

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Master of Social Science in Development Studies

TOO FEMININE?

EXPLAINING THE ABSENCE OF MEN IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF LESOTHO

By: Mahlompho Talasi

Student Number: 19318775

Supervised By: Prof. Vusilizwe Thebe

A dissertation submitted to the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of the University of Pretoria in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of MSoSci in Development Studies in 2021

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this thesis is the result of my own work, except where otherwise indicated and due acknowledgement is given.

Signed:

Date:

Mrs Mahlompho Talasi

The student

Signed:

Date

Prof Vusi Thebe

The supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My heartfelt gratitude is extended to all the people who contributed to the completion of this study.

- God almighty for giving me patience, perseverance, wisdom, strength and sometimes even disappointments and challenges in pursuing this study.
- Dr Talasi, for giving me the opportunity to further my study. Without his help the completion of this study would never have been possible. May the completion of this study show him that there is indeed light at the end of every tunnel and that starts shine only in darkness.
- My two beautiful daughters, Hlompho and Keitumetse for always putting a smile to me. Blessed to have you girl.
- My beloved mother, Matsobotsi Mabejane for sacrificing her time to take care of my children, a true to the Sesotho expression, 'mangoana u tsoara thipa ka bohaleng. May the strength of my mother in this world be measured by the fruits she bore and may what I become be a gift to her.
- My mentor, supervisor, Prof. V. Thebe for the inspiration, guidance, patience, encouragement, constructive criticism and support. When the going got tough he pushed me a little harder and I will forever feel indebted to him.
- Dr NE Metsing, for the support you showed me.

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to Lesotho factory workers who sacrificed their time on my behalf to make this study successful. Ministry of Trade and Industry, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Labour and Employment and all textile industry trade unions for their input. Lastly, the community of Thetsane and Maputsoe for taking part in this study.

ABSTRACT

The textile industry continues to play a crucial role in employment and poverty eradication in many people's livelihoods as the textile sector is essential for development and socio-economic improvement of societies and countries. The industry represents the only economic activity that shows significant and consistent growth in terms of employment which, above all, has employed more women than men.

There are a number of challenges to the industry that, if not addressed, could destroy the reputation of the industry. The existing inequalities between male and female workers can affect the sector production process which may lead the country to the loss of its status in the world market. The prevailing gender issues also shun away the majority of men to connect with the industry as men do not want to be oppressed like women who are docile.

However, the findings show that men and women's different tasks in the industry occur due to the stereotypes that women are not capable of doing heavy duties that need men's' physical power. These seem to be only the belief; those women have never been given the opportunities to work in those departments that are believed to need the labour force.

LIST OF ACROMYMS

ACP	African Caribbean Pacific
AGOA	African Growth Opportunities Act
CBL	Central Bank of Lesotho
COSATU	South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union
DDPR	Directorate for Dispute Prevention and Resolution
EU	European Countries
FSP	Free State Province
GAF	Gender and Development Policy
GNP	Gross National Product
GoB	Government of Botswana
GSP	General System Preference
IDUL	Independent Democratic Union Lesotho
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRC	Industrial Relations Council
ITGLWF	International Textile and Garment and Leather Workers Union
LDC	Less Developed Countries
LNDC	Lesotho National Development Corporation
MTI	Ministry of Trade and Industry
NACWTU	National Clothing Workers Textile Allied Union
NUM	National Union Mineworkers
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategies

PTC	Police Training College
SSA	Sub-Saharan African
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
TEL	Trade Economic Liberalisation
UNDP	United National Development Program
UNITE	United Textile Employees
USA	United State of America
WB	World Bank

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
LIST OF ACROMYMS.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2. Research Problem	1
1.3 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions.....	3
1.4 Significance of the Study	4
1.5 Key Definitions	4
1.5.1 The textile industry or sector	4
1.5.2 The division of labour	5
1.5.3 Patriarchy	5
1.5.4 Gender.....	5
1.5.5 Gender Division of Labour.....	5
1.6 Structure of the Study.....	5
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 Introduction.....	7
2.2 Textile Industry in the Global Perspective	7
2.3 The Overview of the Textile Industry in Africa	9

2.3.1 The South African Textile Industry	11
2.3.2 Inception of the textile industry in Botswana	13
2.4 An Overview of the Textile Industry in Lesotho	14
2.4.1 Textile development in Lesotho	16
2.4.2 Female labour in Lesotho's textile industry	17
2.4.4 Wages and working conditions in the Lesotho textile industry	18
2.4.5 Unionisation in Lesotho's textile sector	19
2.5 Chapter Summary	20
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	22
3.1 Introduction	22
3.2 Research Design	22
3.3 Research Methods	23
3.3.1 Macro-level Research	23
3.3.1.1 <i>Review of the key literature and documents</i>	23
3.4.1 Micro level research	24
3.4.1.1 <i>Open-ended interviews</i>	25
3.4.1.2 <i>The key informants interviews</i>	25
3.4.3 The sampling technique	26
3.5 Data Analysis, Research Ethics and Fieldwork Challenges	28
3.5.1 Data analysis approach	28
3.5.2 Ethical considerations	30
3.5.2.1 <i>Voluntary participation</i>	30
3.5.2.2 <i>Informed consent</i>	30
3.5.2.3 <i>Anonymity and confidentiality</i>	31
3.5.2.4 <i>Prevention of harm</i>	31
3.5.2.5 <i>Debriefing of respondents</i>	32
3.5.3 Challenges encountered in undertaking the study	32
3.6 Chapter Summary	32
4.1. Introduction	33
4.2 Dynamics of Gender at the Workplace	34
4.3 Labour Migration to the South African Mines	39
4.3.1 Who migrated and who did what job?	40
4.3.2 Retrenchment of Basotho from South Africa	43
4.3.3 Changing trends in labour migration	45
4.4. Rapid Development of the Textile Industry	49
4.4.1 Understanding the preference of women in the textile sector	52
4.4.2 Lesotho's institutional framework	53

4.4.2.1 Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI)	53
4.4.2.2 Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE)	54
4.4.2.3 Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation (MGYSR)	55
4.4.2.4 Other agencies: The Directorate of Dispute Prevention and Resolution (DDPR)	55
4.4.2.5 Other agencies: The role of the textile trade unions	56
4.5. Chapter Summary	57
CHAPTER FIVE: ‘BASALI BA LIFEMENG’, TEXTILE AS FEMINE WORK AND THE CHALLENGE FOR MALE WORKERS	59
5.1 Introduction	59
5.2. Do Basotho Define and See the Textile Industry as an Occupation?	59
5.3 The Perception of Basotho Men about Working in the Textile Sector	61
5.3.1 Gender stereotypes	61
5.3.2 Work done in the textile industry	65
5.3.3. Challenges faced by men at work and in the society	68
5.4.4 Working conditions	70
5.5.3 Wage disparities and lack of benefits	71
5.4 Acceptance by Society	73
5.5. Chapter Summary	74
CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	76
6.1 Introduction	76
6.2 Discussions	77
6.2.1 The significance of the textile industry	77
6.2.2 Gender inequality	78
6.2.3 Division of labour	78
6.2.3 Patriarchy	79
6.2.4 Exploitation	79
6.2.5 Marginalisation and feminization of men working in the industry	80
6.3 Policy Implications	81
References	83
ANNEXES	93
Annex 1	93
Annex 2	95
Annex 3	98
Annex 4	100

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

This study is based on gender divisions of labour and the stereotypical labelling of certain occupations and social tasks as either female or male occupations. In particular, it examines the absence of men in the Lesotho textile industrial sector. The development of the textile industry in Lesotho coincided with the radical changes in the South African labour market, which led to massive retrenchments of Basotho men from the mining sector. Declining opportunities for migrant labour and the development of the textile industry was expected to open the local employment opportunities for Basotho and include the former labour migrants.

Using a qualitative approach, the study situates the absence of men from the textile sector on the Basotho societal and cultural practices that have, overtime, come to define certain occupations as either female or male occupational activities. The key focus in this approach is on societal gender division of labour. It explains the societal context of what qualifies an occupation as masculine and improves our understanding through the accounts from the society members, including men and women and those who work in the textile sector in Lesotho. In this respect, it carries significant lessons for the Lesotho government and other countries in their attempt to create employment for the legion of the unemployed population.

1.2. Research Problem

The literature on Basotho and their livelihoods has long supported the notions of gender divisions of labour, where certain jobs, tasks and occupations are known to be the terrain for certain gender groups. In Lesotho, such notions have been reinforced by the migrant labour system, which was premised on male migration and recruitment to the South African mines, while the women remained behind (Gay 1980a). According to the literature, male labour migration to the mines in South Africa became an important aspect of Basotho society and an expectation for every man (than agriculture) ‘came to occupy the position as supplementary income, both subordinated to and due to the cash intensive nature of agriculture in Lesotho - highly dependent on migrant labour’ (Boehm, 2003: 5).

Farming was relegated to a ‘domestic and “female” chore rather than a profession’ (Ibid). If we follow this literature, labour migration to the mines was masculinised, while the local tasks such as agriculture were feminised. Boehm (2003: 5) says that in Basotho rural society men ‘were and are supposed to make money’ in the mines and women and pensioners were expected to fill the void left in rural crop production by migrating men.

The feminisations of certain occupations also applied when women engaged in cross-border migration (Gay, 1980a). Explanations of Basotho female migrants have tended to portray them as either companions of migrant husbands or those who were pushed by economic and marital problems (Gay, 1980). According to the literature, Basotho women who migrated to South Africa mostly worked as full-time agricultural labourers, domestics, factory workers and retail shopkeepers (Gay 1980b). However, this was not the end of the feminisation of jobs for Basotho migrants, as more of them joined the cross-border migration trends.

According to the literature, many of these women still participate in the seasonal farm labour or in domestic occupations. Ulicki and Crush (2000) have shown that a high proportion of migrant labourers in the Free State farms are women and argue that employers prefer employing women than men. They emphasise that the farmers see women as better farm workers than men. This was also the theme in Johnston’s (2007) study, which was also carried out on the Free State farms. Similarly, Griffin (2010) has shown how the migration of Basotho women to South Africa is oriented towards domestic jobs, where they work under the exploitative and illegal conditions, which leave them vulnerable to low pay.

It would therefore appear that in Lesotho certain jobs could be regarded as occupations for women and not for men. Considering the notion of femininity of certain occupations or sectors, it is possible to have similar perceptions with regard to the textile industry in Lesotho. Clearly, women (particularly young women) dominate the labour force in the textile garment industry which, in the 2000s, employed around 40 000 people. In the industry in general, emphasis has been historically placed on female employment and not education or status (Baylies & Wright, 1993).

This is in line with the nature of the industry, which has been generally viewed as suitable for the employment of women (Hunter & Macnaughtan, 2010). This has historical linkages and can be traced to the traditional textile production, particularly in spinning, where women worked in pre-industrial times while in the contemporary era textile production was considered lighter than the heavy manufacturing industries such as mining (English, 2013). Such views are also linked to the perceptions of textile producers that women are a docile and cheaper alternative to their male counterparts (English, 2013).

In the context of Lesotho, the gendering of the textile industry was not supposed to happen as the ‘worldwide trend of Asian investors relocating the production of the textiles coincided with the retrenchment of Basotho men from the South African mining sector (Boehm, 2003: 6). In the South African mines, the employment of Basotho nation fell from around 130 000 in the 1970s and 1980s to under 50 000 in the early 2000s (Boehm, 2003). At the same time, the government had signed the year 2000 African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) with the USA; this led to the development of a vibrant textile sector (Ayoki, 2016).

As with other countries elsewhere, the industrial expansion was driven by the Asian investors who were drawn to Lesotho by the favourable legislation, advanced infrastructure in the neighboring South Africa and a ‘relatively well-educated and “docile” labour force’ (Boehm, 2003: 6). The explanation of the absence of men in the country’s textile industrial sector has been placed on the education of women. Thus, Basotho men have been presented as suffering discrimination in the recruitment process because they were never given the same education opportunities as women because of the culture of the migrant labour (Gay, 1980a).

Such an analogue finds support in the literature that has shown that female students make up more than half of all the higher education students in many countries (Mastekaase & Smeby, 2008). This literature further argues that an increasing number of women is acquiring high-level qualifications, which, coupled with equal opportunities policies, allow them to enter the previously male dominated profession (Crompton & Sanderson, 1990). Although these explanations have drawn from the dominant narratives on gender and segregation at the workplace, such an approach fails to capture the social dynamics, which define the gender divisions of work.

Similarly, while much importance has been attached to the workplace dynamics, this does not explain whether Basotho men would work in the textile industries (if they were not discriminated against) and their attitudes and views of the textile sector remain unheard. The emphasis on the workplace dynamics do not only fail to capture the social dynamics that govern the gender divisions of labour within the society but also define societal constructions of certain jobs, tasks and occupations as either masculine or feminine. Men and women’s occupational tasks seem to be shaped by the structural and cultural characteristics of society. It is apparent that the textile industry falls within the feminine category and men working in it come across some barriers in relation to the widespread and unchallenged sexism (Baylies & Wright, 1993).

1.3 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

This study represents an attempt to understand the absence of men in the Lesotho's textile sector from the societal dynamics and the society's understanding and definition of the occupations and sectors as either masculine or feminine. It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate the importance of such stereotypes in determining men's non-participation in the textile industries.

The study intends to address the question: To what extent can the domination of the textile industry in Lesotho by women be attributed to the societal categorization of certain occupations as suitable for women?

A number of questions arise from this inquiry:

- How do Basotho define and see the textile industry as an occupation?
- What is the perception of Basotho men about working in the textile sector?
- What tasks do men who work in the textile industry occupy? What challenges do men working in the textile industry face at the workplace and in the society?
- Does the society see men working in the textile sector as less of men?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The findings of the study may add to the knowledge and understanding to the stakeholders that they should increase the number of men in the factories because they are no longer employable in the South African mines. The study is intended to create the awareness of the Basotho society about their perception towards the men working in the textile sector. The study may also inform the stakeholder on how to create a working environment that is conducive to all the employees regardless of sex. The study may shed some light on the importance of reducing any bias (against men) which may address the high unemployment rate in Lesotho. The study focuses on the absence of men in the textile industry, the implementation of the integrated gender diversity strategies in the textile sector.

1.5 Key Definitions

1.5.1 The textile industry or sector

Cororaton (1996) views the textile industry as all of the industries involved in the development, manufacturing, design and the distribution of textiles, fabrics and clothing. It is considered an important component of the world trade flows, particularly the developing and developed countries where the textiles account more for export.

1.5.2 The division of labour

The division of labour is defined as the separation of a work process into a number of tasks. It is most often applied to the industries that produce mass production (Barnes, 1966). Globally, the division of labour started within the family where different tasks were allocated according to sex and gender. The division of labour at work increases the production as a person or group of people deal with a particular task (Rossetti & Bagheri, 2012).

1.5.3 Patriarchy

The word patriarchy, according to Bhasin (2006), refers to male domination both in the public and in the private sectors. Feminists mainly use the term patriarchy to describe the power relationship between men and women. In other words, patriarchy is more than just a term. Feminists use it as a concept. Like all the other concepts, it is a tool to help us understand women's realities.

1.5.4 Gender

Gender is typically understood as culturally and socially structured set of norms and values based on assumptions and challenges about masculinity and femininity (Edwardsson, 2012). Gender defines and differentiates the personal lives of women and men as shaped by social relations and culture (Grown et al., 2003; Connell & Pearse, 2009).

1.5.5 Gender Division of Labour

Gender division of labour refers to allocation of different jobs or types of work to women and men. This does not necessarily concern only paid employment, but more generally the work, tasks and responsibilities that are assigned to women and men in their daily lives, and which may, on their turn, also determine certain patterns in their labour market (ILO, 2007).

1.6 Structure of the Study

This dissertation is organised into six chapters, with each chapter focusing on a different aspect. Chapter One introduces the research problem, contextualises the study, outlines the problem statement and discusses the specific research questions. Chapter Two reviews the literature based on the development of the textile industry globally, on the African continent and in Lesotho, in particular' as a case study. Chapter Three discusses the methodology and techniques employed in conducting the research study.

Chapter Four presents the research study findings. It explains the role of gender and labour in the textile industry, which led to the employment of more women than men in the sector. It also discusses Lesotho's institutional framework that administers the textile industry. Chapter Five analyses the perceptions of Basotho towards the textile industry and the Challenges that men face in the industry within the society and at the workplace. Chapter Six concludes the study by discussing how people define and see textile in the country and provides some policy implications and what might have been done differently.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Regardless of the time and place, the development of the textile industry seems to follow the same trends the world over. Female workers are more preferred in the industry than males, partly because of the traditional ideology that they are cheap and like to work around their homes. Unlike other countries around the world, Lesotho experienced a massive shift from being a labour reserve to the South African mines to becoming a textile industrial hub when Asian businesses opened in Lesotho (Baylies & Wright, 1993). The development of the textile industry was expected to compensate for job losses from the South African mining sector and thus absorb the male labour that could no longer be accommodated through the migrant labour system.

However, as Ayoki (2016) argued, while the textile industry and the mines have different production processes, they both practice gendered division of labour. He observed that though both sectors have different compositions of the workforce, the textile industry leans strongly towards feminisation, while the mining industry is masculine and is thus male-dominated. Based on these observations, this chapter is an attempt to understand the feminisation of Lesotho's textile industry. The chapter focuses on the trends in Lesotho's textile industry in a global perspective. The chapter, thus, reviews the relevant literature in an attempt to grasp these trends and the seeming continuities in the textile industries, the world over. This is done in an attempt to develop a framework of understanding. This chapter is an outline of the textile industry in a global perspective, an overview of an African, a South African and a Lesotho textile industry. The latter serves as a case study.

2.2 Textile Industry in the Global Perspective

The textile industry is among the oldest and largest industries in the world. Historically, the industry was first established in the developed countries because the capital was needed and the set-up cost was considered to be low and to require low skilled labour (English, 2013, Gereffi, 1999). The establishment of the industries attracted young women labourers who moved away from the agricultural sector (English, 2013). The high figures of employment of women in the textile sector took a new shape during the pre-war period and particularly in Japan. This transition created an inexpensive access pool of young women, and this historic rubric remains the same today (Ibid).

More often than not, the textile owners are known to control the costs by paying the workers low wages, prolonging the working hours and providing poor working conditions for the labourers (Hunter & Macnaughtan, 2010). In addition, women workers are often preferred by the majority of the employers, mainly because of their patience and reliability, their nimble fingers and more importantly, their willingness to accept lower wages (Pual-Majumder & Begum, 2000). However, these economic considerations coincided with the historical gendered beliefs of women's work and on the wages being devalued in the textile sector (Hunter & Macnaughtan, 2010). These notions were also rooted on the productive and reproductive role that women played within the household (English, 2013). This is because gender differences within the societies define women's proper place to be in the home and because their secondary status within families has extremely shaped their choices, opportunities and wages for women's paid employment in the industrial production (Hunter & Macnaughtan, 2010).

Similarly, women in the textile sector earned less than their male counterparts, even where they performed equal work (English, 2010). This is because culturally men are defined as breadwinners, while women are considered as dependents and because this culture goes beyond the workforce (Hunters & Macnaughtan, 2010). The drive to become more cost competitive has affected their wages down across the globe (English, 2013). In many cases, the low wages paid to the textile workers are below the legal minimum in the country concerned. Moreover, in the case where the minimum wage is paid to the workers, it is often insufficient to pay for adequate food, housing, clothing and education for their children (Chaudhary & Verick, 2014).

It was common in Japan and the United State for women in the weaving industry to earn the daily wages, which were extremely lower than those of their male counterparts (Hunter & Macnaughtan, 2010). The report by the International Labour Organisation (2010:178) recalled that in the southern United States 'no promotions as far as female employers were concerned' were allowed in the textile industries. In addition, women were not allowed to be promoted. They were also regarded as a 'cheap' and 'flexible' labour in the textile industries that were suitable for all the dynamics of production (ILO, 2010). In other words, they were cheap both in terms of wage levels and in terms of the unhealthy and unsafe conditions under which they worked (English, 2013).

Globally, mass production in textiles is associated with the local entrepreneurs' practice in which women in their homes did sewing. In other words, production work that was traditionally done by females became a part of the broader market changes, where women have been pushed from agriculture into the factories (English, 2013). However, the introduction of new technology in the countries such as the United States changed the mode of employment in the sector, where men began to take over some of the tasks that were previously performed by women (Hunter & Macnaughtan, 2010). The changes in technology permitted the employers to consider women as unskilled labour that was worth low payment

(Ibid). In Denmark (during the pre-industrial era), most of the women in the textile industry were skilled but the advent of the rapid technology posed some challenges in the production, to social norms and in the construction of gender. In other words, the changes in production also promoted an increase in the division of labour (Van Leeuwen et al., 2014). English (2013:72) supported that:

Implementation of new technology globally in textile industry increased division of labour, forced women occupy unskilled positions and even imposed them harsh conditions. Women earn the lowest wages in the textile industry.

Women in the textile sector earned less than their male counterparts even where they performed equal work. This is because culturally men are defined as breadwinners while women are considered as dependents. This culture goes beyond the workforce (Hunters & Macnaughtan, 2010). The drive to become more cost competitive has been driving down their wages across the globe. In many cases, the low wages paid to the textile workers are below the legal minimum in the country concerned. Moreover, in the case where the minimum wage is paid to the workers, it is often insufficient to purchase adequate food, housing, clothing and education for their children. It was common in Japan and the United State for women in the weaving sector to earn daily wages, which were extremely less than those of their male counterparts (Abe, 1993).

Despite the employment opportunities that some countries associated with the employment of women, in other countries these were diminishing. For example, in the Republic of Korea the employment of women became less attractive because women were deeply involved in workers' unions campaign (Van Leeumen, 2014). Around the 1980s, the Bombay factory managers argued that the advantages of employing women disappeared immediately after the women became unionised; the unions had some influence on how female workers were paid and their rights as workers. Another issue in which the employment of women in Bambay became less attractive were maternity leaves and the childcare benefits. These benefits also discouraged the employers from recruiting women (Barrioentos & Kritzinger, 2004).

2.3 The Overview of the Textile Industry in Africa

The previous section provided a global perspective on the textile sector and its development in the developed world. It showed that the industry was generally exploitative and paid low wages. In most countries, therefore, there was a preference for the employment of women because they could be paid lower wages. This advantage later diminished as women in the sector became unionised. Some countries such as the Republic of Korea saw this as a loss of the advantage and shifted away from the employment

of women. This section takes the analysis from the global to an African context, where the development of the sector was considered as an appropriate path to development.

The textile industry is considered vital to many developing countries. This is because it is highly labour intensive and the nations that have an abundance of labour do benefit by creating job opportunities to their nations (Flanagan, 2003). In Africa, the clothing industry both expanded and shifted its course dramatically during the 1990s. In the current global context, the old manufacturing textile industry has moved from the developed countries and become dominant in the developing world (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2001). It is generally perceived that the textile industry is more suited to the developing countries as it offers the entry-level jobs for unskilled labour and the technology, which can be affordable (Flanagan, 2003). Therefore, the textile sector is seen as being perfectly suited as the first step on the industrialisation process in poor countries (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2001). However, it has been difficult for poor countries to create backward linkages in the sector and, therefore, the developing countries face repercussions for the high cost of materials from abroad (Liu & Li, 2003).

The Trade Economic Liberalisation (TEL), which started around the 1980s and escalated in the early 1990s in Africa, is seen as the key contributor to the development of the textile industries and job generators in Africa (Bhagwati, 1968). The followed analogy has appropriated the argument deployed in the developed world. According to Bhagwati (1968), most of the factories in Africa employed women and young girls, as they were more accessible and cheap labour to start a business with.

The extensive employment of men in the industries such as the mines and construction sectors that are considered masculine, gave women and younger girls preference in the textile industry since they were based locally. Women prefer the textile work as it allows them to return home and do other household duties after work. Women learn and adapt easily in the new environment due to their education (Baylies & Wright, 1993). Madonsela (2006) observes that the Swaziland textiles produced high quality products because they employed educated and cheap workers the majority of whom are women. By virtue of patriarchal ideologies, these characteristics are more relatively attractive to employers.

The 1980s may be labelled as the decade of labour deregulation. This was because the decade was marked as a renewed surge of the feminisation of labour. There was an increase in women's labour participation and a fall in men's employment as well as a transformation from many jobs that men traditionally held. It was coincidental that these shifting patterns were closely associated with the development of the textile industry (Fuentes & Ehrenreich, 1983). This was particularly the case in Lesotho, following the retrenchments from the South African mining sector (Boehm, 2003).

The countries that embraced AGOA include Lesotho, South Africa and Kenya. This has improved their economies in terms of revenue generation and job creation (Madonsela, 2004). According to the World Bank (2010), there is a huge growth opportunity for the textile industry in Africa because of its favourable terms. Currently, the continent is the first destination for business prospects. The industry has the potential to accommodate all the categories of manpower that is skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

2.3.1 The South African Textile Industry

The South African clothing and textile industry has a long history. It has been an important source of employment, particularly for women (Vlok, 2006). It originated in Cape Town, with the manufacturing of blankets in the 1920s and 1930s (Natrass & Seekings, 2012). Information on whether women were engaged in the early inception of the textile industry in South Africa or not (BTI, 1946) is inadequate. Up to the present, the industry has undergone a dramatic shift brought about by the post-apartheid government for not emancipating the industry and nationalising the economy.

After apartheid, South Africa, like other sub-Saharan countries, joined AGOA although South Africa did not qualify under AGOA's original rules which stipulated that those garments had to be made from the United States yarn and thread or fabric that were produced in the AGOA beneficiary Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries (Kaplan, 2003). However, South Africa benefited under special rules, which applied to the Less Developed Countries that had gross national product (GNP) less than \$1,500 in 1998. This situation allowed the countries duty-free access to the garments made from the fabric that originates from anywhere in the world for a four-year period until September 2004 (Grant, 2006).

The textile industry in South Africa is concentrated mainly in the three provinces, namely the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. The location of these firms is largely rooted in the country's history. Gibbon (2002) indicates that prior to the 1960s; the industry was based primarily in Johannesburg, with a small concentration of firms in Cape Town. However, the apartheid statutes imposed some limits on the use of the African labour in the urban areas (Vlok, 2006). As a result, the industry reduced the number of the textiles firms in Transvaal (which is now part of the Gauteng province) and Northwest. It expanded to Durban and Cape Town where there was access to the Indian and colored labour (Stiftung, 2006). Furthermore, the apartheid regime expanded the textile industries to non-metropolitan areas in order to attain cheap labour (Vlok, 2006). The Botshabelo industrial area in the Free State is one of the areas that were designated for development of the textile industry in Free State province (Gibbon, 2002).

In 1982, Botshabelo was proclaimed as an industrial development point by the apartheid government. The new sector offered the employment opportunity to more than 5,000 workers and these were mostly girls and women. The development of the new textile sector was the initiative of the South African government in collaboration with the investors from Japan and Taiwan (Pickles, 1991). Despite the increasing number of jobs that the sector created in Botshabelo, the intervention and corruption of the newly elected government in 1994 led to the closure of this popular industrial area (Pickles & Woods, 1989).

Among the industries in South Africa in the 1990s, the Botshabelo industrial areas had its own outstanding employment criteria and wage structures. Gender played a massive role in this area where the workers were treated according to their sex. According to English (2013), the Botshabelo textile investors preferred women to men because women are traditionally paid lower than the men while another is the belief that women are intrinsically better in adopting certain kinds of labour. In addition, the wages at Botshabelo were extremely low and differed from company to company. For instance, starting wages for women per month ranged between R56 and R120.

Men were generally employed as security guards, drivers, manual labourers, and gardeners (Vlok, 2006). Their wages were not as low as those of their female counterparts were, even though they were still insufficient to live on. Pickles and Woods (1998) indicated that the higher end of the wage scales was held by men that were involved in the production process and possessing some degree of skill, while the lowest wages were generally paid to the unskilled labour. However, the main concern remained on the wages, which those women received. Their wages were extremely low and they constituted the overwhelming majority of the workforce.

As it has been stated earlier, the South African government was involved in the inception of textile industries in the non-metropolitans. This situation hindered the majority of the factories to prosper independently to the extent that some factories faced closure after 1994 when new government phased out the subsidies. Currently, the South African textile industry has more than 66.7 percent of the female workers. This figure is higher than the proportion of the workers in the South African economy (Atkinson et. al., 2011). Unlike other countries on the African continent, the South African men had greater opportunities of being engaged in other sectors such as construction and mining during the development of textile industry (Staritz, & Morris 2012). English (2013) posits that the Botshabelo

textile industry in the Free State was the exception with more women. She maintains that norms and culture within the society do not allow men to work in female predominant field. Anker (2008) posits that by virtue of birth, jobs with the use of physical strength, risk taking or decision-making are considered more masculine while the light work is for women hence their dominance in the textile industry.

2.3.2 Inception of the textile industry in Botswana

Botswana had not been involved in the textile industry until the Zimbabwean firms relocated to Francistown. Botswana experienced its first peak in activity in the textile sector in the 1970s when the Zimbabwean firms relocated to Francistown Town when they fled the political unrest in Zimbabwe. Around 1980, the textile industry in Botswana was developed primarily to service the Zimbabwean market (GoB, 1984).

The development of the textile sector has been vital to the economic interests of Botswana over the last twenty years, as the sector has provided an important source of semi-skilled employment, which alleviates poverty, especially for women, and generated export revenue (Motswapong & Grybery, 2013). On the other hand, Standing (1989) indicated that the 1980s was labeled as a decade of labour deregulation whereby many women joined the labour market in Botswana. The rise in the female labour force participation was also linked to the fall in men's employment. Overwhelmingly, the increase in the number of women in the labour activity weakened their income as they were paid low-wages and their employment security was threatened.

A critical influence on the Botswana textile sector was the AGOA. The agreement passed by the United States (US) Congress in 2000 provided Botswana with a duty free access to the goods in the US markets. This period marked a new history in the development of the textile sector in Botswana where many females were absorbed into the labour market (Standing, 2007). However, Botswana's firms lack the capacity to produce the textiles in large quantities as the foreign textile buyers preferred to purchase goods in large volumes. The high cost of the raw materials crippled the attempts by the Botswana factories to compete in the US market (Mokhawa & Osei-Hwedie, 2003).

2.4 An Overview of the Textile Industry in Lesotho

The textile manufacturing industry in Lesotho covers all the stages of the production of textiles (clothing and footwear products) from the processing of raw materials such as cotton and wool to the production of the final goods such as clothes. Generally, the textile industry covers the processing of raw materials, both natural and synthetic, into yarns, fabrics and textile products such as spinning, weaving, finishing, cutting and sewing of fabrics into finished products other than apparel (Matsoma & Ambe, 2016). The textile industry in the country plays a major role in the development and industrialisation process of Lesotho and its integration into the world economy (Labonte & Sanger, 2006).

During the 1980s, Lesotho enjoyed a number of advantages over South Africa in terms of trade agreements with the Western World. Under the General System of Preference (GSP), the manufactured goods from Lesotho enjoyed preferential duty regimes into such important markets as the USA, Canada and other non-EU European countries (Ayoki, 2016). Furthermore, Lesotho was a signatory to the Lome Convention, which allowed duty free access of clothing into the European Union. Initially the conditions of access to the EU were simple that the garments had to be sewn in Lesotho. During the late 1980s the regulations under the Lome Convention were changed with the requirement that “cumulation” must apply for the qualifying status. In other words, cumulation requires that two manufacturing processes should take place before the textiles qualifies for duty free access. Moreover, it was no longer sufficient to make the garment but the cloth itself had to be woven or knitted in the country of origin or another qualifying African, Caribbean, Pacific (ACP) country) (Alston, 2004: 120).

In the 1980s, Lesotho successfully applied for derogation from the cumulation provision of the Lome Convention. The derogation was allowed for a period of four years and was then renewed for a further period of four years. It was the favourable export environment created by the derogation that assisted the LNDC in attracting a second wave of investment in the late 1980s (Matsoha & Visser, 2001). At this time, some new South African industries commenced the operations in Lesotho. The majority of the investment was made by the Taiwanese entrepreneurs, many of whom were already operating the clothing companies in South Africa attracted by the incentives offered for foreign investment by the beleaguered South African Government.

At that time, the South African Government was facing increasing global isolation and the Taiwanese Government was one of the few with which the South African government managed to maintain

diplomatic relations (Ayoki, 2016). It was relatively simple for the Taiwanese to relocate from the South African homelands to Lesotho where they established export markets free from the sanction constraints of South Africa while enjoying the advantage of favourable access and import tariffs to the Western markets (Hassan, 2002).

Interestingly, with the expiry of the derogation, there were a few closures and downsizing of the companies involved in the export to the European Union, with most of the companies successfully shifting their markets to the US (United States). At this point, the companies were operating without advantage to other developing countries. The garments imported into the USA from Lesotho were subject to an average import tariff of 17 percent (LNDC, 2002). Further, Lesotho was subject to quotas for its exports and then divided among the exporters without a premium being placed on the purchase of a quota (ibid).

As a consequence of its position inside South Africa, Lesotho served as a source of cheap labour for the South African mines during most of the twentieth century. However, as the socioeconomic factors changed with the ending of apartheid at the end of the twentieth century, Basotho men suddenly found mine work increasingly difficult to obtain (Rosenberg, 2007). The decline of gold in the market prices and the pressure from the new South African government of creating employment opportunity for the South Africans led to massive retrenchment of Basotho mineworkers (Boehm 2003). Boehm (2003) further indicates that Lesotho's economies had relied heavily on the export of the labour market to the South African mines and the reduction in the number of men employed resulted in huge unemployment rate in Lesotho. The significant reduction meant that Basotho had to adapt to the new lifestyle. Men were no longer able to support their families and women were bound to leave their families in search of employment.

The enormous changes in the livelihoods of Basotho coincided with the booming of the textile industry in Lesotho. Around 1990s, the world trend of Asia investors relocated the production of textile garments to Africa and especially to the Sub-Saharan countries. The transition reached Lesotho among other countries. As a result, Lesotho and the United State signed AGOA in 2000 (Boehm, 2003). Lesotho became successful in attracting the textile industries from the Far East because it had a plenty of educated and docile labour as well as the favorable legislature and developed infrastructure, both in Lesotho and across the border in South Africa. Maputsoe, a border town in Lesotho was described as the closest route to Durban, the headquarters of the South African textiles (LNDC, 2002).

2.4.1 Textile development in Lesotho

The textile industry in Lesotho made a hesitant start in the mid-1980s. This was primarily as a response to the South African-based clothing companies need to avoid the sanctions imposed on their manufactured goods by the USA and Europe. The establishment was further made to relief South Africa of its high dependency on the economy by Lesotho (Baylies & Wright, 1993). The development of the textiles came as the compensation from the decline in the number of Basotho male workers from the mines. In addition, the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC) offered some incentives to the South African industrialists who set up their business in Lesotho. The main incentives included cheap rentals on pre-constructed factory shells, a relatively cheap and well-educated labour force and a five-year tax holiday, which could be extended through further expansion and subsidised wages during a designated training period (Johnston & Sender, 2008).

The Thetsane industrial area and other industries in the Maseru district also followed. Then the Mafeteng textile industry was also established in 2001 while the Mohale's Hoek industrial centre was the last area to be developed. Most of the textile industries are located in the lowlands of Lesotho mainly because these areas are accessible and close to the border to South Africa. Mafeteng and Mohale's factories functioned for only a few years and were closed (Morries & Barnes, 2016). In 1994, there were twenty-six textile companies operating in the textile factories and they employed nearly 11,000 workers (Ibid). Lesotho became the leading country of textile export in Sub-Saharan and the majority of its workers were women from all parts of Lesotho (Baylies & Wright, 1993).

The importance of the textile industry to Lesotho's economy is noticeable from the fact that besides the government, the textile industry is seen as the only major employer in the country. The industry has been one of the driving forces of economic growth in Lesotho (LNDC, 2002). According to the Ministry of Labour and Employment (2017), the sector has employed more than fifty-eight thousand (58,000) workers of whom eighty-seven percent (87%) are women. The textile industry has provided nearly as many jobs as had been lost in the mines. Wright (1993) argued that the preference of women in the textile industry is based on their higher levels of skills and performance as well the quality of their handwork. English (2010) showed that spinning and weaving have been associated with women as they have better skills in knitting than men.

In addition, Rosenberg (2007) shows that the textile factories prefer to hire women for the low-skill jobs because they believe that women are more willing to accept the low wages than men, and that a female

workforce is controlled easily. The practice of the factory owners to employ primarily women breaks Lesotho's Constitution and laws but has not been confronted due to the risk that the jobs could be moved elsewhere (English,2013). Lesotho's textile development is different from that of other countries since it came as a compensation from the decline of the mining industry in South Africa. In Lesotho, foreigners own the industry and the involvement of the garment is very minimal unlike in South Africa where the government subsidizes it (Vlok, 2016).

2.4.2 Female labour in Lesotho's textile industry

The textile industry remains Lesotho's largest formal private sector employer. It has historically been associated with the high employment of young and unmarried women who have migrated to the lowlands in search of employment (Sechaba Consultants, 2004). The establishment of the textile industry coincided with the declining rate of employment for men in the South African mines (English, 2013). This new structure of unemployment among Basotho created hardships in many families and prompted many women to migrate for work. The majority of women joined the textile industry (United Nations Development Program, 1998). According to Dodson (1998), the Southern African women migrate normally for socio-economic factors than men. Usually, female migration is considered as a survival strategy, driven by household needs. From this perspective, the decision to join the industrial sector was by no means a choice but a strategy that was caused by the economic hardship in the families (UNDP, 1998).

According to English (2013), Lesotho appears to have more textile female workers than its neighboring countries. The structure of employment differs from continent to continent and from country to countries; Lesotho's pattern of having more women than men is similar to that of South Africa even though the experiences are different. Traditionally in industrialised countries and the rest of the world, the textile sector has been depending on women due to their skills. Standing (1989) shows that there is no single country that has successfully pursued textile industrialisation without relying heavily on the growth of female workers. The reliance on women workers is based on the features of the textile industry.

According to Baylies and Wright (1993), the textile owners from the Far East and the women in South Africa are used to the domination of women in the textile sector, therefore, they are replicating it in Lesotho. Preference of the women workers by entrepreneurs is encouraged by the fact that women are considered to be more compliant and dextrose than men. The sector is always associated with the low

skills and low wages. In other works, women are favoured because they are docile and easily manipulated. Although women's participation in the textile industry has grown tremendously in Lesotho, the growth of trade unions is not visible. This situation has given the textile owners the advantage of abusing women because they are not represented (Daemane, 2014).

2.4.4 Wages and working conditions in the Lesotho textile industry

The textile industry plays a significant role in the life of the majority of women around the world as they form a large number of workers. Even though, the industry is leading in high employment rates, more especially for women, the wages or salaries are not competitive. Lesotho continues to remain the largest Sub-Saharan exporter of garments to the United States but this does not mean that it pays good wages (Sen, 1992). Ayoki, (2016) indicated that workers at the textile industry earn between M1050 and M1300 which is below the living wages. However, the wages earned by the employees engaged in Lesotho's textiles industry are of importance to Lesotho's economy and to their households. The wages serve to boost the country from the declining remittances of the mineworkers (Boehm, 2003).

These wages are below the standard living wage of the factory workers. According to English (2013), employers often decrease the wages by controlling the cost related to labour and they reduce the quality of the workspaces while, on the other hand, they extend the number of working hours per day. These economic considerations joined with historically gendered notion of women's work and wages, both of which are devalued in the textile industrial production. Most of the jobs available to women moving into waged work are associated with the roles that women play within the household. Baylies and Wright (1993) posit that in Lesotho wage structures emerged within the principle that women were oppressed within male-headed households, their wages are regarded as

Despite the opportunities that the textile sector offers for Basotho and particularly for women, the working conditions are not conducive for the workers (Ayoki, 2016). The reality is that women in the sector around the world are working under dreadful conditions because the employees take advantage of the cultural stereotypes to which women are obliged to adhere and which portray women as being passive and flexible. Women work for long hours every day, sometimes without even a weekly rest day, and are often not paid their overtime (Akhtar et al., 2014). Many textile workers do not have contracts. The absence of a written contract of employment makes the workers potentially more open to abuse as there is no proof of the existence of an employment relationship and no record of the conditions of employment promised and agreed upon (Taylor, 2014).

Moreover, most of the factories set high targets for each day. The workers are unable to reach these targets. Failure to reach the targeted score gives the managers the opportunity to abuse the workers verbally and to threaten them about their expulsion. In some cases, when the workers have failed to meet their daily target, they are either denied rest or not allowed to drink water (European Research Service, 2014). In Lesotho, working hours are prolonged without informing the workers when they do not meet their daily targets (Lall, 2003).

Furthermore, due to the tight security in the sector, male security guards search women. The male security guards search for stolen goods by feeling around women's breasts and between their legs. Women have nowhere to launch their complaints, as they do not have representatives of the unions in some industries (Daemane, 2014). In some factories, managers organise family planning for the workers in order to control their birth. The Botshabelo industrial area was one of the parastatals, which provided contraceptives for its workers, both men and women. Men were provided with condoms while women were given injection (Cobbett, 1993).

The provision of contraceptives among the workers was never discussed with the workers. Meanwhile, some workers reacted negatively to injection and felt sick. This was done to stabilise the process at work. In addition, in some factories sick leave and maternity leave are not paid. Workers in most of the industries work for a long time without pension. Violence and abuse are common to the workers and they are often attacked or even killed for joining the unions and demanding better working conditions (Cobbett, 1983).

2.4.5 Unionisation in Lesotho's textile sector

Trade unions at the workplace represent the workers' rights. They have to see that there is a conducive environment between the employer and the employees in order to harmonise the working conditions. Lesotho, like other countries, also has workers' trade unions. Currently, textile workers are represented by the United Textile Employees (UNITE), the National Clothing, Textile and Allied Workers' Union (NACTWU) and the Independent Democratic Union of Lesotho (IDUL) (Daemane, 2014). Besides being part of the different unions, the textile women have created an industrial women's committee to challenge the daily issues that they face as women. The women identified issues such as insufficient toilet time, blocked or locked exits, fainting, excessive targets, sexual harassment, low pay which makes some women resort to prostitution and insufficient maternity leave (Molapo, 2014). The committee is

represented by members from the Maseru and Maputsoe industries and it teaches women about social benefits and their rights (Ibid).

Although textile workers are represented by the unions of their own choice, they still face some challenges at work. Daemane (2014) indicated that textile unions in the country are defunct. In other words, they are inactive when it comes to law enforcement and protection of the workers' rights. The main problem that the unions are faced with is bribery. The unions are failing the workers in the factories because when they have to intervene, they first discuss the issue with the textile management without the shop stewards who are the workers' representatives at the factories.

Vanpeperstrate (2020) shows that the textile workers are still illegally dismissed from their jobs and, in some cases, forced into unpaid overtime. The unions are reluctant to enforce the law against the textile owners. Daemane, (2014: 68) added that textile entrepreneurs are given more privileges over the workers by the government and trade unions. He says, 'Textile trade unions are voiceless'. Most of the literature about textile trade unions around the globe shows that the majority of entrepreneurs at the workplace does not accept the unions. The argument is that the unions have a bad influence on the workers. Most of the unions fail to control their members during the strikes. Therefore, it is better for the workers to remain unorganised (Scrimger, 2020).

2.5 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to review the existing literature on the textile industry and gender in an attempt to develop a conceptual understanding of the study on the dominance of the Lesotho textile industry by women, even in the context where job opportunities in the South African mining sector have declined. The analysis in the chapter was approached in a chronological manner, starting with broad international literature. This was followed by an analysis of the African situation and specific country examples. Lastly, the Lesotho specific situation was discussed, with an attempt to understand how Lesotho fits into the global context.

The analysis showed a close relationship between Lesotho and the international situation. It portrayed the sector, both internationally and locally, as highly gendered with a general preference for the employment of women. It also linked the situation to gender discourses on division of labour and what is appropriate work for women. Thus, women emerged as perfectly suited to textile work because they

could be paid lower wages. Lastly, the chapter discussed the effectiveness of textile trade unions in the country.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the methodology adopted in the study. For any research to be meaningful, it is essential that the methodologies are scientifically sound. Labaree (2009) defines methodology as a theoretical analysis of the body of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge. The assumption guiding the study was that Basotho men are not seen in the textile industry of Lesotho although the majority of them had been retrenched from the South African mines. This was led by the observation that most Basotho men are idling in the streets.

The study needed an appropriate methodology, designed to open the dynamics on the ground. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology that was adopted by the study. The chapter will first discuss the research design that was considered appropriate, before looking at the sampling approach and the research techniques used to collect the data. Then the chapter describes the data analysis approach adopted in the study and a description of the ethical considerations observed. Lastly, the chapter describes the challenges faced during fieldwork and how they were overcome.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted the qualitative research approach to establish the understanding and perception of Basotho about the textile industry and, in particular, who should work in the textile industry. The study was intended to identify the meaning, understanding, perception and opinions about the women and men's place in the textile industries. This entails a detailed inquiry into how society defines certain tasks as either feminine or masculine and how any departures from these gender stereotypes are treated. This required a qualitative approach, which allowed the researcher to dig deeper and gain an insight into the situation on the ground. Marshall and Rossman (1995) point out that the qualitative research approach has increasingly become a vital mode of exploration in social sciences.

According to De Vos (2005), a qualitative design is a multi-method focus and involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach. It allows the researcher the opportunity to study the situations as they unfolded naturally. Thus, a qualitative approach enabled the researcher to observe and examine the behavior and attitudes in a "socially meaningful" (Neuman, 2011:175) manner. A qualitative approach assisted to

generate rich descriptions of the understanding of the textile industry and, as a result, made a distinct contribution to the textile sector.

3.3 Research Methods

For the purpose of this study, the data collection process was divided into two levels of analysis, the macro and micro levels of analysis. At the macro level, the study focused on gender and employment at the textile industry of Lesotho. This part also focused on the influence of gender, which led to the division of labour in the textile sectors. This was done through the key informant interviews while the key literature and documents also provided the crucial information that guided the analysis. The second part included the collection of data from the micro level. This was done by collecting the primary data from the textile workers, both men and women, and from the societal members. The local level research involved the interviews conducted with the general members of society and those who are involved in the industry as workers whose views are significant in our understanding of the situation in the industry.

3.3.1 Macro-level Research

At the macro or national level, the study utilised the data from the country level database collection. This was mostly data from the secondary sources such as academic literature, journal articles, reports, newspaper articles, non-governmental and government documents, material. These sources provided information on societal aspects and industry-specific information.

3.3.1.1 Review of the key literature and documents

Chapter Three, which is the methodology chapter, reviews the available literature to help in answering the research questions. This was done by reviewing the journal articles, books, dissertations and papers presented at the professional conferences, as well as the government documents. The information presented in this research study firstly comes from a review of the relevant academic literature. The literature consulted was focused on the academic literature on the textile industry, once again within the international, regional as well as Lesotho context. The approach applied in this research design took off with a review of the selected literature on topics that are relevant to the study. This included the topics on the textile industry in the global perspective, the overview of the textile industry in Africa and the development of the textile industry in Lesotho.

This research enormously benefited from the contribution of key scholars in the textile industry such Gereffi (1999), who offered an extraordinary coverage on the history of the development of the textile industry globally, and why the development was necessary in developed countries at that particular time. English (2013) contributed by highlighting the reasons for the inception of the textile industry attracted young women, especially from the poor families. Hunter and Macnanghtan (2010) shared information on the low wages in the textile industry, which is associated with women's role of being a secondary subsidy in the family in the family. Paul-Majumder and Begun (2000) clarified the factors that led entrepreneurs to prefer women to men in the textile industry. Women's patience gave them opportunities to be at the heart of the textile entrepreneurship.

Kaplinsky and Morris (2000) offer detailed information on when and why the textile industry came to Africa in the mid-1990s. It is explained that the industry suited developing countries as it offers the entry-level jobs for unskilled labour. Madonsela (2006) explains that in Swaziland, the high quality of production in the textile industry is due to employment of educated women workers. Nattrass and Seeking (2012) indicate that the textile industry in South Africa started with the manufacturing of blankets around the 1920s in Cape Town. They highlighted that there is insufficient information on whether women were engaged from the inception of the South African textile industry. While Grant (2006) showed that South Africa did not qualify under AGOA's rule after the apartheid because it was stipulated that those materials that were to be used were supposed to be bought from the USA.

However, it qualifies under the special rule, which indicated that all the developing countries that had gross national product less than \$1,500 qualify. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2014) contributed tremendously to this study by providing a boarder information on the development of the textile industry in Lesotho and why the industry became a pull for women. The author also highlighted that during the development of the textile industry in the country the majority of men were in the South African mines, which served as a major employer for many Basotho men. Cobbett (1993) provides the working conditions that the workers in the textiles industry and how other entrepreneurs forced the workers to use the contraceptives so that they would not fall pregnant while still working.

3.4.1 Micro level research

At the micro level, data was collected by targeting two groups of participants. It targeted the textile workers, both men and women, and the societal members who could share their views on men and

textiles. The second group was that of the key informants. These were the key individuals with interest, expertise and the knowledge of different aspects of the study. They included a range of the individuals who included the factory managers, the government officials from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Gender, the Ministry of Labour and Employment and The Directorate for Dispute Prevention and Resolution (DDPR) and the union officials.

3.4.1.1 Open-ended interviews

The study conducted some interviews in two months from December 2020 to January 2021. The interviews were conducted in two urban centers that host the textile industry in Lesotho – Maseru City in the Maseru District. These places are also the country's capital city, and the border town of Maputsoe in the Leribe District respectively. The interviews in both Maseru and Maputsoe industrial areas targeted men and women textile workers in the sector and the society of Maputsoe and Maseru. These interviews were unstructured to allow the respondents to share information, experiences, challenges and expectations and views. Unstructured interviews allow respondents to talk in some depth, choosing their own words and expanding on issues being discussed.

Compared to the structured interview format, unstructured interviews encourage a good rapport between the interviewee (Reddy, 2016). The format is very likely to make respondents feel at ease and more comfortable to continue with the conversation. Mainly due to its flexibility, it gives the researcher the opportunity to gather as much information as possible on the subject, including the issues that the researcher never thought about. In this type of interviews, the concept under discussion is clarified as the need arises (Mueller & Segal, 2015). The researcher's role is limited to that of a guide. This helps the researcher to develop the real sense of a person's understanding of a situation (Mueller & Segal, 2015). For this study, a research schedule was used as a tool to guide the interview process, rather than to restrict the responses. The respondents were allowed to dwell deeper into the aspects and the information that they shared was the key factor in shaping the argument, in particular the discussion in Chapter Five.

3.4.1.2 The key informants interviews

The focus on the gendered nature of the textile labour force in Lesotho required an understanding of the broader societal aspects such as gender division of labour, development of the textile industry, the dynamics within the industry and the regulations. The significance of particular individuals within the

academic community, government, the textile industry and trade unions should not be underestimated. To capture these aspects, the study conducted about ten (12) targeted key informant interviews. The key informant technique is especially useful in conducting qualitative research in development settings and provides specialist information that cannot be obtained using other methods such as a review of the literature (Kumar, 1989). In this study, the key informants offered expert knowledge on different aspects of the study, which they had expertise, knowledge and interest in and some were active participants. These included the people who were employed in government and working with the textile sector, the union officials and the factory managers.

The key informant interviews included a gender specialist, two textile specialists in the Ministry of Labour and Employment, an official from the Ministry of Gender, another one from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, a trade unionist from the textiles Trade Union, and four factory managers. Altogether, the study drew information from 10 key informants with different expertise, knowledge, interests and involvement with gender and textiles in Lesotho. The diversity of the key informants and their profile allowed the study to draw some insights on a variety of issues on women, men and the textile industry in the country.

The interviews were mainly semi-structured around specific questions relating to their areas of expertise, knowledge and involvement. These interviews were long, with the shortest lasting for an hour, while extended interviews were conducted with the union official and the officials from the government departments. Repeat interviews were mainly follow-ups following the emergence of new issues from the provisional analysis of the data. However, interviews with the government officials were often interrupted because of time constraints, forcing the researcher to rearrange the second or third rounds of the interview to complete the questions.

3.4.3 The sampling technique

Sampling or a sampling frame is applied in choosing a subgroup of individuals from a big population with the purpose of characterizing the specific population. Thus, sampling is a process of choosing a representative subset of the population called a sample (Coyne, 1997). Sampling makes the study to be more precise and economical. It is the sampling technique, which accomplished the generalizability of the research findings (Scott & Morrison, 2005). For the factory workers, the study adopted a snowball approach in identifying the twelve factory workers. According to Crossman (2019), snowball sampling

is a good technique for conducting exploratory research or qualitative research with a specific and relatively small population that is hard to identify or to locate.

Snowball sampling allows the study to take place where otherwise it might be impossible to conduct because of a shortage of participants (Bienacki & Woldorf, 1981). Goodman (1961) defines the snowball sampling process as the cheap, simple and cost-efficient. According to Crossman (2019), snowball sampling enables the research subjects to nominate other possible informants that they know very well. It is highly possible that the subjects share the same traits and it is extremely possible that the sample that the researcher selected was a small subgroup of the entire population. In this study, the researcher had limited knowledge of the people in similar situations. She also had no idea of the true distribution of the population and sample. The first task, therefore, was to locate those people who have worked in the textile sector for a long time and, thereafter, made some requests for the referrals to others in similar situations.

The study selected six females and six males. Six of them were in Maputsoe while six were in Maseru. The process started with the identification of an individual in each area, who was involved in the textile sector, who then referred the researcher to another person. The process continued until the requisite number of participants was achieved. Although the participants were selected following the referrals, great care was taken to ensure that the participants came from different factories for diversity. The male participants did different jobs such as laundry and parking within the industry while the women ranged from the tailors to the packers. This diversity was the key factors in understanding the broader dynamics of the textile industry.

The six community members were drawn from the members of the society through a purposive sampling technique. The criteria employed include men with strong traditional beliefs, men with a history of migrant labour men with work in masculine industries such as construction, unemployed men. This criterion was meant to draw a sample of Basotho men that would represent male attitudes towards particular types of employment. Each of the criterion represented a group of Basotho men whose views were going to be the key factors in understanding of gender and the choice of textile employment. If a researcher were to draw anything from Boehm's (2003) argument, mining would be a men's job while other tasks would be feminized. This can also be said of the construction sector, which is masculine. The reason for identifying unemployment as a criterion was based on the assumption that these men had shunned the textile employment rather than that they had failed to gain employment from the sector.

Lastly, the key informants were also selected based on a purposive sampling approach. This was the most appropriate approach to sampling because the research subjects were selected based on specific criteria. From these individuals, specific information was needed. Therefore, everyone was selected with an understanding that they would provide information that was being sought. This could not be done through any form of random sampling. The information sought dictated that the individuals should be identified and targeted. This was easy because either these individuals belonged to certain organisations dealing with specific aspects or they were known for their expertise, knowledge, and involvement.

3.5 Data Analysis, Research Ethics and Fieldwork Challenges

This section presents the adopted data analysis approach as well as the research ethics issues pertaining to the study. It also discusses the challenges that were encountered and how they were overcome.

3.5.1 Data analysis approach

The study adopted a qualitative research design, which dictated the employment of qualitative research methods. While there are numerous designs, there are now packages that have made data analysis simpler and easier. I preferred to use the manual data analysis approaches in order to have an engaged involvement in the process of interpreting and analysing the data. This entailed a hands-on approach and allowed ownership of the process. The collected data was not complex to necessitate the use of technology. Therefore, the study adopted a thematic data analysis approach. All the interviews were recorded. After the interview process, the recordings were transcribed verbatim and were processed through the thematic and document analyses, as recommended in the reviewed literature. A thematic analysis is an open coding system used to reduce the information to the themes and categories (De Vos et al., 2005).

The data in this study was analysed through a process of coding through which the themes and phrases were established to assist the researcher to make sense and to attach meaning to the responses and materials. Coding the data refers to reducing large amounts of raw data into manageable sizes that may be analysed (Foss & Waters, 2003). In this study, the data passed through three phases of qualitative data coding, namely: open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Foss & Waters, 2003). The first

level of coding, also known as open coding, involves identifying different themes and meanings from the data as expressed by the participants and according to the literature (Foss & Waters, 2003).

Neuman (1997) posits that open coding usually involves forming some themes from the data received and assigning code labels, whereupon the researcher then focuses more on the codes and may even include more categories. During open coding, the focus was on labelling and categorising the data into multiple themes. The second phase of data analysis, which is referred to as axial coding, involved developing and reformulating data into phrases that are more theoretical by establishing relationships among the categories and sub-categories that have been identified (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). In this research study, axial coding involved going through the multiple themes that had been established during open coding then going through these themes again in order to break them down into similar categories and precise themes.

The last phase, selective coding, entailed developing the core themes. After identifying the major themes, the researcher interpreted the findings of the research both empirically and theoretically. At the end of the process, some themes emerged, which were used to develop the argument guiding this dissertation. These core themes included, among other factors, gender stereotypes and wage disparities. These themes were used to achieve the objectives of the study. Some data was, however, used in the raw state as quotations and case scenarios to provide evidence for the adopted arguments. For a qualitative study, giving people voices is a major area of strength since this allows the data to ‘talk’. The quotations, taken verbatim from the respondents, provide that kind of value.

As a way of summary, in this research study the data analysis process started with the researcher going through all the data collected in order to examine the information and meaning and to answer the research question that had been formulated at the beginning of the research process. The researcher then sorted the data into different categories, assigning to each category a phrase, heading or label that described the findings of the data in that particular category. In order to develop the different themes from the collected data, the researcher sorted the coded data as well as the chunks of data either with similar labels or with labels closely linked and assigned to the sorted data according to the topics and headings in order to understand the subcategories that had been established.

The following was taken into account: Whether the data in each pile related to the label assigned to that pile and whether it would be possible to combine or delete some piles because they were immaterial to

the objective of the study (Foss & Waters, 2003). It is important for the researcher to be able to organise the themes in a way that gives useful information and meaningful interpretation (Foss & Waters, 2003). The main aim of interpreting data was to come up with findings and to draw conclusions based on substantial evidence that emerged from the data collected. The explanations and responses from the key informants and reviewed literature were established in themes in order to identify from some of the concepts discussed in the literature review.

3.5.2 Ethical considerations

The issue of ethics should not only be taken into account but should be dealt with (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Ethics are meant to protect the welfare of the participants and social research should not harm or injure the people being studied. Researchers must therefore take all the necessary precautions to ensure that the respondents are neither emotionally nor physically harmed throughout the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). To ensure that this happened, the research was carried out independently and impartially in accordance with the rules and regulations set by the University of Pretoria. In engaging with the textile workers as the key informants, the following ethical considerations were applied in this study: voluntary participation, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, prevention of harm, and debriefing of respondents.

3.5.2.1 Voluntary participation

Voluntary participation is one of the basic principles of research, this principle prescribes that people should not be coerced into participation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The researcher, therefore, ensured that this happened. All the participants were thoroughly made aware of the entire research process and their right not to participate if they were not comfortable to do so in the beginning of the interviews. They were also made aware of their right to withdraw their participation at any time if they were no longer comfortable with continuing with the interview. The participants were also made aware that withdrawal of the consent would not result either in any penalties or loss of benefits in any way.

3.5.2.2 Informed consent

Written informed consent was sought from every participant. The researcher provided the participants with full disclosure of all the information necessary for making an informed decision of whether to participate in the research study or not. Information on the consent form included a statement of the

research purpose, the identity of the researcher, the identity of the institution from which the researcher was from, an invitation to participate, the expected duration and the nature of participation, the description of the research procedures and an explanation of the responsibilities of the participant. Assurance was also given to prospective participants that they would not be under any obligation to participate and could freely withdraw at any time without prejudice to pre-existing entitlements. Before the commencement of each interview, the researcher ensured that each respondent gave consent by signing the consent form.

3.5.2.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

The issue of anonymity and confidentiality concerns protecting the participants' interests and identity (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Confidentiality refers to the researcher safeguarding the respondents' answers within the interviews while anonymity refers to withholding the respondents' names (De Vos et al., 2005). In order to ensure anonymity and confidentiality, the participants were encouraged to make use of pseudonyms. This also ensured that the respondents expressed themselves freely. With regard to confidentiality, the participants were assured that the information they provide would not be shared with third parties. They were informed that, besides the researcher, the supervisor would have access to the information that they shared. The participants were also informed of the storage procedures of data both during the study and after the completion of the study.

3.5.2.4 Prevention of harm

Social research should never injure the people being studied (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Respondents should not be harmed emotionally, psychologically, or physically. The research study presented some significant potential to evoke emotional responses from the participants. However, to ensure that the participants were not harmed physically or emotionally, the researcher took the necessary precautions such as informing the respondents that they were in control of the extent to which they responded to the questions. In addition, before the commencement of each interview, the respondents were made aware of the nature and goals of the study as well as making participation voluntary and informing them that they could terminate the interview if they found it necessary.

3.5.2.5 Debriefing of respondents

In order to minimise harm to the participants, it is always necessary to have a debriefing period after an interview (De Vos et al., 2005). The researcher therefore ensured that the respondents had enough time to express any comments, concerns, or questions once the interview was completed.

3.5.3 Challenges encountered in undertaking the study

Some challenges were encountered during the data collection. Firstly, textile workers were not free to participate in the study with the hope that the information collected would be used against their factories and they would lose their jobs. Firstly, I had to explain the objective of the study and how the collected information was going to be used. This process took a lot of time and forced me to interview one participant twice because the factory workers did not have enough time the whole interview at once. Some of them expected to be rewarded for participating in the study, though the researcher had explained that participation was voluntary. Others pulled out of the study when they realised that they would not be rewarded.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter detailed the methodological framework that was used for the study. It described the intricacies of collecting data on the gender and textile industry question in Lesotho. The study adopted a qualitative design. This paradigm enabled the researcher to investigate gender dynamics in the textile sector from the perspectives of the workers. Thus, the perspectives of the workers shed light on how social issues such as gender are significant in the sector. The chapter also described how data was collected through macro and micro levels. The Snowball sampling technique was used because it enabled the researcher to locate the sample that was very hard to trace. In terms of specific data collection, the researcher conducted unstructured face to face interviews with the textile workers, the society and the key informants. The last section of the chapter detailed the challenges that emerged during the data collection as well as the ethical issues that guided the data collection process.

CHAPTER FOUR: UNDERSTANDING GENDER, LABOUR AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN LESOTHO

4.1. Introduction

Gender and work have a close relationship in traditional societies. In Lesotho, a patriarchal society, certain tasks have a historical significance and this history is significant in understanding the situation in the country's textile industry. For a number of years, Basotho men have served as a labour force in the South African mines. Men would abandon agriculture to take up mining jobs in South once opportunities arose (Boehm, 2003). In fact, labour migration acquired a status position while other tasks such as agriculture became relegated to a domestic chore, performed by women and the aged (Boehm 2003, 2005). Around the 1990s, there was a slow decline in the number of new recruits from Lesotho. This change coincided with the establishment of the textile industry, one of the biggest formal sectors in Lesotho, which has become a major employer of the Lesotho population.

According to the International Labor Organisation (2010), the textile industry has become the backbone of Lesotho's economy, employing more people than the government. However, the textile industry is well known for attracting more women than men and being administered by foreigners, mainly the Chinese and Taiwanese (English, 2013). This is the case in Lesotho, as well as in other countries where the sector is dominant. According to Makoja (2008), different organizations adopted different policies in order to change the employment structure of the textile industry in Lesotho but they failed.

This background provides the context through which we can understand and appreciate the current labour situation in the Lesotho textile industry. The chapter is organized with the intention to capture certain aspects of the Basotho society that has a bearing on the topic of this study. The context is discussed in relation to certain cultural practices including the migrant labour system, gender division of labour and the development of the textile industry in the country. The main objective of the chapter is to provide a context through which we can appreciate the current situation in the Lesotho's textile sector. The chapter is divided into three sections that analyses aspects of this context. The first section provides a discussion on gender and employment in Lesotho, and how society has come to classify some tasks as masculine and others as feminine. The second focuses specifically on cross-border migration to South Africa as a highly gendered process although it also recognizes the long pedigree in the migration of women. Lastly, it analyses the development of Lesotho's textile sector.

4.2 Dynamics of Gender at the Workplace

One reality about gender and employment in Lesotho is that the public sector has a high proportion of women as compared to men. However, men dominate in the high ranks of the employment ladder (Dyer, 2001). This mirrors the situation in other countries in the region, which have initiated affirmative action policies to address the situation (Madala, 1999). In Zimbabwe, for example, an Affirmative Action geared at empowering women, was made into law and contained in the 2013 constitution (Mbewe, 2016). Similarly, in 2003 the government of Lesotho adopted its first Gender and Development Policy (GAD Policy), with the aim of achieving gender equality in various sectors and organizations (Shale, 2012).

In the political sphere, which has long been the terrain of men, Lesotho introduced gender quotas for women for the 2005 local government elections. While this gave women the opportunities to represent their communities, these quotas could not significantly increase the proportion of women in political positions. A study by Makoa (1997) found that gender quotas applied only to certain constituencies. The majority of the constituencies were open and this tended to favour the men (Makoa, 1997).

As is the case in many African countries, more women in Lesotho have attended school as compared to men. More girls are enrolled for primary and high school than boys. The trends are similar at the tertiary education levels (Baylies & Wright, 1993). Lesotho has made progress in educating the girls and in achieving the critical of millennium development goal (MDG) of attaining 80% of educated female (World Bank, 2019). In terms of work and gender issues, the Lesotho government shows its commitment in addressing the gender question and championing the cause of the women. Through the political gender quotas, more women represent their communities at political levels. This is a departure from the societal norm where only male chiefs led communities.

This does not mean that the situation of women at the workplace has changed drastically. The change has been slow. Although there have been some noticeable improvements, some institutions, including state entities, have been slow to introduce the changes in their recruitment policies and still subscribe to the male biased recruitment procedures. In explicating the biased employment of women in Lesotho, 'Maliteboho gave an example of the recruitment policy of 1872 in the Lesotho Mounted Police Service that:

The Police Training College (PTC) used to recruit 20% women and this has increased in sup to 30%. The police service is still using the policy that was used when Lesotho Mounted Police Service (LMPS) was established under the British Administration in October 1872. The policy restricted a certain percentage of girls while the majority must be boys (int. 'Maliteboho, Maseru, 2020).

This policy is also still applicable in other security agencies such as the military and the National Security Service. The reality on the ground still tells a story of imbalance between men and women. The policies and educational achievement of women and girls has challenged the wider social discrimination as well as the economic and political disparities experienced by young girls and women. An increasing number of women have made inroads into professional middle and senior level posts in government institutions but men are still predominant in the higher positions of the employment ladder (Adams & Nkuebe, 2018).

Another area where women's employment has been on the increase is in the textile industry. Women made up 80% of manufacturing employees in the textile sector in 2016 (Adams & Nkuebe, 2018). Even though, women form the majority of textile employees, men still dominate leadership. Women in the textile industry are mainly concentrated on the lower occupations even when they have better educational levels (English, 2013). They occupy positions such as sewing and administrative work, which are traditionally considered feminine.

The gender disparities in senior positions have followed similar trends, with women occupying fewer senior positions (even when they had degrees) and men dominating senior management posts. As one female informant pointed out:

The distribution of men and women in various occupational structures shows a degree of occupational segregation, with men found in the upper and more powerful professions such as supervisors, managers and executives, even when they do not have higher qualifications than women (int.Mathabo, Maputsoe, 2021).

There is an implicit "glass ceiling" where women are subordinated and unable to take the higher decision making positions in the society. This situation prevails even at the workplace (Adams & Nkuebe, 2018). The situation can also be observed in the education sector, where the majority of teachers are women but men dominate the leadership positions (Colley & Jamison, 1998).

Patriarchy is still deeper within the societies and tends to present women as inferior. It defines certain jobs as suited for a particular gender (Schilt & Connell, 2007). One informant used an example of the construction industry, which is increasingly becoming a major player in employment:

In Lesotho because men have many opportunities than women have, for instance, the construction sector is now booming in Lesotho. It is full of men because managers normally complains that women are not productive during their menstrual cycles, sometimes they fall pregnant and this slows down the production process (int. 'Mapalesa, Maseru, 2020).

Mapalesa further complained that men dominate the transport industry, which is another dominant player in the country's economy:

Men have occupied the taxi industry and mining in Lesotho. Therefore, the textile industry in the only sector that has a lot of females and this is a problem. Find out the positions of those few men in the textile, most probably you will find that they are in managerial positions or supervision. Look at the textile trade unions; the management are men, women occupy low positions but this is their fields (int.Mapalesa, Maseru 2020).

Even within the textile industry in Lesotho, there is a general wage gap between male and female workers, in what some workers referred to as 'more than one minimum wage' (int. Thabiso, Maseru, 2021). This is because the firms that employ men tend to pay better wages than those that have a predominant female labour force. These are mostly the firms that engage in tasks that are regarded as masculine and therefore suited for men. Sometimes, these require some level of skill. For example, a firm in Maputsoe that was involved in spinning cotton and operated big machines, had a workforce of 2 350 – 2 500 men and only 150 women. The reason for a larger male work force was that 'men operate the machines' (int. Thabiso, Maputsoe, 2021). While this is justified through the performance of different work tasks and specialization, instances of unequal pay between men and women working in the same department and performing the same tasks were reported.

Despite their high numbers, educational exposure and the range of work open to women in Lesotho, the majority of women still occupy subordinate roles. Their promotion to supervisory and managerial positions is limited and most of them are still segregated in the lower paying job (Ansell et al., 2014). In the industry, Basotho women are often employed in sewing and trimming in the industry while men are working at the end of production such as cutting garment patterns, washing finished garments and

preparing for delivery (Gibbs, 2005). Lesotho has the highest female adult literacy levels in the world. This gives them a chance to be absorbed into the textile industry (English, 2013).

The design of the Lesotho curriculum from primary to high school is gender biased. For instance, girls are taught needlework or domestic work while boys are placed under woodwork or agriculture. This situation indicates that boys and girls will perform different tasks at work. Another crisis that Lesotho has is the topography. Education enrolment between rural and urban area is not the same.

Gibbs (2005) also shows that even though employment created in Lesotho's textile is dominated by women, it has caused migration to the urban centres even across the national borders and has transformed Basotho's lives and exacerbated their vulnerability. It has also contributed to the high unemployment rate of men. The situation has left men in crises because the loss of economic role has reduced their authority in their families and communities (Gibbs, 2005).

Although women have greater opportunities in the textile sector than men in Lesotho, these opportunities are limited to certain operations and are confined to lower wages, less secure and less regulated jobs than men. The culture of Basotho considers women's participation in the waged labour as a supplement to those of male breadwinners (Elson, 1999).

The above narrative is supported by the Abraham and Ozemhoka (2017) that there is an alarmingly high unemployment rate in African countries, which Lesotho is a part of. The situation has forced the countries to change the employment policies and structures so that they accommodate everyone. The major problems that stimulate the high unemployment in Lesotho are the low labour absorption to the economy, the high influence of trade unions federations in the government and high dropout rates. The 2017 strike through which the trade unions wanted the factory owners to increase the wages to M2020, contributed to the loss of employment in Lesotho's factories. This affected men more than women (Lesotho Times, 16 August 2017).

However, Gibbs (2005) points to the unscrupulous, chaotic and corrupt employment practices within the textile sector in Lesotho. These have tended to disadvantage men and, therefore, skewed the employment numbers in the sector towards women. Corruption is rife and managers have been accused of exploiting the general economic and social situation of women to benefit themselves. There is

unstructured recruitment, which has led to the accusation of favoritism, lower productivity, the possibility of bribes and alleged selling of sexual favours. This is, however, not a unique situation to Lesotho. It reflects the situation in the whole society where ‘employment has become a prized commodity and those in control of employment can get richer through its sale’ (int. Maja, December 2000).

There is now a growing fear that the situation will destroy the industry as it has done to the civil service in the country. These unscrupulous recruitment practices have been attributed to the small number of men in the industry. One informant reasoned:

The majority of men that can work in the factories have limited options, are less educated, are poor and mostly from outside Maseru or Maputsoe. They have no money to secure any jobs. Therefore, they stand no chance of securing any jobs, compared to women. Without bribing the Human Resources Manager, you stand a very little chance of securing a job. Unfortunately, even the Chinese managers have now fallen into that trap (int. Lerato, Maputsoe 2020).

Some informants referred to what they called ‘sex for jobs’ recruitment practices, where managers offer jobs for sex. Asked about this practice, some women confirmed the prevalence of the practice and how it creates job insecurity. However, they also confirmed that women stand a better chance of securing a job than men. Lerato had this to say:

Even though the factories are known to be women’s place but there are those men who have relevant skills that are need in the factory but they are not employed simply because they are men. Ministry of Trade and Industry had opened training school at Maputsoe in Leribe district to train Basotho with machines that are used in the factory but this input does not improve the existing imbalance of employment (Int. Lerato, 02.12.2020).

While we cannot deny the issues of corruption and unscrupulous recruitment practices since these are endemic in the Lesotho society as elsewhere in the developing world, the dominance of women in the textile industries may be due to employer preferences. This may be associated with control and productivity. In their study of women migrant agricultural workers in the Free State, Ulicki & Crush

(2007) found that farmers preferred women because they were easier to control than men. Textile work is target based and sometimes requires people to work extra shifts. Women are highly productive and can put in that extra shift, while ‘men tend to want to take days off on weekends’ (int. MaMpho, Maputsoe 2020).

On the other hand, we cannot rule out the role of the textile industry in the Lesotho economy and in employment. The textile industry is rapidly growing in Maseru and Maputsoe townships (Hlabana, 2007). Originally, this sector was mainly the domain of women. The high unemployment rate, which was worsened by the retrenchments from the mining sector in South Africa, has forced men to seek employment in the textile industry. According to Dhanarai (2001), the textile industry offers different benefits to both men and women. This has proven to be a major pulling factor.

4.3 Labour Migration to the South African Mines

In migrant labour societies such as Lesotho, labour migration by men is a culture and the society expects men to migrate for work while women, children and the old remain doing work that is generally degraded. Labour migration from Lesotho to South Africa has a long pedigree (Murray, 1981). It dates as far back as 1867 when diamonds were discovered in the Orange Free State and when goldmines were opened in Transvaal. This led to the demand for cheap labour, which was extracted, from the neighboring countries such as Lesotho (Modo, 2001). More than 240, 000 people in Lesotho migrated to South Africa (Crush et al., 2010). On Basotho and labour migration to South African mines, Boehm (2003) noted:

Mining took some of the population pressure away from the land and led to a substantial part of the male population disappearing for long periods, but it also meant that fields were left to be worked by the old, the young and the remaining ‘gold widows’ on behalf of absent husbands, sons and fathers. Farming thus came to count merely as supplementary income, both subordinated to and, because of the cash-intensive nature of agriculture in Lesotho, highly dependent on migrant labour. Basotho made substantial gains from migrant labour and put comparably little energy into agriculture. In a cash economy, cash always has a priority (Boehm, 2005: 31).

Migration to South Africa had long been important to many households in Lesotho. Around 1980s, about 70% of the rural households had at least one member who was a migrant. Migration provided employment for large numbers of Basotho people both men and women and it also provided a significant

proportion of both households and national incomes. Migration remittances from South Africa contributed almost 65% of the rural households' incomes. This indicates how important migration was to Lesotho.

Boehm' statement highlights not only the significance of labour migration and remittances but also the social understanding of who is expected to perform what tasks and where these tasks should be performed. It particularly brings to our understanding how the Basotho society define certain tasks and who should perform them.

4.3.1 Who migrated and who did what job?

Before the labour market changes that took place in South Africa in the 1980s and 1990s, the main form of employment for Basotho was mining and virtually every household was heavily dependent on the remittances of men from the South African mines. Men migrated to South Africa in large numbers and their numbers increased in the 1970s. Labour migration became so popular among men that a man will 'always leave his field to others and go for the cash, which he needs badly' (Boehm, 2003: 5). The salaries in South Africa spurred male migration to the mines, as Boehm puts it, 'a mine job was almost good enough to feed a family' (ibid). In 1977, Gay (1980a) estimated that between 180,000 and 200,000 men were cross-border migrants in South Africa.

Most of them tended to be young, with over 70% of them between the ages of 20 and 39 (Crush et al., 2000). The flow of migrants from Lesotho had grown within a short period and there were a number of challenges that migrant was faced with. The South African labour laws did not permit Basotho women to work in South Africa. They were given 30 days to stay. Men were given permits only if they were to work in the mines (Griffin, 2011). The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) was the core of recruitment of the mining labourers from Lesotho (Plath et al., 1987; Simelane & Modisha, 1986).

TEBA facilitated the recruitment and administration process between the mining sector and migrant workers. The agreement between the mining industry and Basotho mineworkers, among others, stipulated the required age workers and the duration of contracts. The deferred payment scheme was introduced to Basotho mineworkers. The scheme was compulsory for every Mosotho mineworker to deposit 60% of his wages every month (Sparreboom & Sparreboom-Burger, 1996). The money contributed 40% and 45% of the gross national

Products (GNP) of the country and benefited the owners in achieving their long term projects. It was supposed to be withdrawn only at the end of the contract (Semelane & Modisha, 1986). During the heavy flow of migrants into South Africa, Basotho was faced with a number of challenges. Firstly, the labourers were entitled to be contracted under a certain company in order to go to South Africa. Migrant labourers in South Africa were denied permanent rights to work or reside in the country when their contracts had expired. Foreign workers were compelled to return home upon the completion of their contracts and to negotiate new contracts with their employers (Wentzel, 1983).

Women also migrated across the border. This phenomenon was captured by Gay (1980a), citing the 1976 national statistics figures. He reported that 9.4% of the Basotho population working in South Africa were women, while Wentzel 1983 showed that only 20.6% of the women in the sample aged 17 and above, had worked in South Africa sometime in their lives. However, the majority of these women had mainly accompanied their husbands and worked in the domestic sector to supplement the migrant labour wages that were not adequate for their households. Some women went on their own and started work before they were married.

Other women had gone to South Africa to seek employment after being widowed and had children to support while some of them became known for their business of brewing beer. Others spent their lives as domestic workers even after their husband had passed on or disappeared (Gay, 1980b). Gay also highlighted the challenges that forced women to seek work in South Africa. The married women, left behind in the rural areas by migrant labour husbands sometimes had inadequate or no support at all because some men went for years without sending any form of support.

The literature on Basotho migration locates Basotho women in South Africa in two occupational sectors – domestic (Griffin, 2010, 2011a, b) and agriculture (Johnston, 2007; Ulicki & Crush, 200, 2007). In agriculture, most commercial farmers prefer women because they are more reliable than men (Ulicki & Crush, 2007). Majority of migrant farmworkers are older divorced or widowed women. Men started to do farm workforce recently with the average of 2.4 as compared to women with 3.7. The work is seasonal for Basotho women (Crush & Gay, 2007).

While men dominated the migrant workers population and legally worked in the mines as contract labourers, this situation changed in the 1980s and 1990s when a number of Basotho were retrenched.

The massive retrenchment, which occurred since the 1990s, impacted negatively on all aspects of Basotho economic, social and cultural life. Retrenchments meant that men that had worked in the mines sent remittances home had to return to the rural areas. As a result of this change, household income throughout Lesotho dropped significantly (Mensah & Naidoo, 2011).

The income from migrant labour had shifted livelihoods away from agriculture and labour migration, which had become a defining aspect of men's work, while agriculture was seen as a feminine occupation (Boehm, 2003, 2005). The retrenchment of men from the mines led to a major shift in gender relations. According to one informant:

It meant that both men and women had to seek employment, either locally or across the border. The women could no longer stay at home since remittances had dried-up. Some of them were forced into self-employment activities. Others were already involved in formal or informal employment because the men were not supportive. However, for men, the mines ceased to be a livelihood (int. Sekhola, Maseru 2021).

In reality, the retrenchments from South Africa and loss of remittances resulted in a high level of migration to the urban areas such as Maseru, Mafeteng and Maputsoe to search for employment in the Lesotho textile industry.

As stated above, a lot of Basotho both men and women migrated to the lowlands after some family members were retrenched from the mines to search for employment (Rocchi & Del Sette, 2016). However, the Government of Lesotho and The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) had not prepared these men for life after mining. For example, Basotho mineworkers came back home without any entrepreneurial skills (Mensah and Naidoo, 2011). Additionally, the Government of Lesotho was largely paying attention to the political instability in the country and neglected the high rising number of Basotho men who were retrenched from the mines (ibid). This was collaborated by one of the informants who reasoned:

The government was caught unprepared and had no plans for former mineworkers coming from South Africa. These were forced to go back to their homes with their packages, which, in the absence of any financial plan, were wasted. This generated

poverty. At the time, the government was preoccupied with other pressing issues, and the political instability in the country meant that the retrenchment crisis became a secondary issue. However, this had a telling effect on the households and women bore the blunt (int.Morosi, December 2020).

On the contrary, Maphosa and Marojele (2013) argued that until the late 1990s, while employment opportunity was prevalent for Basotho men in the South African mines, education for male children among the Basotho society was not prioritized. As a result, after Basotho men were retrenched and repatriated back home, they did not qualify for any employment because they were unskilled. However, lack of skill did not prevent men from taking up opportunities in the emerging textile industry as one of informants argued:

The emergence of the textile industry in Lesotho opened opportunities for employment for retrenched mineworkers and other less educated people. Textile jobs are mainly menial and do not require specific educational qualifications and are open to all. The expectation was that these men would take up these opportunities and learn new skills in a new industry (int.Ntai, Maseru 2000).

However, it would appear that men generally shunned the sector and preferred to cross the border regularly for opportunities in South Africa. Informants agreed that men (although women also do) still engage in informal cross-border migration, while others would commute on a daily basis. This happens alongside informal cross-border movements by women to the farms and domestic work in Bloemfontein, Durban and Johannesburg.

4.3.2 Retrenchment of Basotho from South Africa

The mining industry had been the major backbone for Basotho for a number of years to the extent that education of male children was not prioritised. The understanding was that even without formal education they would still be employable in the South African mines (Maphosa & Morojele, 2013). They were employable from the late 1980s to 1990s. The establishment of the National Union Mineworkers (NUM) in 1983 destabilized the mining industry by demanding the wage increase of 55% while the mining management were willing to offer an increase of 17 to 23 percent (Crush et al., 1991). The mining industry and NUM failed to reach an agreement on the issue of wage increase and this

situation led to a disastrous strike in 1987. After the prolonged strike the mining sector dismissed about 60, 000 workers (Markharm & Mothibeli, 1987). The following year there was a decline in price in the world markets, which also attributed to other retrenchments of about 180,000 men (Maphosa & Morojele, 2013).

Massive retrenchments as a result of mine closure and the introduction of internalisation policy had immediate influence Lesotho's economy and Basotho in general (Maphosa & Morojele, 2013). South Africa implemented the internalisation policy in order to curb the growing level of unemployment in the country. This policy allowed the mining sector to replace foreign labour by employing South Africans. The industry management never went outside the country to recruit the workers. Instead, it begun employing South Africans directly at their gates and gave them long-term jobs. They did not want to pay recruiting agencies for their services any longer (Crush et al., 1991). The implementation of this policy also reduced the number of newcomers' recruitment from foreign countries such as Lesotho (Wentzel, 2010).

When the Basotho mineworkers were repatriated, they found out that the skills and knowledge that they had acquired in the mines were not relevant for Lesotho and the level of education was very low for them to be absorbed in Lesotho's labour market because they were now competing with better-educated job seekers than themselves (Morojele & Maphosa, 2013). The difficulties that were faced by retrenched mine workers forced some of them to re-emigrate back to South Africa to be re-employed under the subcontracts. Their experience and relevant skills gave them opportunities to be subcontracted (Crush et al., 2001). The salaries were low as compared to the mining industry. The working conditions were rough too because contractors work within a tight time. The majority of the re-emigrants did not work longer under the subcontractors (Morojele & Maphosa, 2013). Culturally, Basotho men are regarded as the breadwinners and providers for their families. However, coming back because of retrenchment deprived men of their manhood and positions within their households and in the communities. This was because they could no longer provide as heads of the families (Morojele & Maphosa, 2013). The issue of retrenchment contributed to the high rate of Basotho women migrating to South Africa to search for employment since they had to close the gap that was created by diminishing the remittances from the mines (Morojele & Maphosa, 2013).

4.3.3 Changing trends in labour migration

There was a dramatical change in labour migration patterns from Lesotho to South Africa around the 1990s. The new pattern brought about some significant changes in the labour migration departments in both Lesotho and South Africa. The department of home affairs and immigration noticed a high increase in a cross-border movement between Lesotho and South Africa for both men and women (Crush et al., 2010). This period also coincided with the major decline in employment opportunities for Basotho men in the South African mines, which led to an increase in informal female migration of women from Lesotho (see Griffin, 2011, 2016).

The new trends in migration also coincided with the development of textile industry in Lesotho, which was contributing to the high internal growth in female migration (particularly of young women) in the urban areas of the country. There was an increase also in skilled migration from Lesotho to South Africa (Wentzel, 2010). However, as shown in Table 4.1, the number of Basotho who crossed the border legally with the official documents between South Africa and Lesotho also increased (Ibid). The table shows the category of people who crossed the border legally to South Africa during the period.

Table 1: Status of migrants in South Africa

Occupation	% of people
Visit	34
Shopping	19
Medical treatment	6
Trading	3
Tourism	2
Business	2
Study	1
Skilled	10

Source: SAMP (2015)

Only a few migrants in this group had work permits. However, some of them crossed to work illegally or engaged in the informal sector (Crush et al., 2010). According to Wentzel (2010), the majority of these migrants did not have the intention to stay in South Africa permanently. Another group that had an impact on the new pattern of migration was undocumented or informal migrants. Even though South African organizations had the potential of recruiting the workers in the region, they were not authorized to recruit women (Wentzel, 2010). South Africa recognized women from outside its boundary as “clandestine workers”. Due to the challenges that women were facing in their original countries they kept on migrating to South Africa.

Among these groups were divorced, deserted, widowed, childless and single women (Crush et al., 2010). These women were forced by economic reasons to migrate (Ibid). Their increase in migration in Lesotho meant that women has changed their initial roles as women (Crush et al., 2010). The collapse of apartheid made it easier for women to migrate without being harassed and deported. In addition, employers in the agricultural sector, particularly in the Free State province, had seasonal work available for foreign labourers who usually crossed the border without using official documents. The majority of workers who were attracted to the firms were women. This does not mean that, there were no men working on the farms (Crush et al., 2010). As a result of failure to produce legal documents, women were exposed to exploitation and abuse in South Africa (Wentzel, 2010).

A massive increase across the borders was exacerbated by the closure and retrenchment from the South African mines. The study showed that there were around 376,000 migrant miners in 1990. By 2004, there were only 230,000 mineworkers; this showed that there was a job loss of around 140,000. Employment in mining was halted for some years because of the rising increase in the gold price later on, new recruitments were opened only to South Africans. Since 2002, there were no new recruitments from Lesotho, this was because the newly African National Congress (ANC) led the government and National Union Mineworks (NUM) put pressure on the mining companies to hire South Africans only (Crush, 2010).

More than 45% of households in Lesotho relied on remittances from South African mine back until 1990s, as the employment opportunities for Basotho started deteriorating (Crush et al., 2010). Basotho did not migrate to South Africa only to search employment but they also migrated in the urban areas of the country. This is because majority of the developments and services are concentrated in urban areas mainly Maseru and Maputsoe (Maloka, 2004) Women adopted migration system heavily because they

needed to close the gap that was created by the absence of remittance which used to sustain their families (Crush et al., 2010).

The development of the textile industry in Lesotho begun in 1980s and gained momentum in 1990s, after Lesotho obtained duty free market from United State. The development of the textile industry curbed a great number of Basotho females from migrating to South Africa (Baylies & Wright, 1993). This was because from the beginning women had been preferred over number of men in the textile sector due to their skillful work. The emerging employment opportunities for young women made them breadwinners although their salaries were lower than that of ex-migrant workers. However, more than 90% of women are employed in the textile sector, which indicates the importance of the textile sector in the country (Crush et al., 2010).

Another group of Basotho migrants that were crossing the border to work on the commercial farms in the Free State (FS) Province were women. Since Free State is very close to Lesotho, the farmers had the advantage of being close to Lesotho's border by drawing the majority of their workers from the marginalized Basotho society (Crush & McDonald, 2001). There were two categories of farm workers that crossed the border. The first group was the one that had contracts that allowed them to cross the border and work on the farms. The farmers in the Free State and some organizations in Lesotho initiated this. The workers that went through this channel were considered legal (Crush & McDonald, 2001). The second group was the one, which normally crossed the border on their own to look for jobs. This group was considered illegal because it did not have contracts to work in South Africa (Wentzel, 2010).

According to Ulick and Crush (2000), a number of factors led the South African farmers to prefer Basotho workers to the South Africans. The South African were not ready to stay on the farms. They were considered lazy and cheeky compared to Basotho. Farm workers work for long hours, which South Africans would not tolerate. Apart from that, the majority of commercial farmers were Basotho women because they were hard working people. Another reason was that the sector paid low wages which men were normally not attracted to.

Historically, the significant increase of Basotho's female migration to South Africa can be attributed to the decline in the rate of Basotho migrant men's job opportunities in the South African mines. It was reported that half of the growing number of female migrants from Lesotho were domestic workers (Crush, 2010; Dodson, 2000; Gay, 1980; Green & Leduka, 2010). The unemployment crisis in the

country is the sole cause of migration of Basotho women to South Africa with the hope of providing a better life for their families back home. When migrants arrive in South Africa, they attain a new status of being ‘illegal migrants’ because they do not have the South African identity documents (ID) (Griffin, 2011).

Despite the move that was taken by the Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) in 2008 to extend the labour protection and rights to the foreigners working illegally in South Africa but Basotho domestic workers found labour institutions including the unions that were isolating them (Crush et al., 2010). The South Africa law that was supposedly made to protect all the workers regardless of their status also failed the domestic workers as it directly contradicts the South African Immigration Act of 2002 that criminalises migrants’ employment. The criminalization of migrants’ employment hinders them from attaining their labour rights (Griffin, 2001).

Because they were undocumented, their employers also exploited them. For instance, how much they were paid was at the employer’s discretion. Johannesburg was the destination for most of the domestic workers because the wages were better there than in any other province and there was a chain of networks in the area (Griffin, 2011). According to De Haan (2000), getting domestic work was all about being connected. When one was looking for a job, she told a friend who was already in Johannesburg to assist her to look for a job for her. Thebe 2013 also highlighted the same challenges, but more importantly, his study on Basotho domestic women highlighted the new trend in Basotho women’s migration. While he also pointed to the precariousness of their circumstances, like Griffin 2001, he also pointed to the rewards as highlighted by his opening paragraph. His description of the journey from Pretoria showed that for these women, the rewards were worth the troubles.

Despite the challenges that they face in South Africa, Basotho women were still the most preferred employees by the South African employers and networking was very central to this new job market. Thebe tells of Basotho women who had taken the role of recruiter of Basotho labour or of placing these women with the employers looking for domestic workers in South Africa. These recruiters were well known and once women lost their jobs, they would contact them to get them a job rather than return to Lesotho. What this means is that there is now a new job market for Basotho women Basotho are known to be hard workers (Griffin, 2011). What is more important is that the rewards are better in Lesotho. This is a new labour migration opportunity for women; It compensates for the loss of mining jobs by men.

4.4. Rapid Development of the Textile Industry

This section discusses the development of the textile sector in Lesotho. The sector dominates the government sector because it employs more Basotho and it closes the gap that was created when the mining industry in the Republic of South Africa began retrenching the Basotho labour. The industry emerged as a way of reducing dependency on the South African economy (Baylies & Wright, 1993). The Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC), which was established in 1967 immediately after Lesotho gained independence, facilitated the development of the textile industry in the country and raised the level of income and employment where employment was confined to the government sector.

The corporation achieved its mandate by attracting investors from East Asia. The diplomatic ties that Lesotho and Taiwan entered into in 1987 facilitated this (Lesotho National Development corporation, 2000). According to Baylies & Wright (1993), the LNDC initiative to start textile manufacturing came because of the successive failure of agricultural projects in Lesotho and there was a need to absorb new entrants to the domestic labour force from the South African mines. The textile sector started booming after the 1990s when the Asian businesses began to relocate to Lesotho because of the advantages that Lesotho had in the United State markets.

The Lesotho National Development Corporation is still mandated to promote and to facilitate the development of the manufacturing industry in Lesotho and attracted investors. An officer from the ministry had this to say:

As the ministry we are mandated to attract investors in the country. Industrial Policy of 2015-2017 guides the ministry and Industrial Licensing Act of 2014. The policy ensures that there is infrastructure for investors, infrastructure does not mean buildings only, it includes, electricity, water and roads. There is also industrialisation committee which coordinates all the ministries involve in the running of the sector. For instance, investors need to have trading licenses, work permits and residence permits. Investors are also given what is call “After Care Service” this is to make sure that investors do not suffer anything. “After Care” means we care for our investors (Int. Maseru, December 2020).

The government of Lesotho (through the LNDC) offered incentives to the investors in order to attract them to Lesotho (Ayoki, 2016). For instance, among the incentives was the availability of cheap and well-educated labour force, factory buildings, training programmes for factory labour and loans are provided to investors by donors such as the World Bank (LNDC, 2002). Furthermore, the Lesotho government incurred high social costs of providing reproductive service to the textile workers and placing the industry under a military regime in order to maintain cheap labour (ibid). The sector has become very important and a major economic backbone that contributed enormously to the gross domestic products (GDP) of the country (Nseera, 2014).

As Baylies and Wright (1993) reported, more than fifty (50) percent of Basotho men were absent from Lesotho at independence. They were mostly working in the South African mines. In the early 1980s their remittances made up half of Lesotho's GNP. The country had a share of customs duties because it was a member of the South African Customs Union. According to Leduka et al., (2015), the rapid development of the manufacturing industry in Maseru and Maputsoe was due to Lesotho's status of being a duty-free garment export in the United States market (Leduka et al., 2015). During its peak in 2006, there were fifty (50) foreign-owned factories that employed close to 50 000 Lesotho citizens (Leduka et al., 2015).

Leduka et al. (2015) pointed out that the expansion of the textile industry in the 1990s gave birth to a high population of Basotho migrating to the urban areas. Ha Tsolo, in the Thetsane area and Ha 'Mathata, in Maputsoe were the highest receiving areas. Even though, there are more women than men in the industrial areas, in recent years there is a massive movement of young Basotho men to Maseru and Maputsoe in search of local income-earning opportunities, especially in the textile sector. This is because both Maseru and Maputsoe are immediately adjacent to South Africa, on the western border. See the figure below for an illustration:

Fig.4.1: Map of Lesotho and its two industrial cities, Maputsoe and Maseru



Source: google map

In addition to the relatively high-density populations in these border cities, many people in Lesotho live further away in the lowlands, foothills, and mountains. Many of the women working in the clothing industry leave the rural villages and go to live near their places of work (Chaka, 2011). The low wages associated with the textile sector force the workers to rent houses that are around the workplace than commute. They rent rooms and they are considered poorer than the property owner (Leduka et al., 2015). The low wages in the textile industry of Lesotho prevent the Basotho, especially women, to go and search for jobs in South Africa. The current employment opportunities in South Africa for women are domestic work and farm work. The textile industry still needs expansion in the country because it is the largest employer. The government left the textile industry entirely to be owned by the foreigners in the country (Leduka et al., 2015).

The textile industries operate differently in different countries and regions (English, 1993). In Lesotho, the sector has approximately fifty thousand full-time workers. These are divided into two groups, those who work during the day, while the other group works the night shift. This system has enabled the factories to employ more workers. There are also casual workers, who are part-time. This group is engaged when the firms have more orders (Lesotho Clothing and Allied Workers Union, 2015).

The textile industry has become a popular means of employment for Basotho in the country, mainly for the poor. This mode of production has just been advancing and increasing with industrialization, which allows mass production of goods and services to be internationally accessible. Therefore, young girls and women have been employed (World Bank, 2018). The development of the textiles came as a relief for Basotho after the decline of remittance from the mine. However, English (2013) indicates that the

development of the textile industry in many developing countries, including Lesotho, is attractive to women and young girls because they are submissive and are willing to work for low wages.

The situation in Lesotho corroborates Standing's (1989:1080) argument that the growth of the textile industry around the world has contributed to the marginalisation of women as workers. Not only do women workers receive low wages but they are also prepared to work for low "aspiration wages". The majority of women, working in the textile industry in Lesotho, are migrants from other parts of the country. They go to Maseru and Maputsoe in search of jobs. As one of the informants observed:

The majority of the women are not educated. They perform menial tasks. They are forced to work under unfavorable conditions.... they need jobs because they have people to support financially. Some of them do not have husbands and the job provides some form of income (int. Ntai, 20.12.2020).

Women have always been a central part of the development of the textile industry, the world over. As Baylies & Wright (1993) have argued, no country has successfully industrialized in the development of textiles without relying on a huge expansion of women workers. This would mean that the situation in the Lesotho textile sector is normal; something is expected to happen. The textile sector, the world over, attracts women and is an employment world for women.

4.4.1 Understanding the preference of women in the textile sector

The employers' increasing preference for young girls and women comes from the fact that women can be paid very little even if they are highly educated (Lane, 2019). They do not join trade unions. Women learn more easily than men and they produce high-quality textiles (Baylies & Wright, 1993). The informants observed a bias towards young women. However, gender discrimination runs deeply throughout all of the countries in which the garments are currently produced. Lesotho is part of this broader environment (Lane, 2019).

Baylies & Wright (1993) argue that the sexual division of labour in Lesotho's factories cannot be given as a fact, but the time and space in which the sector was developed is very essential. As alluded to earlier, the sector developed at a time when the opportunities for jobs were diminishing for the male migrant labourers in the South African mines. This had become a culture and a normal situation. More

importantly, was the reward for the mining job as Boehm 2003 has demonstrated. Another issue emerging from the discussion is that Lesotho is not exceptional since women are normally concentrated where the level of skills and wages is low. This pattern of women dominating the textiles industry in Lesotho is inherited and not accidental.

4.4.2 Lesotho's institutional framework

Following Lesotho's independence in 1966, the country attempted to replace imports with domestic production. However, none of the trade-related interventions that were adopted before the 1990s addressed the trade agreements adequately (LNDC, 2002). New trade policies, which gave birth to the expansion of the textile sector in Lesotho, were adopted (Odhiambo & Malefane, 2016). In most countries, the textile industries are subject to regulation regimes involving a combination of international and national state licensing, taxation and certification licensing. The textile sectors in many countries are regulated under different ministries and organizations for them to operate smoothly. Each ministry and organization have its mandates and the policies, which affect the operating system of the textile sector.

In Lesotho, a number of line ministries and institutions play critical roles in the operation of the textile sector. These range from the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI), which is in charge of examining the industry performance, to the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC), which is the main parastatal of the government of Lesotho in charge of the development of the manufacturing industries and implementation of the country's industrial policies (Makoa, 2008).

4.4.2.1 Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI)

The Ministry of Trade and Industry is responsible for formulating and monitoring the implementation of appropriate commercial, marketing and industrial development policies and enforces the supporting legislation. The Ministry is at the centre of planning and monitoring the development of the industry and trade in Lesotho. It has taken the lead in upgrading the infrastructure to the industrial estates by establishing a task force of all the utility providers and other agencies involved in industrial development. The Ministry also coordinates the Integrated Framework for Trade in the country (Thetsane & Mokhethi, 2019). The Ministry of Trade and Industry is responsible for promoting and enforcing appropriate consumer protection while, on the other hand, it also protects the interest of the

consumers and creates greater awareness of their rights and facilitate the development of both international and local markets (Morris & Staritz, 2017).

The ministry carries out an important role in regulating the textile sector by promoting the sector globally and ensuring that the environments have all the services, which enhance quality production (Ayoki, 2016). The Ministry of Trade guides regulation in Lesotho and Industry Act of 1980 as amended in 2001, together with the Trade Policy and Regulations, 2000. The policies of Lesotho are drawn based on two policy pronouncements, the Vision 2020 of Lesotho and the Kingdom of Lesotho Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRSP) (Likotsi, 2012). The underlying textile policy is that the Government will protect and expand a sector on which a significant part of the population depends on for its livelihood (Ibid). In Lesotho, the textile industry has become an important sector and government has increased foreign exchange earnings from the textile industry in order to compensate for the loss that it had incurred from South African remittances (Likotsi, 2012). All the industrial developments in Lesotho are overseen and coordinated through an industrial-licensing board, which falls under the Ministry of Trade and Industry (Makoa, 2008).

4.4.2.2 Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE)

In Lesotho, the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE) formulates and monitors the implementation of labour policy. It also sees its role as promoting tripartite n and social dialogue. The newly constituted DDPR, the Industrial Relations Council (IRC) and Labour Appeal Court (LAC) fall under the responsibility of the Minister of Labour (MLE, 2004).

The role of the ministry is to monitor the labour law and the international law to ensure that other enterprises in the country comply with the laws governing the industry. The ministry sees that the employers and employees in the particular sector do adhere to the labour laws of Lesotho. Employers and employees are expected to know the labour code because ignorance of the law is not an excuse in times of trouble. With regard to the textile sector, the ministry inspectors inspect the factories twice a month to check whether the factories are still complying with the laws that regulate the sector. If a particular factory does not comply, the ministry reserves the rights to withdraw its license. The ministry ensures that both men and women get equal opportunities for employment (Matsoha & Visser, 2001).

4.4.2.3 Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation (MGYSR)

The ministry is in charge of creating and ensuring a sustainable quality of life for the Basotho nation, young and old. The ministry also mobilises people on gender issues around the country (Ministry of Gender, 2011). It has two departments, the economic department and the social department, which are responsible for the industrial sector. Under the economic department, Basotho are empowered with skills to start their own businesses in order to eradicate poverty while the social department deals with the social aspect that affects the nation.

These departments play crucial roles in the country's textile sector. According to a ministry official:

As a ministry, we hold workshops for the factory workers twice a year. Since they do not have enough time, only their representatives normally attend. The ministry is encouraging factory workers to have extra money by doing small businesses. For instance, some of them know how to make Vaseline, cook and dress hair. we encourage them to continue with their own businesses in order to avoid dependency on their salaries. The ministry also sees to it that women get paid during their maternity leave (int. Official from MGYSR, Maseru, 2020).

The ministry officials noted that unscrupulous employers often deprive female factory workers of their right to get paid leave. The ministry officials have a responsibility to ensure that these women know their rights, and how they should report any sort of abuse that they may encounter. According to the officials, incidents of abuse are widespread because people are desperate to get jobs. Therefore, those who have power use it to abuse the desperate ones, especially women. The most cited cases of abuse were sexual abuse offences, which can be categorized as 'sex for work' job offers. The ministry deals with inequalities that arise in the textile industry.

4.4.2.4 Other agencies: The Directorate of Dispute Prevention and Resolution (DDPR)

The DDPR is an independent organisation established under the tripartite body of the Industrial Relations Council (IRC) and represents the government, employers and labour. The vision is to promote justice at work in order to obtain industrial peace and stability. The organisation advises its employees

and employers on how to prevent trade dispute (Mosito, 2013). While the textile employees are highly unionized and are represented by their union, the directorate is available to serve them in dispute resolutions with employers.

While disputes abound in the textile industry, the major challenges that the organisation is facing with the employers in the factories is that they do not present themselves to the organisation when they are needed. The organisation mostly deals with their representatives. An official from the organisation explained:

Most of the cases in the factories are about unfair dismissal and harassment. Sometimes workers are expelled for petty issues such as taking too long in the toilet. and you find that this person who is fired has worked for more than 10 years in that firm. As an organisation, we try to harmonise the relationship between the two parties (Int. Maseru, January 2020).

4.4.2.5 Other agencies: The role of the textile trade unions

The National Clothing Textile and Workers Union (NACWTU) are by far the largest trade unions representing the workers in the garment industry (Daemane, 2014). In the past, the activities of the trade unions were hampered by a hostile attitude of many of the industrialists, some of whom fought to keep union activity to a minimum on their premises. Since the implementation of AGOA in Lesotho things have changed markedly and the unions now claim that most industrialists grant them access to their workers. The NACWTU has taken advantage of the situation and recruited within the textile sector and has seen its members grow with the growth of the industry (Mosito, 2013).

The union also represents temporary workers as revealed in an interview with a union representative:

Currently, as a union representative, I do not know exactly the number of our members, especially in the North because I am in charge of the North area. This is because the situation in the factory is not the same as in other organisation whereby workers are permanent or temporary for a certain period. In this sector, we have permanent and casual

workers and they are all faced with expulsion at any time. The most challenging problem is that men workers in the factories are afraid of fighting for their rights because their chances of finding jobs are as slim as those for women. The Chinese are scared of men because men normally fight them. We still have a case where a man gunned a Chinese man down last year in 2019 (int. Ntate Napo, December 2020).

However, the Lesotho trade unions have received assistance in various forms from the donor community. This has resulted in most of the union officials being well trained and fully recognised by the international labour level developments. The two unions are affiliated to a number of international and regional labour movements such as the International Textile and Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF) and the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Unions (SACTWU) and, through this body, to COSATU. The unions have used these affiliations to gain information about the wages and working conditions in the region. This has been a major resource in their engagements with the employers. The recruitment and mobilization by the unions has also been the key advantage to job security and fair labour practice in an industry that is known for its exploitative practices.

From the discussion, therefore, mechanisms are in place to ensure the smooth running of the textile sector in the country and to position it as a major employer. These mechanisms are also meant to ensure equality in employment. While generally, there is a preference for employing women in textile industries the world over, this should not have happened in Lesotho, with the mechanisms put in place. Despite all this, the fact remains that there are fewer men in the industry than women. Possibly, the answer lies elsewhere. The next chapter pursues this question by seeking an empirical understanding of the situation.

4.5. Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a context in which we can understand the contemporary situation of Lesotho's textile industry. It highlighted instances of the dynamics of gender at the workplace, which has not changed though Lesotho has a policy on equal opportunity at workplace for every citizen. This chapter discussed the long-standing labour migration to South Africa, the patterns of employment in the country particularly in the textile industry. It also discussed Lesotho's institutional framework as it plays a role in the textile industry. The chapter also includes the responses from the government institutions and the key informants.

Although Lesotho has a policy regarding equal opportunity, there is a serious concern on the way in which positions are awarded. The Local Government introduced the gender quotas for the local government elections. However, that situation did not improve or increase the number of women in the election indicated by Shale (2014). According to the responses gathered during interviews, the government initiated the implementation of the regulations that sustain quality at work as the textile workers have different perspective on this policy.

CHAPTER FIVE: '*BASALI BA LIFEMENG*', TEXTILE AS FEMINE WORK AND THE CHALLENGE FOR MALE WORKERS

5.1 Introduction

In an attempt to understand the reasons why the textile industry in Lesotho is highly feminised and in an attempt to draw our understanding from the social actors, the study conducted interviews in the Maseru and Maputsoe industrial areas, which are the areas where the textile industries are located. With the retrenchment of many Basotho men who worked in the mines, the rise in unemployment among the Basotho was certainly posing social and economic challenges for many households. The loss of the mining sector opportunities in South Africa increased unemployment and poverty in the context of agricultural marginality, as Basotho had abandoned agriculture when the mining opportunities were at the peak (Boehm, 2003, 2005). While the emergence of the textile industry provided employment opportunities, it mainly attracted women. This chapter is intended to understand the dominance of women in the emerging textile industry and to ascertain whether certain traditional stereotypes account for the majority of men shunning the sector.

The chapter approaches the subject systematically by analysing specific issues in turns. The study was generally guided by the assumption that Basotho observes a strict division of labour and that Basotho men have a distinct understanding of what employment is. In this way, the assumption was that they would shun textile employment because it is taken as a feminine occupation. The chapter, thus, begins by discussing societal perceptions about men working in the textile industry. In addition, the chapter examines the work or tasks carried out by men in particular and why they do such work. Furthermore, the chapter will explore the challenges faced by men in both the workplace and society and whether men are considered as less of men when working in the textile industry. This chapter ends with a summary of the findings.

5.2. Do Basotho Define and See the Textile Industry as an Occupation?

The relocation of the textile industry in Lesotho came as a relief to the South Africa economy on which Basotho had been relying. This industry showed promising growth rates around 2006. It has contributed immensely to the economic growth and it became a source of employment for the majority of Basotho. Since its inception, Basotho from all parts of the country migrated to the lowlands where the industries are based. The migrants either search for employment in the factories or become hawkers outside the

textile premises. Textiles are another source of the national economy. The participants showed how the industry has changed their lives. One participant said:

Before I came to the factories, my life was not easy because I was unable to send my first child to high school after he completed grade 8. I decided to come here when I realised that not all my children would be able to complete their education if I do not go to work in the factories. As a single mother, I brought all my children here so that they could help me to sell the fruits to the textile workers on weekends. The industry is the source of income for my family (int. 'Mapalesa, December 2020).

Another concurred:

...the factories now support Lesotho's economy. If the factories can shut down, it would be a disaster in Lesotho. Factories have eliminated hunger, murder, theft and all those bad things that are done when people are not busy. That is why when it is month-end Maseru and Maputsoe become busy, as they are the hub of the industrial sites in the country. Even the banks experienced long queues when factory workers are paid rather than when it is a payday for government officials. Factory workers support public transport, when we have struck, they suffer because we are their reliable customers. This shows that factories have hired more people than the government and they are contributing significantly to the economy of the country (int Mme Ntoi, Maputsoe, December 2020).

Those who are directly involved in the sector also acknowledged the positives that were brought by the development of the textile industry:

Factories have helped Lesotho society because after the retrenchment of Basotho men from South African mines, no sector could have compensated for the loss of job opportunities. Our country is already poor and the decline in mining sector made the situation worse since mining was the only source of economy. The presence of textile in our country has played a massive role to avert a social crisis. Although, the economy cannot be the same like during mining period, but we are able to survive because of factories. For me, personally, the industries came as a

relief because I was unemployed. The factories have now become my life. I work here and support my family. There would be no life without them (int.Thabiso, Maseru, December 2020).

The textile industry has created more jobs and even improved the economic status of the country. Therefore, it has taken over the role of mining. Mining used to employ many Basotho men who were unskilled and illiterate just like textiles. The textile industry fills the gap that the mining industry created in the country when it cut an intake of labour into the mines from Lesotho. However, not all people agreed. Others had a negative opinion, because of their experiences in the sector. According to one of the participant:

The textile industry in Lesotho came to impoverish Basotho and kill us because they are paying us very little money which they were not paying workers in their country. My salary caters for rent, transport and food only. It means that I am going to spend my entire life without having my own house. We work for long hours without being paid extra time and when we get sick, the Chinese deduct our salary. If there were any other work opportunity somewhere else, I would have gone there (int. Thabiso, Maputsoe 2021).

These negative experiences, however, cannot take away the positive contributions in terms of employment creation, and in particular, the employment of women and the few men that are involved in the sector. While men have shunned the industry, some men actively participate in different textile establishments. The section that follows focuses on these men, particularly how they are seen and understood in society.

5.3 The Perception of Basotho Men about Working in the Textile Sector

5.3.1 Gender stereotypes

Despite the calls for gender equality worldwide, gender stereotypes still hold people back in the workplace. People do not take work because a certain job is associated with a particular gender (Parks & Stamm, 2007). In Lesotho, women still make up 90 percent of the textile workers and they are considered to be hands-on in their jobs. This should be considered from its historical context and certainly bare some gender stereotypes. In Lesotho, the sector specializes in producing the garments and, historically, sewing has long been seen as one of women's domestic chores.

Women are generally considered appropriate for textile work and there has been a general preference for women by employers. Baylies and Wright (1993) observe that men are few in the sector because they are considered to lack experience of sewing like women. As highlighted earlier, historically men were groomed to work in the mines because the mining industry was the only sector that employed Basotho around the 1970s. Furthermore, as one of the informants reasoned:

Educating a boy child was not a preference because mining was already waiting for him. As a nation, we never thought that the mining sector would decline and we would face this high employment particularly for men. Traditionally, girls grow up sewing as one of house chores as a result when they search for employment in the factories that experience give them advantage over men that is why they are many in the factories (int. Moloi, Maseru, January 2021).

Heillman (2012) agrees that gender stereotype holds back both men and women to get and obtain what they want because society is the one that defines what males or females should do. Basow (1992) also added that gender stereotypes are also embedded within the social structure and transmitted to each succeeding generation through its socialisation. According to informed sources in Lesotho, this is certainly the case with particular occupations in the country and certainly an attitude of some men about particular occupations. It emerged that:

A man would rather stay home doing nothing rather than going to the factories because they define the textile sector as a woman's place. Men have that egoism that deprives them of certain jobs because that work is considered as women's work. Men normally join women's fields if there is a monetary issue, or they are going to hold certain positions in that field other than that they do not (International Labour Organization, 2018).

In interviews, it was shown that Basotho men shun textile employment because they see textile occupations as feminine:

When the textile sector was established in Lesotho around the 1970s, most of Basotho men were in the mines. Those who were left at home did not have interest because the

industry was regarded as one of the sectors that pay low wages to the workers. Therefore, men usually do not have interest in the sectors that pay low wages. Basotho men believe that men as heads of the family have to work in the sectors or organizations that pay better wages. This is because men are considered as providers and their salaries must be better than those of women and women's salaries are considered as supplementary wages. That is why men choose the sectors that they want to work with (Int. Maseru, December 2020).

It is interesting that some men look down upon men who work in the textile industry. A term '*bo-ausi*' was used to refer to these men because they work mainly with women. Others called the men 'womanizers', which was a derogatory term that referred to their interaction with women. Derogatory names associated with men that defy certain societal expectations are common in Lesotho. One such name is '*mahlalela*', which is used in most migrant labour societies to refer to a man who is found in the rural areas without a job. *Mahlalela* actually depicts a jealous man who cannot bear to leave his wife behind and look for work (Thebe, 2018). One of my informants explained the reason behind the derogatory names:

According to our culture, men are expected to work in big companies, in the mines, be drivers or be in military services not in the textile sector. The textile industry is for women not for men because it is believed that women's wages are devalued (Int. Maputsoe, December 2020).

This is in line with English's (2013) comment that the textile sector is women's work. This notion is rooted in the reproductive role that women played within the households. Thus, Basotho men would rather migrate to South Africa and seek jobs that are also considered to pay better than the textile sector.

It is interesting that not everyone believes that men should not take up employment in the textile industry. For others, there is a general realization that times have changed and employment opportunities have become scarce. The textile sector is therefore seen as offering opportunities for livelihoods:

In this era, we face many challenges. For instance, people have been retrenched because of covid 19. The situation increases the high rate of unemployment in the country therefore, we have to advocate the old ways that we used to do or perceive. Men, women, boys and girls should do the work that they qualify for. No group of people should be segregated for doing a certain job. The

men that are in the textile industry support their families. This is not the time to check who works where. Briefly, everybody is free to work in the textile industry (int. Maseru, January 2021).

From this perspective, men also have a role to play in the textile sector. It was observed that men also seek work in the textile industry and have taken employment in the sector. Stereotyping becomes less relevant in terms of crises. The job squeeze appears to have forced men into a corner and men have been observed queuing for jobs in the factories in Maputsoe and Maseru. This has been exacerbated but the outbreak of the Covid 19 pandemic, which has reduced cross-border migration opportunities due to the restrictions in cross-border movements. What this tells us is that the textile industry has become the last resort and not an employment of choice. As one observer argued, ‘these men will disappear from these queues the moment South Africa opens its border and opportunities open on the farms’ (int. Maseru, December 2020).

The study focused on whether gender stereotyping has changed or not. There were different opinions, with some people focusing on rewards rather than gender stereotyping. These salaries can hardly sustain a man and his family. They are only suited to someone without a family to look after. In an interview, one of the informants had this to say:

I do not think men who work in the factories are undermined because there are some people who work in the sector now. The problem with men is that they want to work where they are bosses; they want the companies or industries, which have monetary values, if the industry were paying good salaries, they would join it. She says, “My side is not about stereotyping. It is about men being too choosy.” Most of the men now prefer to bask in the sun the whole day while their wives go to the factories. They tell you that they cannot work for M2000 while they do not have a mere M5.00 (int. Maneo, December 2020).

However, this does not completely rule out gender dynamics that are at play at the societal level. As the textile industry pays meagre wages, this exposes men working in the industry to ridicule since they earn very little. Men are expected to support the families and the salaries should enable men to carry out their responsibilities. This is central to stereotyping and these views are still deeply embedded in Basotho society. As Mihail (2006) argued, different cultures influence gender stereotypes in the societies. Boys and girls grow up being treated very differently. The different

treatment determines the role that one has to play in the society. This extends beyond choosing the subject in school to the career choices. For instance, girls are usually recommended to choose domestic work such as food and nutrition and needlework while boys do agriculture and physical subjects.

5.3.2 Work done in the textile industry

The question of what men do in the textile industry is very important in our analysis of gender dynamics. Firstly, it tells us about the dynamics of gender division of labour in the industry. Secondly, it highlights the differences between men and women and where there are no differences, the stereotypical position. How do men that do similar tasks with women see themselves is an important part of this analysis. More importantly, do men that do tasks that are different from those done by women see themselves differently from those who perform similar tasks to women's tasks. Men are fewer in the textile industry since tasks that are specifically male tasks are few. This tends to limit the number of men employed.

The factories that are still in operation hire the workers that are specialized in their area of production. In other words, there is division of labour to speed up the production processes. The government of Lesotho has recently opened vocational training centres to train people in the textile work. Some men have joined the vocational training centres that were initiated by Ministry of Trade and Industry in order to train Basotho on how to use textile machines. One such training centre is based in Maputsoe Town. The opening of this training school has opened up opportunities for men who have interest in sewing to compete with women in finding jobs at the factories. However, the general situation is that men and women do different job. This situation was explained in the interviews:

In the factories, we do different tasks according to our sections, there are sections where men and women work together and there are sections where men work on their own because of the work that is done in those departments. For instance, apart from sewing, washing, clerical work and supervision, there are some men who work in the administration department because their employees prefer working with men rather than women. The issue of who does what and who does not do what depends on individual firms (int. Maputsoe, December 2020).

Some work in the factories is routine, but it is highly specialized. Under such circumstances, men and women may do the same tasks, which are, specialized (English 2013). For instance, in the ironing department, cutting, sewing, and cleaning the toilets are not gender specific. However, in the case of cleaning the toilet facilities, men clean their own toilets while the ladies clean their own. It emerged from the study that men who do the same tasks as women are often target-oriented and tend to operate more efficiently and faster than women when there are targets to be met; they get production bonus. One of the women observed:

The only problem that I have noticed in these areas is where men meet the target. Men are faster than women in sewing. They achieve a score and this causes conflicts between the workers because when one meets the required target, he gets cash. Apart from that, we are able to work together as a team (int. Malineo, December 2020).

This proves that men can work in the textile industry and work the same tasks as women. More importantly, men appear to be more interested in rewards and can perform any task as long as they are rewarded for doing it. There are specific tasks in the industry that men perform and appear to prefer certain tasks.

Despite the small number of men in the industry, their challenges are numerous. They are placed in the sections that are dealing with heavy work (NACTWU, 2018). The main duties of men are to load and off load materials from the trucks. The majority of men working in the dispatch department. Such work is heavy and requires muscles. Employers prefer to employ men for these masculine tasks. As one of the women observed. ‘The materials are in rolls. When they arrive in the factories and to off-load them, they need physical manpower and that work is only done by men’ (int. Maseru, December 2020). It emerged that people who work in these sections work harder than most employees, since these sections also use heavy machinery. Therefore, they operate the machinery.

The above statement is supported by Blackstone (2003) who argues that in the workplace men and women are expected to perform different tasks and occupy different roles based on their sex. This situation is still prevalent in the twenty first century; many companies are still operating from the perspective that favours traditional beliefs about gender roles. The positions that both men and women hold in their companies or organisations are often segregated by their sex. This is the case in the Lesotho textile industry.

Experience is the key factor in the textile industry. The study shows that most men who sew come from other factories with prior experience in the art of sewing. Some of them have studied sewing at school. When they were hired for a particular machine, they are checked before they are hired to see whether they really know how to use that machine. Other workers have been hired without any sewing experience or they go for a short training to check whether they can learn fast. They are trained to use the various machines that are available in the firm. Some machines need strong work force. For instance, women cannot operate “Sampo 2010,” this is the biggest machine in our firm; therefore men have to be available to operate them (int, Thato, January 2021).

In some factories, men and women mind different machines. Men operate heavy-duty machinery while women operate normal sewing machines. One of the women explained:

When I arrived in this firm in 2010, men were few because most of the work was done with normal sewing machines which women can operate. In 2015, management added men because they replaced old machines. The complex new ones needed physical strength to operate. Men deal with energy-intensive jobs in this firm. There are two types of sewing machine in this firm. The first is the “sampo 2010”, which is a normal machine for sewing, and the second is needed for seams. Apart from that, there is a section that deals with turning in and out of jeans, most of the workers in that section are men because women who were working in that section used to complain about severe sharp pain therefore, they were replaced with men. Men also dominate the dying section. Women react easily to the sensitive chemicals (int. Mohale, December 2020).

The only one specialised weaving factory in Lesotho is totally dominated by men. It produces cotton and sends it overseas for the market (Ministry of trade, 2017). As can be deduced from the following excerpt that the tasks are heavy:

We are working hard in this firm. We use huge machines, and we need to climb on them in order to process the cotton. When cotton is processed it has to be placed on the table and rolled. The whole process needs men. That is why women are not hired (Int. Maseru, December 2020).

The statement above is supported by Oye (2016) that originally weaving was predominantly a female job. The transition from female to male was caused by the invention of new technology in the textile industry, which replaced women in other areas of work. Since weaving changed from domestic household production to a more commercialized and marketable industry men joined the industry (Thompson, 1982).

Men also appeared to dominate in the factories that were high in the use of technology. This may be a coincidence but men are generally associated with technology and one of the informants agreed with this statement. It was observed that men mostly queued for employment in the factories that were high in technology use, and there were relatively fewer men queuing in factories that specialize in the manufacturing of T-shirts. One of informants jokingly observed: ‘Men are not attracted to making t-shirts or zips due to patriarchal issues and the salaries are also not attractive therefore; people should not question the absence of men in the textile industry because it is the only sector that has a lot of females’ (int. Lebo, December 2020). Even then, men have many opportunities to join as contractors and drivers.

5.3.3. Challenges faced by men at work and in the society

True to gender stereotyping and naming, the Ministry of Trade (2019) reported that it has received a lot of reports from the workers’ union on the humiliation that the workers, especially men, are faced with in the factories. Humiliation at the workplace causes embarrassment and hurts the workers deeply. In the interviews, it was revealed that humiliation from the Chinese owners and managers has become very common in the Lesotho’s textiles industry. A representative of the Ministry of Trade cited a case in early 2019, which went viral where a Chinese man fought a Mosotho man at work. It was embarrassing because it happened in front of other workers. The matter was taken to the directorate of dispute prevention and resolution (DDPR). For men, it becomes difficulty to be undermined by another man (whether that man is an employer or not) while women are more tolerant. The Chinese managers were identified as rough, arrogant, and generally very abusive. This has forced some men to fight back. There are cases where men are dismissed from their employment for fighting back.

Abuse of power by Chinese emerged a very common phenomenon in the textile sector in Lesotho. According to NATWU (2016), the Chinese line managers are protected by the system unlike other

workers and abuse other workers with impunity. This mainly happens if targets are not met. According to a ministry official:

As joint ministries that are concerned in the factories, we tried to intervene against the abuse and harassment that workers face but the problem in our country is corruption. When the police apprehend the Chinese, they spend a couple of hours and released. Therefore, the Chinese know very well how our legal system works.

Daemane (2014) argued that the main problem that the textile workers in Lesotho are facing is the defunct unions, which fail to represent them, they are seen only when they want an increment. Apart from that, humiliation does not prevail at workplace only, but it also extends beyond societal boundaries where people are undermined because of their careers (Keashly & Neuman, 2009). In Lesotho, patriarchy is quite strong (Gender Policy Drafted in 2003). In the case of Lesotho, there is still a belief that only women, not men, have the right to work in the textile industry (Boehm, 2003). In the words of one of the factory workers:

You are subjected to humiliation at work, where you are treated as nothing in front of other people including your women colleagues. Then, you get to the society and you face more ridicule from your own people. Our society has not yet accepted that men also have the right to work in the textile industry. We get most humiliation from the public transport and within our peer group. They have this saying “*Basali ba lifemeng*” meaning factory women. In other words, as men, we are regarded as women because we are working in the factories. Let me give you an example, in 2020, I wanted to get married. When I explained my plan to my girlfriend, she told me that she could not be married to a man who earns cents. I felt humiliated because I did not expect that. That was when I understood that our society does not recognise us like men simply because we are working in the textile industry (int. Teboho, January 2021).

While the textile industry is governed by the laws, which protect every citizen, the gaps in the administration of the law have made the textile sector in Lesotho a difficult place for Basotho men to work in. The treatment by the line managers forces men to shy away from such employment while women are more tolerant.

5.4.4 Working conditions

The analysis in the previous section highlighted the situation of a working environment that is not conducive to a traditional man. A man is defined according to certain traits including his ability to protect his family. Thus, a man should not find himself in a vulnerable situation where he is ridiculed and attacked by other men. The situation becomes worse if such behaviour is displayed in front of his family or people he knows. The environment in the textile industry is not conducive to work. The poor working conditions in the textile industry are not restricted to Lesotho. They are found in other countries, both developed and developing (Daemane, 2014). The sector is labour intensive and requires hard work, which ends up causing stress and creating many complications for the workers.

According to Pike (2014), the conditions that the workers are facing in some factories is akin to “slavery”. Sometimes workers are forced to work overtime, particularly when targets are too high for workers to achieve. These conditions of force, lack of control and powerlessness are not acceptable to most men. Normally, the workers are told to continue working after knocking off at 5pm. They are not paid for this extra work. Workers are still illegally dismissed from their jobs at random. One of the workers said:

This is like a military camp. You work for another man who shoves you around like a tool because he pays you money. You are vulnerable and have very little control of your time. You may be told any time that you are going to do overtime. The lack of control is serious because it makes you vulnerable. You do not enjoy your work. Normally, overtime takes two hours and to sign out also takes time. When I get home sometimes, I sleep without eating because of tiredness and the stress of waking up early the next morning. The industry looks good, but it is through the sweat of workers who are forced to work Monday to Sunday (int. Thapelo, January 2021).

The Labor Code Order of 1992, Section 91, provides the workers with health, safety and welfare services at work when essential. The Order gives the employers the responsibility to ensure that the workers enjoy safety and the environment is conducive for work and the workers’ welfare. However, this is nominal. It is not the case in the textile sector in Lesotho. Toilets in most factories are perpetually out of order and unclean. (Daemane, 2014). One of the key informants revealed that they stand on the floor without any carpets. ‘Our country is freezing in winter and spending almost 7 hours standing on the bare

floor causes us many health issues' (Mathabo, Maseru, December 2020). Explaining the conditions, one of the workers had this to say:

As the factory workers, we are facing many challenges, our factories are big as you can see, when it is winter, we experience cold weather because heaters are not working, they work only when the inspector visits the firm and the doors are always left widely open. In summer, the rooms are extremely hot because we are packed. Another challenge is the use of cold water in the laundry department. Our laundry is already freezing just imagine using cold water in winter. We have reported this situation to the ministry of trade by nothing has happened. Most of the workers in that department are complaining of having arthritis. Further, those workers that work under that harsh environment their salaries are deducted when they visited Doctors. Chinese are killing us, it is just that we do not have anywhere to work but working for Chinese is hurting (int. Thabo, December 2020).

Sexual harassment is also common in the textile sector. While this mostly applies to women, men have also been victims of sexual harassment by their Basotho women bosses. It however becomes difficult for men to report these cases because of fear of being ridiculed. They mostly suffer in silence or they simply leave their jobs. According to Haque et al., (2019) when people have been sexually harassed, they fail to report because they fear to lose their jobs.

5.5.3 Wage disparities and lack of benefits

The textile sector around the globe is well known of paying poor wages to workers, the majority of whom are women (English, 2013). The fact that Lesotho is leading in the United State market does not mean that it pays good wages to the workers. Like any other country, it has a set minimum wage for every sector. However, some workers earn less than the minimum wages in the factories. The official from LNDC indicated that recently his organisation received many complaints from the workers unions and from the individuals about the new wage structure that some of the factories has set. It differs from firm to firm but the common thing is that all the wages are below Lesotho minimum wage level (int. LNDC official, December 2020).

The workers in the factories earn M2020, which is the minimum wage, but there are some cases where the workers earn M1500 and even less in different factories. Earning M1500 means that they earn below the living wages (LNDC, 2014). Baylie and Wright (2013) argued that in the Lesotho textiles women are more educated than men, therefore the salaries have to be different. Interestingly, men considered these issues differently:

What I noticed here in the factories is that the Chinese discriminate against men. The men in this firm do not hold any position. We are all just ordinary workers. There are men who are doing the same work as women, but women are paid better salaries than men. What is hurting is that men are operating big machines, which women cannot operate for sewing (int. Mathabo, January 2021).

Among the men and women employed in the textile sector, the wage gap is attributed to experience and educational level of the individual worker (Artecona & Cunningham, 2002). Most of girls around the world practice sewing as part of their house chores therefore. They are better than men (English, 2013). However, in Lesotho the wage disparities and promotions have been associated to sexual favours. There were complaints:

Most women in the factories are hired because they engaged in sex with the Chinese and supervisors. They are promised promotions and they earn higher than other workers. Some men who are designers and have experience in tailoring are not promoted. They earn the normal pay (int. Toka, December 2020).

One of the factors that make men shun the textile industry is insecurity. Despite the number of years that textile workers have worked in the sector, when they retire or are dismissed, they only earn a monthly salary and severance pay. Recently, employees had a tendency of firing the workers and then rehiring them with new probation contracts, with significantly lower wages (LECAWU, 2019). By so doing, the employees avoid paying the workers their benefits. While the unions are still fighting for package benefits, the workers remain without any benefits for the future benefits (int.Thabo, January 2021).

5.4 Acceptance by Society

Despite the sector specific challenges that appear to discriminate against men in the Lesotho textile sector, there are also some societal aspects that have been highlighted in previous sections, which are equally important. For a traditional patriarchy, society has not accepted that men can work in the textile sector. The sector is and has been known to employ women. The term '*basali ba lifemeng*' tells a story – this is a world for women, and for a man who works with these women, this categorisation applies. This would imply that men working in the factories are also referred to as '*basali ba lifemeng*'.

The findings from the study highlight that under-representation of men in the textile sector indicates that the society still holds the cultural practices on who is supposed to do what in the society. The study indicates that men who have joined the textile industry are marginalised; they are considered as less of men and are bunched within the term '*basali ba lifemeng*'. Although people know that there are men who work in the factories, it is convenient to use the term. Some of them use the term purposely to invoke the wrath of the men working in the industry.

The constant deployment of the term depicts the way the society sees the gender divisions of labour in society. Because of the constant deployment of the term, men tend to avoid the factories. Thus, gender division of labour has hindered some of the men from joining the textile sector. It was observed in interviews that:

There are many men in the villages who are unemployed, but they do not want to work in the factories because they perceive the sector as women's place. When the sector was developed in the country, the majority of the workers were women. That is why men who are in that industry are devalued. A man is not supposed to 'play' with "t-shirt" the whole day and regard that as work. Men should work in a dignified place such as a mine. After my retrenchment from the mines in South Africa, I never thought of searching for a job in the factories (int. Maputsoe, January 2021).

In most cases, people are marginalized because of economic changes and the social conditions that are within the society. In life, people are excluded by the society because they are poor and uneducated (People & Policy, 1998). This is the prevailing situation in Lesotho whereby the male textile workers are excluded in the community because they are viewed as poor and uneducated. According to one male factory worker:

People avoid you like a foreigner. Being a factory worker is associated with low wages. Thus, textile workers cannot go to the taverns like anyone else because they do not have money. They are often seen as “parasites”. Like women, they will buy you beer and you become their boy. Any notable achievements done by male factory workers are considered as nothing simply because it is associated with someone who works in the factories (int. Thabiso, December 2020).

Despite the challenges, the textile industry in Lesotho is quickly establishing itself as a major player in the economy. Perceptions may be strong and negative, but these are surely changing as the industry begins to employ educated individuals and invest in technology. The study found that some graduates from the country’s two universities now work in the sector, occupying administrative positions, while the investment in machinery means that men can be employed in occupations that are seen as masculine. It is not surprising that some of the women that work in factories with men see nothing unmanly about them. They work with them and have seen them perform manly tasks similar to tasks in other industries. They have accepted them as colleagues and understand the challenges they face in an environment that is known as highly feminine. They also admire their skills and often recommend friends and relatives to these men, particularly tailors, when there are functions and people need clothes. More importantly, these men have acquired skills. Some came to the factories to do menial jobs, with no prior experience. Now, they have been trained in handling complex machinery and have acquired skill.

As seen in this chapter, male textile workers in Lesotho meet a number of challenges, which, as a result affect their performance at work. They joined the factories due to unemployment. Currently, the textile industry is the only sector, which employs quite a number of Basotho in the country. Furthermore, Basotho mostly rely on the factories; education is no longer relevant because the government is unable to accommodate the graduates.

5.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the data from the interviews conducted in Maseru and Maputsoe, where the textile industries were developed. It explained the absence of men in the Lesotho textile industry. The study finds that there are many women in the sector. This situation is considered to be the nature of the industry and stereotypes among Basotho men who regard the textiles industry as the place for women. Furthermore, the textile

industry is the source of the national economy as it employed many Basotho. Despite, being the source of employment, it tends to exclude men because they face many challenges in the sector. The chapter further identified that the textile industry workers' environment is harmful. The chapter presented the challenges faced by men at the workplace and within the society as the textile is known to be women's place. It also presented the work done in the sector as well as the work done only by men.

6.1 Introduction

This dissertation began with my interrogation of the absence of men in the textile industry in contemporary Lesotho. The assumption was that after a massive retrenchment from the South African mines where the majority of Basotho men had been selling their labour, they would be seen in the textile industry in order to supplement the diminished remittances that they used to bring home from the mines. This is because now the sector is the only sector in the country, which employs the majority of the people because of the preferential treatment that was awarded Lesotho in the United State market. Using a broad historical and actor oriented approach, my contention was that any analysis of the contemporary situation in Lesotho's textile industry should go further than just focusing on the current situation in the industry, but should also draw on socio-cultural and historical aspects, including an analysis of Basotho's understanding of work and societal divisions of labour. It led to the central objective of this dissertation – understanding the extent to which the domination of the textile industry in Lesotho by women can be attributed to the social categorisation of certain occupations as suitable for women.

Questions formed included the key question, which I have argued in this dissertation deserves attention in our understanding of the situation in the textile industry: To what extent can the domination of the textile industry in Lesotho by women be attributed to the societal categorisation of certain occupations as suitable for women? Specific research questions included the following:

- How do Basotho define and see the textile industry as an occupation?
- What is the perception of Basotho men about working in the textile sector?
- What tasks do men who work in the textile industry occupy? What challenges do men working in the textile industry face at the workplace and in the society?
- Does the society see men working in the textile sector as less of men?

In order to answer these, I needed to follow two steps. Firstly, I had to revisit the history of Lesotho's migrant labour system and attempt to understand Basotho society. This required placing this long history in a historical context and to understand it as a central part of Basotho culture and society, which informs people's understanding of gender division of work. Secondly, I had to understand the perceptions, and in particular how social actors view and understand the textile sector and who should be involved in the sector.

This was critical in my attempt to understand the situation in the textile industry in a context of growing

unemployment and loss of mining jobs from South Africa. In this chapter I provide the conclusions that I have arrived at, based on the answers to the above questions. Based on the findings from the research, I also provide an argument for rethinking Lesotho's textile industry. Finally, I look at the implications of my findings for future research.

6.2 Discussions

This section presents the findings that were drawn from the analysis presented in the previous chapters. It discusses the significance of the textile industry in Lesotho, and how the stereotype still holds back some men from participating in the textile industry because their participation is too feminine across the globe (Oren, 1995).

6.2.1 The significance of the textile industry

As discussed in literature, the textile industries across the globe are very important for a handful of countries in terms of trade, gross domestic product and employment. In the case of Lesotho, the textile industry is recognized as one of huge generators of the revenue and the biggest employer, particularly of women. The ILO (2010) shows the importance of the textile industry by articulating that it should be understood as job generator within countries by trying to eradicate poverty by achieving sustainable development. For instances, in the literature it was discussed on how some other Western European countries including United State attained their economic growth through industrialization. It is not surprising that the economies of developing African countries improved immediately after relocation of Chinese textile industry. Lesotho also depends heavily on the textile industry.

In many parts of the world the growth of textile industry has been a pool for women who have been marginalised for many years. They were denied the opportunity of selling their labour at the workplaces before the establishment of the textile industry. It is noticeable therefore, that the textile industry empowers women. This is the case in Lesotho, where men have stepped down from being breadwinners due to massive retrenchments, which took place in the South African mines.

Furthermore, the literature shows that historically, the textiles industry was a pool of young girls and women who were uneducated. The study concludes that today the world is faced with the high unemployment rate among the youth therefore, the entry point to the textile industry is open to everyone, regardless of whether one is educated or not.

6.2.2 Gender inequality

The findings in Chapter 5 show that gender inequality is a worldwide problem. Countries try by all means to improve gender equality in the workplace, but there is little progress. The textile industry is well known to be a woman's place due to its production process. It is amazing that though the majority of workers are women, the few men that work in the sector have occupied high positions. The study revealed that in Lesotho gender inequality does exist in the textile industry. This is substantiated by the fact that most of male participants in the study were shop steward or operated big machines.

Moreover, the literature review on this study indicated that globally there is a great problem in recruitment, compensation and promotions in the textile industry. As women form the majority of the population in the sector but they are underrepresented in high positions. The issue of gender has to be taken into consideration as it has an impact on the group that feels subordinated. It is also noted that gender inequality affects the performance of workers as the discriminated group feels like they are not part and parcel of their company. Inequality at workplace lowers the morale of the workers.

The study concludes that the textile industry of Lesotho is populated with more females than the male employees, but women are found in low-skilled labour positions and the lowest paid positions. In the management positions, there are more males than women. Women are underrepresented in high positions such as Human Resources management and supervisors. Those occupations are "sex-typed" as either being specifically male or female jobs.

6.2.3 Division of labour

Division of labour on the basis of sex has been a universal feature of the human society (Sikod, 2007). As discussed in Chapter Four, division of labour has existed within societies especially in small nations such as Lesotho. This resulted in the situation, which determines who did what at the workplace. Another factor which has brought changes in the workplace, especially in the textile industry is technology. The reviewed literature shows that globally the advent of technology has changed the pattern of employment in the so-called "traditional" industry such as textiles and resulted in the division of labour (Elson, 1991:25). Traditionally, in Lesotho, men used to work in the sectors such as mining construction and engineering that are believed to be labour intensive. However, the development of new technology in the textile industry has brought men into the sector (Boehm, 2003).

Chapter Five revealed that technology has brought about division of labour whereby men have occupied some sections that are defined as labour intensive. These include loading and off-loading the trucks and in the laundry section. Sewing with particular machines is also done by men. This is because some machines are found to be too heavy to be operated by women. Globally, division of labour started within the family where different tasks were allocated according to sex and gender (Durkheim (1982).

As it was stated in Chapter Five, Basotho men never had any interest in working in the textile industry. However, after the closure of the mining industry Basotho men now show an interest because the textiles have improved and restructured the workers' wages. n They want to occupy high position that are paid better wages than their women counterparts. Due to the high unemployment rate, some men now show that they are readily available for any job in any sector.

6.2.3 Patriarchy

The study concludes that patriarchy has an impact on the hierarchical relation between men and women in the textile industry in Lesotho. Men are perceived to dominate the workplace and beyond. This observation is made in other countries such as Indonesia where patriarchy seems to dictate the role of women (Kercheval et al., 2013). Generally, patriarchy causes a struggle between men and women as they want to change the history in the mode of production (Beechey, 1977). Another conclusion of this study is that some textile industries have moved away from employing men because historically, the mode of production in the sector was associated with young girls and women. The textile industry work is regarded as a second choice job that women can do. This situation has given the factory owners the opportunity to lower the women's wages as they are classified as a complement to the family income. Patriarchy paved the way for women's subordination in the textile industry because they are considered submissive in the society (Hunter & Macnaghtan, 2010).

6.2.4 Exploitation

As observed in the literature review, exploitation in the textile industry is a problem. Workers are denied their rights as is the case in some factories. They are denied freedom to join the unions. So far, it was revealed that the only country in Africa, which has active trade unions, is South Africa because it is trying to get rid of the apartheid traces. On the other hand, in the case of Lesotho the study concludes that participation of the workers in the unions by other factories is prohibited by saying that unions are too destructive. It is still challenging even to those who are still under the unions because they are still facing some challenges.

It is stated that the entrepreneurs have taken advantage of the women being docile and submissive as they make up the majority of the population. Study conducted by Cobbett (1987) on the Botshabelo industries in the Free State Province reveal that the workers are not notified in time when they are expected to do unpaid work overtime. When it is time to go home workers are told to stay overtime. Prolonged working hours at a workplace are seen to cause illness among the workers. Sexual harassment was observed as a common exploitation at work, particularly for women. Sexual harassment is mostly done by male bosses to the female workers. Women are either promised promotion or are given jobs (Russell, 1984). In the case of Lesotho, the study disclosed that the male Human Resources (HR) managers or the Chinese/Taiwanese managers mostly recruit women with the intention of abusing them sexually. It is concluded that the main cause of sexual harassment among the workers is high unemployment.

The low wages within textile industry are concluded to be a challenge. The ILO (2014) found that the workers are paid the wages that are below the minimum wages level in most industries and companies. Therefore, the textiles as well as the multinational companies degrade the workers' dignity which is the fundamental right according to The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Chapter five indicated that the Lesotho textile industry is not exceptional for paying low wages to its workers. Textile workers are currently, earning M1,200.00 per month which is equivalent to \$61.50. Due to the low wages the study disclosed that some textile workers have become prostitutes as a way of supplementing their limited wages.

The study further concludes that Basotho men are not interested in working in the textile factories because of the Chinese and Taiwanese exploitation. The Chinese insult and slap the workers. Men do not tolerate the harassment by other men. Basotho men prefer to be idle rather than get low wages and be beaten. As men, they still believe that they have to be respected at the workplace and beyond.

6.2.5 Marginalisation and feminization of men working in the industry

Society tend to marginalise and feminise men that work in the textile industry in Lesotho. Labelling is an important aspect of identification and in Lesotho, it tend to identify the industry with a particular gender category. People that work in the factories are called '*basali ba lifemeng*'. This categorisation It is inclusive of everyone who works in the sector including men. These men, from a societal viewpoint, cease to be men, because they are associated with feminine tasks. From a societal point, only women 'play with T-shirts', and men perform masculine tasks. Also, because of the abusive and exploitative treatment, men the environment is not suited for men.

Women are more tolerant, and have tolerated the abusive treatment by their Asian employers at work place. Since such treatment is often extended to men, it creates a situation of embarrassment and feeling of being unmanly. This is even more so, when such abuse is perpetrated in front of other people and female colleagues. Men feel helpless and vulnerable. It is also because of these issues that men that work in the factories are dehumanized and criticized. The label '*Basali ba lifemeng*' meaning the textile women is, thus, befitting. Men would rather stay at home than work in the textile industry, which has traditionally been described as a women's job.

6.3 Policy Implications

The study has consistently raised policy issues and what should have been done differently. This section provides the policy issues emerging from the study.

6.3.1 Need for policies concerning employment

This study has identified that there are no written policies concerning the employment criteria in the Ministry of Labour and Employment or in the Ministry of Gender. The entrepreneurs do not have any policies that address gender inequalities at work either. They rely on Lesotho's Labor Code. The Ministry of Gender has to enforce the law in order to eradicate the persisting gender inequalities, which are influenced by bribery and adultery for employment.

Law enforcers may make sure that the textile industry complies with the ILO regulations, which protect the rights of the workers, thus ensuring that the working conditions are improved. There should also be a clear policy that regulates textile industry in the country. The current situation gives the power to improve the situation to four government ministries. The situation leads to some clashes. In a nutshell, the textile industry policy needs to be reviewed, revised and amended in order to improve the service.

6.3.2. Improve the sector through development of technology

Technology in the form of machinery is slowly being introduced in the textile industry. The introduction of technology may assist in defeminising the textile sector, as men would find occupations that are befitting their masculine status. The study has shown that men operate big machine and are comfortable working with these machines. The introduction of these machines will increase the employment of men and make the sector attractive as an industry to men. This would also take away men from feminine

tasks like ‘playing with T-shirts’. More importantly, the introduction of technology will lead to skill development.

6.3.3 Improve pay and working conditions

Working conditions and the low pay in the textile emerged as a major discouragement for men. The low pay leads to dehumanisation as men, who are supposed to be ‘bread winners’ are unable to execute their duties. They are also unable to socialise with other men, and when they do, they suffer the indignity of being ridiculed. If salaries were improved, many men would be attracted to the sector in a context of high unemployment in the country. With regard to improving working conditions, particularly the treatment by supervisors and managers, the government and unions have a major role to play. Minimum conditions should be put in place and clear grievance reporting lines should be introduced. This can only happen if Asian investors do not have the power they wield, and operated within set regulations, with proper monitoring systems. Currently, the monitoring systems that are in place are inadequate and employers have been able to circumvent these systems.

References

- Abe, T. (1992). The development of the producing-center cotton textile industry in Japan between the two world wars. In Y. Suzuki (ed.), *Japanese Yearbook on Business History* 9. Tokyo: Japan Business History Institute.
- Abraham I.O. (2017). Youth unemployment and economic growth: Lesson from low-income countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. *European Journal of Economics, Law and Politics*, 4(2):1-15.
- Adams, P. and Nkuebe, M. (2018). Rights in Lesotho: Citizen views on police abuse, media and personal freedom, gender equality. *Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 242*.
https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r7_dispatchno242-rights_and_freedoms_in_lesotho.pdf.
- Akhtar, S.I., Jones, V.C. and Johnson, R. (2014). *Transatlantic trade and investment partnership (TTIP) negotiations* (Vol. 4). Washington DC: Congressional Research Service.
- Alston, P. (2004). 'Core labour standards' and the transformation of the international labour rights regime. *European Journal of International Law*, 15(3): 457-521.
- Anker, E.S. (2008). Human rights, social justice, and JM Coetzee's disgrace. *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 54(2): 233-267.
- Ansell, C. and Torfing, J. (2014). *Public innovation through collaboration and design*. London: Routledge.
- Artecona R. and Cunningham W. (2002). Effects of trade liberalization on the gender wage gap in Mexico. *Policy Research Report Working Paper No. 21*, World Bank.
- Atkinson, D. (2011). Etienne Nel, B. Taylor, T. Hill &. In *Urban forum* (Vol. 22, pp. 395-410).
- Ayoki, M. (2016). The textile and apparel industry in Lesotho in the wake of the multi-fibre agreement phase-out. *MPRA Paper 88112*, University Library of Munich, Germany.
- Babbie, E. and Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research: South African edition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.
- Barnes, J.A. (1966). Durkheim's division of labour in society. *Man*, 158 -175.
- Barrientos, S. and Kritzinger, A., 2004. Squaring the circle: Global production and the informalization of work in South African fruit exports. *Journal of International Development*, 16(1), pp.81-92.
- Barrientos, S. and Kritzinger, A., 2004. Squaring the circle: Global production and the informalization of work in South African fruit exports. *Journal of International Development*, 16(1), pp.81-92.
- Basow, S.A. (1992). *Gender: Stereotypes and roles*. Monterey: Thomson Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.
- Baylies, C. and Wright, C. (1993). Female labour in the textile and clothing industry of Lesotho. *African Affairs*, 92(369): 577-591.
- Bhagwati, J. (1968). Trade liberalization among LCDs, trade theory, and GATT rules. In J. N. Wolfe (ed.), *Value, capital, and growth: Essays in honour of Sir John Hicks*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.

- Bhasin, K. (2006). *What is patriarchy? Women unlimited*. New Delhi.
- Biernacki, P. and Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 10(2): 141-163.
- Blackstone, A.M. (2003). *Gender roles and society. Human ecology: An encyclopedia of children, families, communities, and environments*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Boehm, C. (2003). The social life of fields: labour markets and agrarian change in Lesotho. *Paideusis-Journal for Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Studies*, 3: 1-13.
- Boehm, C. (2005). Land and labor-agrarian change in post retrenchment Lesotho. In G. Quetim, A. W. Michael and T. Birtch-Thompson (eds), *Beyond tertiary and scarcity: explaining conflict over natural resource management*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Botea, I., Chakravarty, S., and Compennolle, N. (2018). Female migration in Lesotho: Determinants and opportunities. *Policy Research Working Paper No. 8307*. World Bank. Available at: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/29217>.
- Chaudhary, R. and Verick, S. (2014). Female labor force participation in India and beyond. New Delhi: *International Labour Organization (ILO Asia-Pacific Working Paper)*. ILO.
- Chaudhary, R. and Verick, S. (2014). Female labour force participation in India and beyond. *ILO Working Papers*, (994867893402676).
- Cobbett, M. (2014). Being 'nuff' and 'scudding class': Exploring girls' and boys' perceptions of popularity, gender and achievement in Antiguan secondary schools. *British Educational Research Journal*, 40(1): 45-62.
- Colley, D.A. and Jamison, D. (1998). Post school results for youth with disabilities: Key indicators and policy implications. *Career Development for Exceptional Individuals*, 21(2): 145-160.
- Connell, R. and Pearse, R. (2009). *Gender: In world perspective*. Cambridge. Polity.
- Cororaton, C. (1996). Simulating the income distribution effects of the 1988-1992 tariff reduction using the APEX model. *PIDS Discussion Paper No. 96-01*. Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Manila
- Coyne, I.T. (1997). Sampling in qualitative research. Purposeful and theoretical sampling; merging or clear boundaries? *Journal of advanced nursing*, 26(3): 623-630.
- Crompton, R. and Sanderson, K. (1990). *Gendered jobs and social change*. London: Routledge.
- Crossman, A. (2019). Understanding purposive sampling: An overview of the method and its applications. Thought Co. <https://www.thoughtco.com/purposive-sampling-3026727>.
- Crush, J. and James, W. (1991). Depopulating the compounds: Migrant labor and mine housing in South Africa. *World development*, 19(4): 301-316.
- Crush, J. and McDonald, D.A. (2001). Introduction to special issue: Evaluating South African immigration policy after apartheid. *Africa Today*, 48(3): 1-13.
- Daemane, M.M. (2014). Human resources management (HRM) and trade unions' compatibility: Soft-hard' model digestion for human capacity building and sustainable productivity at workplace. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences*, 5(7): 121-130.

- Daemane, M.M. (2014). The critical exposure of Lesotho's labor law effectiveness: Industrial relations' calamity of textile industry workers in Lesotho. *Journal of Social and Development Sciences*, 5(2): 58-78.
- De Haan, L.J. (2000). Globalization, localization and sustainable livelihood. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40(3): 339-365.
- De Vos, A.S. (2005). Combined quantitative and qualitative approach. In A.S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C.B. Fouché, & C.S.L. Delpont (eds.), *Research at grass roots*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Dhanaraj, P.P. (2001). Impact of trade unions, employment and technology on wages: A study of the cotton textile mills in Madurai District. *Economic & Political Weekly*, December 29: 4846-850
- Dodson, B. (2000). Porous borders: Gender and migration in Southern Africa. *South African Geographical Journal*, 82(1): 40-46.
- Dodson, R. D. (1999). Homosexual discrimination and gender: Was *romer v. evans* really victory for gay rights. *California Western Law Review*, 35(2): 271-312.
- Du Plessis, S. (2018). Male students' perceptions about gender imbalances in a speech-language pathology and audiology training programme of a South African institution of higher education. *South African Journal of Communication Disorders*, 65(1): .1-9.
- Dyer, K. (2001). *Gender relations in the home and the workplace in Lesotho*. Roma, Lesotho: Institute of Southern African Studies (ISAS).
- Dziva, C. (2018). The 2013 constitutional reform and the protection of women's rights in Zimbabwe. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, 34(2): 21-35.
- Eichhorn, S., Hearle, W.S., Jaffe, M. and Kikutani, T. (2009). *Handbook of textile fiber structure, Vol. 1. Inorganic and Specialist Fibres*.
- Elson, D. (1999). Labor markets as gendered institutions: equality, efficiency and empowerment issues. *World development*, 27(3): 611-627.
- English, B. (2013). Global women's work: Historical perspectives on the textile and garment industries. *Journal of International Affairs*, 67(1): 67–82.
- English, B. A., 2010. A common thread: Labor, politics, and capital mobility in the textile industry. University of Georgia Press.
- English, B. A., 2010. A common thread: Labor, politics, and capital mobility in the textile industry. University of Georgia Press.
- Foss, S., and Waters, W. (2011). Coding qualitative data. <http://www.abdsurvivalguide.com/News/020603.htm>
- Fuentes, A., Fuentes, C. and Ehrenreich, B. (1983). *Women in the global factory*. Troy, NY: South End Press.
- Gay, J.S. (1980a). Basotho women migrants: A case study. *Institute for Development Studies Bulletin*, 11(3):19-28.
- Gay, J.S. (1980b). Wage employment of rural Basotho women: A case study. *South African Labour Bulletin*, 6(4):40-53.

- Gereffi, G. (1999). International trade and industrial upgrading in the apparel commodity chain. *Journal of International Economics*, 48(1): 37-70.
- Gibbon, P. (2002). Present-day capitalism, the new international trade regime & Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(91): 95-112.
- Gibbs, T. (2005). 'Union boys in caps leading factory girls astray?' The politics of labour reform in Lesotho's 'feminised' garment industry. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(1): 95-115.
- GoL. 2003. *Lesotho Gender Policy*. Maseru: Government Printers
- Goodman, L.A. (1961). Snowball sampling. *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 32:148–170.
- Grant, C. (2006). Southern Africa and the European Union: The TDCA and SADC EPA. *TRALAC Trade Brief*, 1, 2006.
- Griffin, L. (2011). Unravelling rights: 'illegal' migrant domestic workers in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, 42(2): 83-101.
- Griffin, L., 2010. *Borderwork: 'Illegality', un-bounded labour and the lives of Basotho migrant domestic workers* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Grown, C., Gupta, G. R., Kes, A. and Project Objectifs du millenaire, (2005). Taking action:
- Haque, M. F., Sarker, M. A. R., and Rahman, M. S. (2019). Sexual harassment of female workers at manufacturing sectors in Bangladesh. *Journal of Economics and Business*, 2 (3), 334–340. <https://doi.org/10.31014/aior.1992.02.03.140>
- Hassan, F.M., 2002. *Lesotho: Development in a challenging environment: A Joint World Bank-African Development Bank Evaluation*. Washington, D.C: The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development/World Bank Publications.
- Heilman, M. E., & Parks-Stamm, E. J. (2007). Gender stereotypes in the workplace: Obstacles to women's career progress. In S. J. Correll (ed.), *Social psychology of gender: Advances in group processes*. Greenwich, CT: JAI P
- Heilman, M.E., (2012). Gender stereotypes and workplace bias. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 32:113-135.
- Hlabana, M.M. (2007). *The role of Lesotho's textile industry in promoting local economic local economic development: the Thetsane industrial area* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Free State).
- Hunter, Janet and Macnaughtan, H. (2010). National histories of textile workers: Japan. In: L.H. van Voss et al., (eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650-2000*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- International Labour Office (ILO). (2010). *A skilled workforce for strong, sustainable and balanced growth. G20 training strategy*. International Labour Office, Geneva.
- International Labour Organization (ILO). (2008). *Labour practices in the footwear, leather textile and clothing industries*. International Labour Office, Geneva.
- International Labour Organization (ILO). (2018). *World employment and social outlook 2018: Greening with jobs*. International Labour Office, Geneva.

- Johnson, L.C. (1990). New patriarchal economies in the Australian textile industry. *Antipode*, 22(1): 1-32.
- Johnston, D. (2007). Who needs immigrant farm workers? A South African case study. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 7(4), pp.494-525.
- Johnston, D. and Sender, J. (2008). Confusing counts, correlates and causes: the PRSP and poverty in Lesotho. In M.Rutten et al. (eds), *Inside poverty and development in Africa: Critical reflections on pro-poor policies*. Brill, Leiden: African Studies Centre.
- Johnston, D., 2007. Imperial Gullies: Soil Erosion and Conservation in Lesotho. *Africa Today*, 53(3): 120-121.
- Kaplan, J. (2003). *Patterns of entrepreneurship*. John Wiley & Sons, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Kaplinsky, R. and Morris, M. (2000). *A handbook for value chain research* (Vol. 113). Brighton: University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies.
- Keashly, L. (2012). Workplace bullying and gender: It's complicated. In S. Fox & T. Lituchy (eds.), *Gender and the dysfunctional workplace*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Kumar, K (1986). Conducting key informant interviews in developing countries. *AID Program Design and Evaluation Methodology Report No. 13*. A.I.D., Washington, DC
- Labaree, R.V. (2009). Research guides: Organizing your social sciences research paper: 5. The literature review. *Journal of Business Research*, 104: 333-339
- Labonte, R. and Sanger, M., 2006. Glossary on the World Trade Organisation and public health: part 2. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, 60(9), pp.738-744.
- Labonte, R. and Sanger, M., 2006. Glossary on the World Trade Organisation and public health: part 2. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, 60(9), pp.738-744.
- Lall, S. (2005). FDI, AGOA and manufactured exports by a landlocked, least developed African economy: Lesotho. *Journal of Development Studies*, 41(6): 998-1022.
- Lane, T.R. (2019). *Industrial independence: Working class women's creation of the public, political female in Antebellum America* (Doctoral dissertation, Northeastern Illinois University).
- Leduka, R., Crush, J., Frayne, B., McCordic, C., Matobo, T., Makoa, T.E., Mphale, M., Phaila, M. and Letsie, M. (2015). The state of poverty and food insecurity in Maseru, Lesotho. *AFSUN Food Security Series*, 21. African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- Lesotho Clothing and Alliance Workers Union (LECAWU). (2015). Highlights of current labour market conditions in Lesotho. *Global Policy Network*, 1-10, available at <http://www.globalnetwork.org>. Access 17 May 2020.
- Lesotho National Development Corporation, (1998). Annual Report. Lesotho
- Lesotho National Development Corporation, (1998). Annual Report. Lesotho
- Lesotho National Development Corporation, (2000). *Annual Report*. Maseru, Lesotho.
- Lesotho National Development Corporation, (2002). Annual Report. Lesotho
- Lesotho National Development Corporation, (2002). Annual Report. Lesotho

- Liu, J., Flanagan, R. and Li, Z. (2003). September. Why does China need risk management in its construction industry. In *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Association of Researchers in Construction Management*, University of Brighton, Brighton.
- Madala, T.H. (1999). Affirmative Action-A South African perspective. *SMUL Rev.*, 52(4): 1539-1548.
- Madonsela, W.S. (2006). The textile and clothing industry of Swaziland. In: H. Jauch and R. Traub-Merz (eds.), *The future of the textile and clothing industry in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
- Makoa, F. (2008). Industrial policy in the Kingdom of Lesotho. *Industrial policy in the Southern African Customs Union*, 61-71.
http://igd.mindstormsolutions.co.za/jdownloads/IGD%20Reports/sacu_industrial_policy_in_southern_africa.pdf#page=62.
- Makoa, F.K. (1997). Gender and politics in Lesotho: A note on gender inequality in Lesotho. *Southern African Feminist Review*, 2(2): 15.
- Markham, C. and Mothibeli, M. (1987). The 1987 mineworkers strike. *South African Labour Bulletin*, 13(1): 58-75.
- Marshall C. and Rossman G.B. (1995). *Designing qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Marshall, C. & Rossman B. G. (1995). Designing Qualitative Research. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 9, No. 3).
- Matsoha, R. and Vesser, S. (2001). The Contribution of the Lesotho Government policy to textile industry. *Journal of Lesotho Social Sciences Review volume 7(2)*: 84-95
- Matsoma, N.J. and Ambe, I.M. (2016). Factors affecting demand planning in the South African clothing industry. *Journal of Economics and Behavioral Studies*, 8(5): 194-210.
- Mbewe, E.T. (2016). *Gender affirmative action and gender equality in Zimbabwe: Case study of Southdowns suburb, Gweru*. (Honour Dissertation, Midlands State University, Gweru)
- Mensah, S.N.A. and Naidoo, V. (2011). Migration shocks: integrating Lesotho's retrenched migrant miners. *International Migration Review*, 45(4): 1017-1042.
- MGYSR. 2009. *Lesotho Review*. Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation, Maseru.
- Mihail, D. (2006), Gender-based stereotypes in the workplace: The case of Greece. *Equal Opportunities International*, 25, 5, 373-388,
- MLE. 2017. *Lesotho Review*. Ministry of Labour and Employment, Maseru.
- Modo, I.V. (2001). Migrant culture and changing face of family structure in Lesotho. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32(3): 443-452.
- Mokhawa, G., and Osei-Hwedie, B. (2003). The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) trade regime. Opportunities and challenges for Botswana. *Botswana Notes & Records*, 35(1): 111-124.
- Molapo, T. (2014). *A comparative analysis of the protection of women's labour rights in the apparel industries of the Southern African Customs Union member states of South Africa and Lesotho, under the African Growth and Opportunity Act* (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town).
- Morojele, R. and Maphosa, F. (2013). Return, reintegration and survival: The case of Basotho labour migrants retrenched from South African mines. *Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 27(2): 271-289.

- Morris, M. and Staritz, C. (2017). Industrial upgrading and development in Lesotho's apparel industry: global value chains, foreign direct investment, and market diversification. *Oxford Development Studies*, 45(3): 303-320.
- Morris, M., Staritz, C. and Barnes, J. (2011). Value chain dynamics, local embeddedness, and upgrading in the clothing sectors of Lesotho and Swaziland. *International Journal of Technological Learning, Innovation and Development* 4(1): 96–119.
- Mosito, K.E. (2013). The enforcement adjudication and monitoring of social security rights in Lesotho. *Lesotho Law Journal*, 20(1_2): 65-89.
- MTI. 2000. *Lesotho Review*. Ministry of Trade and Industry, Maseru.
- MTI. 2015. *Lesotho Review*. Ministry of Trade and Industry, Maseru.
- Mueller, A.E., Segal, D.L., Gavett, B., Marty, M.A., Yochim, B., June, A. and Coolidge, F.L. (2015). Geriatric Anxiety Scale: Item response theory analysis, differential item functioning, and creation of a ten-item short form (GAS-10). *International Psychogeriatrics*, 27(7): 1099-1111.
- Murray, C. (1981). *Families divided: The impact of migrant labour in Lesotho*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neuman, D. (2011). Constructing knowledge in the twenty-first century: I-LEARN and using information as a tool for learning. *School Library Research*, 14, Available at: www.ala.org/aasl/aaslpubsandjournals/slmrb/slmrcontents/volume14/neuman
- Nseera, E. (2014) .Growth and distributional impact of agriculture, textiles and mining sectors in Lesotho. *Working Paper Series* 206, African Development Bank. <https://www.afdb.org/en/documents/document/working-paper-206-growth-and-distributional-impact-of-agriculture-textiles-and-mining-sectors-inlesotho-49254/>
- Oren, L. (1995). Protection, patriarchy, and capitalism: The politics and theory of gender-specific regulation in the workplace. *UCLA Women's Law Journal*, 6(2): 321-372.
- Øye, I. (2016). When did weaving become a male profession? *Danish Journal of Archaeology*, 5(1-2): 34-51.
- Park, Y.I. and Anderson, K. (1991). The rise and demise of textiles and clothing in economic development: the case of Japan. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 39(3): 531-548.
- Paul-Majumder, P. and Begum, A. (2000). *The gender imbalances in the export oriented garment industry in Bangladesh*. Washington, DC: World Bank, Development Research Group/Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network.
- People, D. and Policy, S. (1998). *From exclusion to inclusion*. London and New York: Longman.
- Pickles, J. (1991). Industrial restructuring, peripheral industrialization, and rural development in South Africa. *Antipode*, 23(1): 68-91.
- Pickles, J. and Woods, J. (1989). Taiwanese investment in South Africa. *African Affairs*, 88(353): 507-528.
- Pike, K. and Godfrey, S. (2014). Workers perceptions of compliance with labour standards:
- Pike, K.I. (2014). *Made in Lesotho: Examining variation in workers' perceptions of compliance with labour standards in Lesotho's clothing industry*. Cornell University.

- Plath, J. C., Holland, D., and Carvalho, J. (1987). Labor migration in Southern Africa and agricultural development: Some lessons from Lesotho. *Journal of Developing Areas*, 21(1), 159-175
- Rocchi, A. and Del Sette, P. (2016). Lesotho: Rural development and migration. <http://www.centrosaluteglobale.eu/site/wpcontent/uploads/2016/05/Migration-and-Rural-Development-in-LesothoPDF.pdf>
- Rosenberg, S. (2007). South African and global apartheid: The experience of Basotho labor in the South African gold mines and Taiwanese-owned textile factories. *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 8(4): 459-472.
- Rossetti, V. and Bagheri, H.C. (2012). Advantages of the division of labour for the long-term population dynamics of cyanobacteria at different latitudes. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 279(1742): 3457-3466.
- Russell, D.E. (1984). *Sexual exploitation: Rape, child sexual abuse, and workplace harassment* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Salm, A., Grant, W. J., Green, T. J., Haycock, J. R., and Raimondo, J. (2002). *Lesotho garment industry subsector study for government of Lesotho*, Mimeo.
- Schilt, K. and Connell, C. (2007). Do workplace gender transitions make gender trouble? *Gender, Work & Organization*, 14(6): 596-618.
- Scrimger, P. (2020). Unions, industrial relations and market income inequality in Canada's provinces. *Relations industrielles/Industrial Relations*, 75(2): 321-350.
- Sechaba Consultants (SC). (2003). *Lesotho garment industry sub-sector for the government of Lesotho*. Maseru, Lesotho.
- Sechaba Consultants, (2004). *Lesotho Garment Industry Sub-sector for the Government of Lesotho*, Lesotho.
- Sechaba Consultants, (2004). *Lesotho Garment Industry Sub-sector for the Government of Lesotho*, Lesotho.
- Sen, A., 1992. *Inequality reexamined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shale, S. (2012). Transforming women's role in local government in Lesotho through a women's quota. *Journal of African Elections*, 11(2): 93-115.
- Simelane, X. and Modisha, G. (2008). From formal to informal migrant labour system: the impact of the changing nature of the migrant labour system on mining communities in Lesotho and Mozambique. Available online: <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-outputs/view/4226>.
- Sparreboom, T. and Sparreboom-Burger, P. (1996). *Migrant worker remittances in Lesotho: A review of the Deferred Pay Scheme*. International Labour Office, Enterprise and Cooperative Development Department.
- Standing, G. (2007). Labour recommodification in the global transformation. In A. Bugra & K. Agartan (eds), *Reading Karl Polanyi for the twenty-first Century: Market economy as a political project*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Standing, G. (2007). Offshoring and labor recommodification in the global transformation. In E. Paus (ed.), *Global capitalism unbound: Winners and losers from offshore outsourcing*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Standing, G., 1989. "Global feminization through flexible labor." *World development*, 17 (7), pp.1077-1095.

Standing, G., 1989. "Global feminization through flexible labor." *World development*, 17 (7), pp.1077-1095.

Staritz, C. and Morris, M. (2011) Local embeddedness, upgrading, and skill development: *Global value chains and foreign direct investment in Lesotho's apparel sector. Paper prepared for the Better Work Research Conference: Workers, Businesses and Government: Understanding Labour Compliance in Global Supply Chains*. Washington, October 26 –28.

Taylor, P. (2014). *Employment relations and decent work in the global contact centre industry*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

Thebe, V., 2018. 'Men on transit 'and the rural 'farmer housewives': Women in decision-making roles in migrant-labour societies in north-western Zimbabwe. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(7): 1118-1133.

Thetsane, R.M. and Mokhehi, M.C. (2019). Barriers to micro small and medium enterprise (MSME) contractors' growth and development in Lesotho. Paper presented at the 31 *Annual Conference of the Southern African Institute for Management Scientists (SAIMS)*, 8 – 11 September 2019, Nelson Mandela University, South Africa.

Ulicki, T. and Crush, J. (2007). Poverty, gender and migrancy: Lesotho's migrant farmworkers in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 24(1): 155-172.

Ulicki, T. and Crush, J. (2000). Gender, farmwork, and women's migration from Lesotho to the new South Africa. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 34(1): .64-79.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP). (1998). *United Nations Human Development Report 1998*. New York, United Nations.

Van Leeuwen, M.H., van Nederveen Meerkerk, E. and Heerma van Voss, L., 2014. Provisions for the elderly in north-western Europe: an international comparison of almshouses, sixteenth–twentieth centuries. *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 62(1), pp.1-16.

Van Leeuwen, M.H., van Nederveen Meerkerk, E. and Heerma van Voss, L., 2014. Provisions for the elderly in north-western Europe: an international comparison of almshouses, sixteenth–twentieth centuries. *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 62(1), pp.1-16.

van Nederveen, M.E. (2008). Counting women in: Female labour market participation in the Dutch textile industry, c. 1600–1800. Paper presented at the *14th Berkshire Conference on the History of Women*. 12–15 June 2008, Minneapolis. http://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/publications/counting_women_in.pdf.

Vanpeperstraete, B.M. (2020). The long road to improving worker rights in Bangladesh. *International Labor Rights Case Law*, 6(1): 33-38.

Vlok, E. (2006). The textile and clothing industry in South Africa. In H. Jauch & T. Rudolph (eds.), *The future of the textile and clothing industry in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Vollstedt, M., and Rezat, S. (2019). An introduction to grounded theory with a special focus on axial coding and the coding paradigm. In G. Kaiser & N. Presmeg (eds.), *Compendium for early career researchers in mathematics education*. Springer International Publishing Washington.

Wentzel, M. (2003). Historical and contemporary dimensions of migration between South Africa and its neighbouring countries. Unpublished Paper Delivered at HSRC Migration Workshop, 17–20 March 2003, Pretoria.

World Bank, (2000). *World Development Report 1999*. World Bank, Washington DC.

World Bank, (2010). *World Development Report 2002*. World Bank, Washington DC.

World Bank, 2010. *The World Bank Annual Report 2010*. The World Bank, Washing DC.

World Bank, 2010. *The World Bank Annual Report 2010*. The World Bank, Washington DC.

ANNEXES

Annex 1



Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotheo



Informed Consent – Participants

You are hereby invited to participate in a research study by Mahlompho Talasi, a MsocSci in Development Studies student in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria. The study seeks to understand the absence of men in the textile industry of Lesotho. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant.

Title of the study

Too feminine? Explaining the absence of men in the textile industry of Lesotho.

What will happen in the study?

The study will involve interviews with you on information and views on aspects that the study is interested in understanding. The interview will take about an hour of your time and with your permission, may be voice recorded so that I do not miss any important information that you share. You can choose to have the interview session in English or Sesotho.

Risks and discomforts

There will be no danger to you or your household or to your institution. It may however be difficult for you to share some information, and you will be free not to answer any questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. If you experience some level of discomfort after joining the study, and you would like to stop participating, please be free to let me know. You will be allowed to stop participating without any prejudice and the data already collected will be discarded.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?

You will not receive any money or gifts for your participation. Your contribution will assist me in developing a dissertation for my qualification, but it may also benefit the community and organisation indirectly through findings that may assist in finding better ways of doing things.

Confidentiality

Apart from me as the researcher, the data will be shared with my supervisor, Prof. Vusilizwe Thebe of the University of Pretoria. Every effort will be made to ensure that the information you shared is not linked to you or your household. Your identity and that of your household will not be revealed and you will be identified through pseudonyms. The data will be stored in a password protected computer during fieldwork, and in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, for a period of 15 years for archiving purposes. If the data is used during this period, it will only be for research purposes.

The results will be produced in the form of a dissertation or scientific paper or may be presented at both local and international forums like workshops and conferences. The voice recordings of the interviews will not be broadcasted on radio, television, internet or on social media but will be utilised to make findings for the study.

Any questions?

If you have any questions or would want to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or text me on +266 63053111/53081360. You can also send me an email on the following address: talasimabejane@gmail.com

CONSENT DECLARATION

I----- (write your name) hereby agree to participate in this study

Annex 2



Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho



Informed Consent – Key Informants

You are hereby invited to participate in a research study by Mahlompho Talasi, a MSoSci in Development Studies student in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria. The study seeks a detailed explanation of the absence of men in the textile industry of Lesotho. Please take time to read through this form as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant.

Title of the study

Too feminine? Explaining the absence of men in the textile industry of Lesotho.

What will happen in the study?

The study will involve interviews. A number of questions will be asked in order to ascertain your views and opinions as means to help understand the study. The interviews shall not be conducted during working hours but at your own preferable time and place. Interviews with your permission shall be recorded in the language of preference (Sesotho or English) and will be at least an hour. This will ensure I do not miss any important information shared by you.

Risks and discomforts

You shall in no way be exposed to any danger including your household or institution (Firm) you are currently an employee. While it may be difficult for you to share some information, kindly note that you are free not to disclose any information deemed confidential or answer any questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. In the case, you experience some level of discomfort after joining the study and would like to stop participating, please feel free to let me know. You will be allowed to stop and discontinue the discussion/ interview without any prejudice and the data already collected will be discarded.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?

You will not receive any money or gifts for your participation. Your contributions will not only assist me in attaining information that will be helpful for the study, but also help identify strategies that will help bridge the gap identified by the study. Finally, the study will be beneficial to both the community and all organisations working with the textile industry in Lesotho. This will ultimately help me obtain my master's degree.

Confidentiality

Apart from me as the researcher, the data will be shared with my supervisor, Prof. Vusi Thebe of the University of Pretoria. You may choose to remain anonymous, and every effort will be made to ensure that the information you share is not linked to you, although in some cases it may be difficult due to the position you hold in the organisation. In case you choose to remain anonymous, your identity will not be revealed and you will be identified through a pseudonym.

The data will be stored in a password protected computer during fieldwork, and in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, for a period of 15 years for archiving purposes. If the data is used during this period, it will only be for research purposes.

The results will be produced in the form of a dissertation or scientific paper or may be presented at both local and international forums like workshops and conferences. The voice recordings of the interviews will not be broadcasted on radio, television, internet or on social media but will be utilised to make findings for the study.

Any questions? If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or text me on (+266) 53081360 or (+277)78131263. You can also send me an email on the following address: talasimabejane@gmail.com

CONSENT DECLARATION

I _____ (write your name) hereby agree to participate in this study.

Annex 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FACTORY OWNERS

1. When did this factory establish in Lesotho?
2. How do Basotho define and see textile industry?
3. How many workers do you have?
4. Which criteria are you using for recruitment?
5. Do men have the same employment opportunity as women in this factory? If not why?
6. What are the men's tasks and why, so they have specific tasks?
7. How do you see societal stereotype about men working in the textile industry?
8. What is the perception of Basotho about working in the textile?
9. How do male textile workers interact with their women counterparts?
10. What are the challenges faced by men in the textile sector?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEXTILE MEN WORKERS

1. When did you start working in the factory?
2. What prompted you to work in the textile industry?
3. How do you define and see textile sector?
4. How do you feel when working in the sector that is dominated women?
5. What tasks are done by men and why?
6. Do men have employment opportunity in the factories?
7. What are the views of other male members of society about you working in the textile industry? Do they respect you?
8. How is the interaction between men and women workers?
9. What are the challenges faced by men in the textile?
10. Are the men comfortable with their work?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEXTILE WOMEN WORKERS

1. When did you start working in the textile industry?
2. What motivated you to work in the factories?
3. How do you see and define textile industry?
4. How is the employment opportunity for men in the textile sector?
5. What are the tasks done by men and why?
6. How is the interaction between you and your male counterpart?
7. What are the views and attitudes of society towards men working in the textile?
8. What are the challenges faced by men in terms of stigma?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SOCIETY

1. According to you, how do you define textile industry?
2. Who are eligible to work in the textile and why?
3. How is the employment opportunity for men in the textile industry?
4. What are the societal stereotypes about men working in the textile sector?
5. How do Basotho perceive and see men working in the textile sector?
6. How are the views and attitudes of male members about men working in the textile?
7. Who are entitled to work in the factories?

Annex 4



14 December 2020

Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomo



Dear Mrs M Talasi

Project Title: Too feminine? Explaining the absence of men in the textile industry in Lesotho.
Researcher: Mrs M Talasi
Supervisor(s): Prof Vusilizwe Thebe
Department: Anthropology and Archaeology
Reference number: 19318775 (HUM009/0920)
Degree: Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 14 December 2020. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success
with the project.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Pikirayi'.

Sincerely,

Prof Innocent Pikirayi

Deputy Dean: Postgraduate Studies and Research Ethics Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof I Pikirayi (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr A-M de Beer; Dr A dos Santos; Ms KT Govinder Andrew; Dr P Gutura; Dr E Johnson; Prof D Maree; Mr A Mohamed; Dr I Noomè; Dr C Puttergill; Prof D Reyburn; Prof M Soer; Prof E Taljard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalapa