TOWN - THE NEARBY URBAN CENTER

to shop for food, clothing, housing material, etc.
to post office, government offices, mine recruitment office,
bank
to clinic for self, with a sick child, or visiting someone
to grind at the mill
to weekly church meetings
(A single trip serves many purposes which cannot easily be separated)

VISITING

going to another home in the village or other village just to visit
or arrange some business, or help with feast preparations
going to daily prayers in the village

DRINKING BEER

(This has been separated from other types of relaxation because it was mentioned significantly often, involving significant amounts of time for certain groups of people. The houses where beer is sold change daily, for women rarely brew and sell everyday. These are important social gatherings and centers for communication flow, news and informal business transactions)

RESTING, RELAXING, CHATTING, BEING VISITED

EATING AND PERSONAL CARE (These have not been tabulated because many respondents didn't mention them, but we can assume about an hour a day on each of these.)

APPENDIX VI
STRUCTURE OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS
IN LESOTHO

