



**The Contributions of African Women to the Women and Development Concept  
in the 1960s:**  
A Comparison of Kenya and Nigeria

Benita Hickson

2153025

[b.e.hickson@umail.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:b.e.hickson@umail.leidenuniv.nl)

MA Thesis International Relations: Global Order in Historical Perspective

Leiden University

Supervisor: Prof. Alanna O'Malley

Word Count: 15,014

Submitted 5th July 2019

## Contents

	Page
Chapter One	Introduction
	3
	1.1 Introduction
	7
	1.2 Research Design
Chapter Two	Literature Review
	2.1 Development and the International Women's Movement
	11
	2.2 Knowledge Production
	16
	2.3 Africa and Knowledge Production
	17
	2.4 Women in Kenyan and Nigerian History
	18
	2.5 The Gap in the Literature
	22
Chapter Three	Results
	3.1 Contributors
	24
	3.2 Ideas
	27
	3.3 Interaction with Mainstream UN Ideas
	33
Chapter Four	Discussion
	4.1 Value of Diversity
	34
	4.2 Value of Agreement and Pan-Africanism
	38
	4.3 Impact on the Global Debate
	41
	4.4 Problems with the Sources
	44
Chapter Five	Conclusion
	48
Bibliography	51

*Chapter One: Introduction*

Recent international histories have been paying more attention to the role of women in shaping the modern global order. This is a largely unfinished process, given that women's roles were almost completely ignored until relatively recently. It is reasonable to argue that an understanding of modern history that overlooks the role played by women is an incomplete understanding. A parallel omission has been the role of Global South actors in contributing to the shaping of the global order. There have been efforts to rectify these omissions, with a burgeoning scholarship on both the history of the international women's movement and on women's history more generally, and studies of the Global South. However, a notable gap in these studies is specific attention to *women from* the Global South, in particular their contributions to mainstream ideas at the United Nations (UN).

One of these ideas, women and development (W&D), or sometimes women in development (WID), was a concept and a movement that represented both the growing recognition of women's role in national development, and also the contributions of women to knowledge production regarding development. Shifts that took place in the mainstream development paradigm in UN bodies throughout the 1960s and 1970s occurred alongside the growing recognition of women's role in development. These inevitably raised the topic of women's status; the position and treatment of women in society. This was due to a realisation that failing contemporary models of development planning were linked to women's issues. This forced a reassessment of the role of women in development planning.<sup>1</sup> These reassessments led to a shift in thinking on the role of women in development, from being recipients to agents of development. Therefore, the W&D concept has been an important aspect in histories of the international women's movement.

---

<sup>1</sup> Jane L. Parpart, "Women's Rights and the Lagos Plan of Action," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 8, 2 (1986): 190.

Global South contributions to the W&D concept have received scant attention in historical studies of both the W&D concept and the international women's movement more generally. The term Global South is taken to mean the group of countries considered 'developing,' or not industrialised, during the time period in question (1960-1970). The term that was most frequently used at the time, by those from the 'developed' world, was 'Third World'. Although some histories have included the contributions of Global South women, it has mostly been in the context of UN bodies with a significant Northern/ Western influence, like the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). They have also tended to focus heavily on the UN Decade for Women, 1975-1985 (hereafter Women's Decade) and the years after. Notwithstanding the importance of these bodies, and this time period, there has been a distinct lack of attention paid to earlier contributions from Global South women, of their own understandings of the W&D concept. Those few that have included Global South contributions have tended to homogenise the experiences and opinions of women from whole regions, such as Africa.

This thesis will analyse the contributions of Global South women to the W&D concept by comparing the contributions of women from two African countries: Kenya and Nigeria. In her 2018 volume of essays, *Gender and Diplomacy*, Jennifer A. Cassidy argues that a 'commitment to diversity' in gender studies requires increased recognition and attention. As she states, 'the story of women cannot – and should not – be constructed on a single race, religion, or creed.'<sup>2</sup> Therefore, this research is important because it disaggregates the experiences and ideas of women from a diverse range of backgrounds. This is done in an attempt to draw out the often overlooked differences in experiences (and therefore

---

<sup>2</sup> Jennifer A. Cassidy, "Conclusion," in *Gender and Diplomacy*, ed. Jennifer A. Cassidy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 214.

preferences) of these women regarding development. This thesis will compare and contrast the two countries, to analyse the role that Kenyan and Nigerian women played in producing ideas on W&D.

The kind of contribution to be assessed is knowledge production; the collection of data and information on women and their roles in national development. It was through both knowledge production and the criticism of accepted forms of knowledge that changes were brought about regarding women's status, and international organisations played a pivotal role in this. For example, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) collected data on women's work, and in this, criticised and reformed the methods of collection and indicators used to define women's work, as a large portion of women's work was not included in the indicators. A quote from Devaki Jain is illustrative of the UN's role in both knowledge production and the criticism of knowledge forms: 'The creation and dissemination of knowledge has been a way women and the UN have worked with each other. But as in the case of other areas of work, it is women's questioning of the knowledge base that has been the contribution.'<sup>3</sup>

The thesis will analyse these contributions with the aim of addressing three primary questions. Firstly, what does diversity and disagreement between the two countries regarding ideas on W&D tell us about the agency of women there, both in producing ideas and in contributing to development? Secondly, the research will address the Pan-African ideal when analysing claims of universal 'African' experiences. Thirdly, it will ask how these ideas might, if at all, have shaped mainstream understandings of W&D at the UN. Rather than taking the angle that W&D ideas were projected *onto* Global South women, the tentative argument is that these ideas were influenced and moulded *by* these women. Furthermore, diversity produced different levels and forms of agency for these women, to produce ideas

---

<sup>3</sup> Devaki Jain, *Women, Development, and the UN. A Sixty-Year Quest for Equality and Justice*. United Nations Intellectual History Project Series (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 8.

and to be heard. At the same time, despite differences, claims were often made to speak on behalf of African women, thus suggesting their deference to a Pan-African ideal for women.

The thesis will be outlined as follows: the remainder of this chapter will outline the research design of the thesis. Chapter Two will consist of a review of the literature on development and the international women's movement more broadly. It will then review the literature on the W&D concept, the Global South, African contributions to W&D, and the history of Kenyan and Nigerian women in society. Chapter Three will present the findings from the primary research. Chapter Four will discuss these findings in relation to the literature and the primary questions of the thesis. Chapter Five will conclude the thesis.

## Research Design

*A note on the Global South*<sup>4</sup>

The Global South term emerged in the 1970s to represent the emerging power bloc of countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, and to replace the more derogatory Third World term. In a paper that explores the legitimacy of the Global South term, Nina Schneider argues that the attempt to categorise and channel knowledge has been a symptom of the ‘Western-centric episteme.’<sup>5</sup> She cites Arturo Escobar’s idea of the ‘colonisation of reality,’ which examines how the Northern development discourse dominated particular representations of reality.<sup>6</sup> Schneider posits that if the Global South term is understood in the ‘flexible metaphorical reading,’ which means that it exists everywhere but is locally applicable, it might correct the assumption of a hard line between developed and developing, instead recognising vitality and inequality in both societies.<sup>7</sup>

However, Schneider questions whether any interpretations of the Global South term, no matter how precise, could overcome the reinforcement of inequalities that were associated with the ‘Third World’ term. This is because this precise understanding would still be a form of channeling knowledge. Indeed, Vijay Prashad’s reference to a Third World ‘project’ rather than ‘place’ highlights that the Third World/ Global South was never homogenous.<sup>8</sup> Prashad’s work demonstrates the diversity across and within Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Schneider and Prashad warn against the attempted categorisation of the Global South, and instead encourage a more localised focus. This is the reason why this thesis compares two African countries.

---

<sup>4</sup> Global North and Global South will be used hereafter to differentiate between Northern/ Western countries and the rest of the world. Unless otherwise stated, use of the terms South/ Southern and North/ Northern denotes the same meaning.

<sup>5</sup> Nina Schneider, “Between Promise and Skepticism: The Global South and Our Role as Engaged Intellectuals,” *The Global South* 11, 2 (2017): 34.

<sup>6</sup> Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development. The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5.

<sup>7</sup> Schneider, “Between Promise,” 21.

<sup>8</sup> Vijay Prashad, *The darker nations: a people’s history of the Third World* (London: New Press, 2008), xv.

### *Historical Representations Method*

Kevin C. Dunn has outlined how one can use a historical representation method to analyse how the object of inquiry (in this case, the W&D concept) has been represented over time and space. Societies construct ‘regimes of truth,’ or ‘knowledge,’ and this method asks the question: who constructs these knowledge claims, why, and what resistance do these come up against? A principal issue for historians to address is ‘what *kind* of knowledge our history represents.’<sup>9</sup> Power, or agency, plays a part in determining who is given the opportunity to speak authoritatively, thus claiming jurisdiction over the ‘truthful’ interpretation of the object. This method combines discourse or content analysis with historical research to ‘examine struggles over articulation and circulation of competing narratives.’<sup>10</sup>

The method is appropriate for this thesis because the object of inquiry is the *representation* of W&D as a concept. This method seeks not simply to uncover facts, but rather to critically analyse why certain regimes of truth or knowledge exist. It is well suited to this study’s research puzzle. In comparing the ideas of women from Kenya and Nigeria on W&D, the puzzle presented is to ascertain who was privileged in producing these ideas, why, and what these ideas were. How did these women, through knowledge production, articulate certain narratives of W&D? In doing this, a profile is constructed of those who were contributing. This deciphers which women were not contributing and explores the reasons for this lack of contribution. Dunn claims that it is important to choose moments in time to focus on when ‘forces are seeking to create regimes of truth about the object of inquiry... by defining and inscribing its meaning.’<sup>11</sup> The 1960s are well suited to this criterion, as the

---

<sup>9</sup> Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, “Introduction: Why Bother With Method?” in *Research Methods for History*, ed. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 30.

<sup>10</sup> Kevin C. Dunn, “Historical Representations,” in *Qualitative Methods in International Relations. A pluralist Guide*, eds. Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 82.

<sup>11</sup> Dunn, “Historical Representations,” 86.

meaning of development and thus W&D was indeed being contested and challenged during this time.

Africa was chosen as the focus of this thesis after research into the general question of Global South contributions to W&D highlighted that the continent had been a pioneer in knowledge production on W&D, and yet has been largely overlooked. When it has been studied, conclusions are often drawn about the whole continent, thus bunching diverse experiences together. Hence this thesis will compare two countries. In order to analyse potential explanations for differences, the cases for comparison were chosen from two different regions in Africa. Preliminary research revealed that Kenyan women were incredibly active in organising themselves in a multitude of different groups and organisations relating to women's issues, and Kenya was also one of the most eager countries to send delegates to international conferences.<sup>12</sup> In general, West African women were much more involved in trading than those of East Africa, so a comparison could be made between Kenya and a West African country to see how this difference played out with respect to ideas on women's status and development. Nigerian women played an important role in trading, and had been politically mobilised a long time before the time period in question.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the thesis will compare these two cases.

The thesis will analyse primary documents from seminars and conferences relating to women in Africa and specifically women in Nigeria and Kenya. The majority of these documents will be from the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Depending on availability, documents relating to Kenyan and Nigerian women's organisations that were not necessarily affiliated with the ECA will be used. To guide the research, the following questions will be asked about the content of the documents, comparing differences and

---

<sup>12</sup> UNECA, *Report of the workshop on urban problems: the role of women in urban development*, E/CN.14.241 (27 November 1963), 13. Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/123456789/17385>

<sup>13</sup> Nina Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900-1965* (Research series 48) (Berkeley, CA: University of California, Institute of International Studies (IIS), 1982), 195-209.

similarities between the two cases: who was contributing ideas, and also who was not heard?

What were these ideas? What did they say about women's integration into the workforce?

What did they say about development and equality, and the interplay of the two?

The broader questions that will be addressed by the discussion in Chapter Four are: what is the value of differences between the cases, regarding ideas on W&D, to the agency of these women? What purpose was served when claims were made to speak as 'African women'? To what extent did these ideas shape the wider, global debate, whilst remaining aware that the opposite may in fact have been the case?

### *Chapter Two: Literature Review*

The aim of this literature review is to demonstrate the current and past scholarship on the birth and growth of the W&D concept. It will begin by analysing the scholarship on the growth and changes in both the international development paradigm, and the international women's movement. In this, it will present the scholarship on the link between these two movements. By introducing this link, it will show how the literature has approached the W&D concept and Global South contributions. It will highlight the primary criticism of the literature, in that it obscures earlier and more geographically diverse sources of ideas on W&D. It will subsequently bring in the literature on knowledge production and African contributions to the W&D concept. Finally, this chapter will provide an overview of the history of women's roles for the two case studies of Kenya and Nigeria, so as to enable the contextualisation of results in Chapter Four. The chapter will conclude by addressing the gap in the literature into which this thesis will fit.

#### Development and the International Women's Movement

The 1960s was an important time for both the international women's movement and for the international development paradigm, and the UN played a significant role in both. During the 1960s, coined by the UN as the First Development Decade, the technical focus of the 1950s development paradigm was replaced by a more holistic approach to development that encompassed the idea of human development as well as economic.<sup>14</sup> By the beginning of the Second Development Decade 1970-1980, the International Development Strategy (IDS)

---

<sup>14</sup> Joel Isaac, "The Human Sciences in Cold War America," *The Historical Journal* 50, 3 (2007): 725-746; Nick Cullather, "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie," *The American Historical Review* 112, 2 (2007): 337-364.

emphasised the importance of quality of life and wellbeing to the development paradigm.<sup>15</sup>

This suggests that the 1960s was a period of transformation for the international development paradigm.

Some scholars claim that the 1960s was a quiet period for the international women's movement, arguing that the beginning of the movement came with a new wave of feminist activity in the 1970s and the Women's Decade.<sup>16</sup> Tinker and Jaquette argue that the Women's Decade and its three conferences both promoted, and gave legitimacy to the international women's movement.<sup>17</sup> However, the years prior to 1970 were in fact important for the movement. In the 1960s the processes were underway for a number of International Women's Conventions.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, many more Global South actors were added to international fora during the 1960s. These actors presented challenges and alternatives to the Global North women's movement.<sup>19</sup> As part of a tendency in the literature to overlook developments that did not centre around the Global North, the achievements and activity of women in Latin America, Asia, and Africa during this time have received less attention. Yet, when they have received attention, their contributions and achievements have been made visible.<sup>20</sup> Their

---

<sup>15</sup> General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV), *International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade*, A/RES/2626(XXV) (24 October 1970). Available from:

[https://undocs.org/A/RES/2626\(XXV\)](https://undocs.org/A/RES/2626(XXV))

<sup>16</sup> Elisabeth Prugl and Mary K. Meyer, "Introduction," in *Gender Politics in Global Governance*, eds. Elisabeth Prugl and Mary K. Meyer (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 10; Hilka Pietilä, *Development Dossiers: Engendering the Global Agenda. The story of Women and the United Nations* (Geneva: UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service, 2002), 29; Arvonne Fraser, "Making History Word by Word," *Journal of Women's History* 24, 4 (2012): 193.

<sup>17</sup> Irene Tinker and Jane S. Jaquette, "UN decade for women: Its impact and legacy," *World Development* 15, 3 (1987): 424.

<sup>18</sup> Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons in 1949; Equal Remuneration for Men and Women in 1951; Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1952; Convention Against Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation in 1958; UNESCO's International Convention Against Discrimination in Education in 1960; Convention on Consent to Marriage in 1962.

<sup>19</sup> Margaret E. Galey, "Women Find a Place," in *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, ed. Anne Winslow (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 20.

<sup>20</sup> See: Ellen DuBois and Lauren Derby, "The strange case of Minerva Bernardino: Pan American and United Nations women's right activist," *Women's Studies International Forum* 32 (2009): 43-50; Corrine A. Pernet, "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950," *Pacific Historical Review* 69, 4 (2000): 663-688; Nova Robinson, "Arab Internationalism and Gender: Perspectives from the Third Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1949," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 48 (2016): 578-583; Mary K. Meyer, "Negotiating International Norms: The Inter-American

contributions have demonstrated the importance of the 1960s for the international women's movement. The 1960s, therefore, was an important decade for development and for the international women's movement, especially when looking beyond the Global North.

### *The Link Between Development and the Women's Movement*

Perhaps the most salient factor impacting the international women's movement during the 1960s was the changing development paradigm. Research into the international women's movement during this time leads to the literature on development, and women's role in it. These two processes occurred alongside one another whilst also impacting each other.<sup>21</sup> Toward the end of the 1960s, UN documents began to reflect the idea that women were needed for the purpose of development.<sup>22</sup> Hilikka Pietilä and Jane Parpart write about the importance for the women's movement of changes in ideas around development planning at the UN level.<sup>23</sup> Devaki Jain shows how the incorporation of women became important to the development effort within the IDS.<sup>24</sup> The right to family planning was first considered during the 1960s as a result of attempts to address the issue of population control, which was regarded as an aspect of social progress and development.<sup>25</sup> Women in development as a concept also came into use during this decade.<sup>26</sup> In all of these accounts, the underlying theme was the shift from conceiving women as recipients to agents of development. Hence,

---

Commission of Women and the Convention on Violence Against Women," in Prugl and Meyer, *Gender Politics*, 58-72.

<sup>21</sup> Jain, *Women*, 49.

<sup>22</sup> United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, *United Nations Assistance for the Advancement of Women* (New York: United Nations Publications, 1967), 20; Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Introduction," in *The United Nations Blue Books Series, Vol. VI, The United Nations and The Advancement of Women 1945-1996*, (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996), 3-77.

<sup>23</sup> Pietilä, *Development Dossiers*, 44; Parpart, "Women's Rights," 189-90.

<sup>24</sup> Jain, *Women*, 43.

<sup>25</sup> Hilikka Pietilä and Jeanne Vickers, *Making Women Matter. The Role of the United Nations*, third ed. (London: Zed Books, 1996), 125; Arvonne S. Fraser, "Becoming Human: The Origins and Development of Women's Human Rights," in *Women's Rights. A Human Rights Quarterly Reader*, ed. Bert B. Lockwood (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 39.

<sup>26</sup> Fraser, "Becoming Human," 40; Jain, *Women*, 53.

changes in the development paradigm were impacting women and the international women's movement in the 1960s.

*The UN Women's Decade and the CSW, UNIFEM, and INSTRAW*

When probed further, this question of advances in development thinking and their impact on the women's movement brings up the literature on the W&D concept. This literature has largely focused on the Women's Decade.<sup>27</sup> It has also stressed the primacy of the role played by the CSW, UNIFEM, and INSTRAW.<sup>28</sup> These works have stressed that the Decade and aforementioned bodies were central to the creation of a consciousness around W&D, particularly regarding women in the Global South.

It is also mostly in the context of the Women's Decade and bodies like CSW, UNIFEM, and INSTRAW, that the literature addresses the role and contribution of women from the Global South to the W&D concept.<sup>29</sup> These authors focus on the Women's Decade when addressing the tensions that existed between women from different regions, regarding the issues they viewed as the most important. The accounts often reduce these tensions to a battle between legal equality and development. Indeed, the themes of the first Women's Conference in Mexico in 1975 - equality, development, and peace - ignited different responses from different women.

Whereas many women from the Global North frequently argued that legal equality was the most important goal, women from the Global South would contest that this was not possible for them without development. Moreover, the women stated that they also needed substantive equality, which was based on the argument that women were different from

---

<sup>27</sup> Fraser, "Making History," 193-8; Kristen Ghodsee, "Revisiting the United Nations Decade for Women: Brief Reflections on Feminism, Capitalism and Cold War Politics in the Early Years of the International Women's Movement," *Women's Studies International Forum* 33, 1 (2010): 5-8; Pietilä, *Development Dossiers*, 34-4; Margaret Snyder, "The Politics of Women and Development," in *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, ed. Anne Winslow (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 109.

<sup>28</sup> Pietilä, *Development Dossiers*, 38; Snyder, "The Politics," 99; Galey, "Women," 15-21.

<sup>29</sup> Galey, "Women," 20; Ghodsee, "Revisiting," 6; Fraser, "Becoming Human," 42.

men.<sup>30</sup> The Northern delegates also accused the Southern delegates of ‘politicising’ the conferences with their structural agenda, eliciting a response from Southern delegates that it was not the North’s prerogative to differentiate a political issue from a women’s issue.<sup>31</sup>

The Women’s Decade thus deserves attention regarding the W&D concept, both for the publicity it achieved and the ideas it circulated, and also for having served as a platform for women with different views to exchange and debate ideas. However, to overstate its importance is to risk obscuring the progress or events of the preceding decade. There is a need to shed light on the earlier and more geographically diverse sources that may have impacted the debates of the Decade. This may also demonstrate why and how certain ideas were privileged over others during the conferences.

Similarly, the CSW, UNIFEM, and INSTRAW were important and influential, but they tended to reflect Northern women’s interests. Devaki Jain argues that UNIFEM (VFDW until 1985) and INSTRAW generally operated on the assumption that the mainstream, Northern understanding of development would benefit all.<sup>32</sup> The IDS, despite encompassing a more people-centred approach, was to be applied to the prevailing international economic order.<sup>33</sup> This meant an exclusion of alternative factors of oppression associated with capitalism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, which were highlighted by many Global South women.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, whilst most of the literature presents the CSW as having been a pioneer in bringing issues of W&D in the South to the forefront, it is rarely mentioned that this was a result of Southern women’s influence. For example, members of the Commission on Social

---

<sup>30</sup> Jain, *Women*, 93; Ghodsee, “Revisiting,” 6.

<sup>31</sup> Jane S. Jaquette, “Losing the Battle/ Winning the War: International Politics, Women’s Issues, and the 1980 Mid-Decade Conference,” in Winslow, *Women*, 48.

<sup>32</sup> Jain, *Women*, 95.

<sup>33</sup> UNECA, *The New International Economic Order: What Role for Women?* E/CN.14/ATRCW/77/WD3 (31 August 1977), 7.

<sup>34</sup> Jain, *Women*, 83; Agnes Akosua Aidoo, “Women and Development in Africa,” in *Economic Crisis in Africa. African Perspectives on Development Problems and Potentials*, eds. Adebayo Adedeji and Timothy M. Shaw (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1985), 210.

Development (CSD) such as Ruda Mohamed of Nigeria and Lucille Mair of Jamaica pushed the CSW's agenda to focus more on development issues.<sup>35</sup>

### Knowledge Production

Knowledge production was the most important aspect of the growth of the W&D concept. The ILO played an important and early role in this, not only in data collection on women's work, but also in major reforms of systems that measured women's contributions.<sup>36</sup> A crucial aspect of this was to disaggregate data by sex, rendering women's work visible.<sup>37</sup> Several more scholars also highlight the importance of research and data collection to the W&D concept.<sup>38</sup> These accounts claim that there was a surge in knowledge production during the 1970s, citing Ester Boserup's 1970 work *Woman's Role in Economic Development* as having been the major catalyst of this.<sup>39</sup> Many also attribute the role of requesting and carrying out research on W&D to the CSW, and later INSTRAW.<sup>40</sup>

Boserup's was the first worldwide study on women's role in development, and it did have significant impacts. However, to have an impact is not to assume that it produced the ideas. The literature's emphasis on Boserup's 1970 work implies that these W&D ideas came *from* research in the Global North, and were projected *onto* women in the Global South. It was often assumed that ideas came from Global North actors who popularised them, despite originating in the Global South. For example, Snyder notes that Boserup used the UN Economic Commission for Africa's (ECA) data on women in Africa for her study.<sup>41</sup> In most

---

<sup>35</sup> Margaret Snyder, *Transforming Development. Women, Poverty, and Politics* (London: IT Publications, 1995), 14.

<sup>36</sup> Jain, *Women*, 75; Lubin, Carol R. and Winslow, Anne, *Social Justice for Women: the International Labor Organization and Women* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 139-49.

<sup>37</sup> Pietilä, *Development Dossiers*, 35.

<sup>38</sup> Snyder, *Transforming*, 15; Parpart, "Women's Rights," 192; Aidoo, "Women," 204.

<sup>39</sup> Jain, *Women*, 54; Snyder, *Transforming*, 15; J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations. Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 75.

<sup>40</sup> Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, "Becoming UN Women. A Journey in Realizing Rights and Gaining Global Recognition," in Cassidy, *Gender and Diplomacy*, 172; Pietilä, *Development Dossiers*, 30; Jain, *Women*, 58, 77.

<sup>41</sup> Snyder, *Transforming*, 18.

other references to Boserup's study, however, this is not mentioned. Hence, there is a strong impetus to examine the sources of these ideas more directly.

### Africa and Knowledge Production

There is a small pocket of literature that focuses on earlier Global South contributions, in more of a regional and sub regional context. This literature finds that Africa was a pioneer in knowledge production on the W&D concept, with particular reference to the work of the ECA.<sup>42</sup> These scholars have drawn attention to the fact that the ECA was discussing and producing policy briefs on the crucial role of women in development long before the rest of the world's women.<sup>43</sup> During the conferences of the Women's Decade, calls were made for more, better quality data collection and research on women.<sup>44</sup> In this way, the African women who contributed to the ECA's knowledge production during the 1960s and early 1970s were many steps ahead.

Knowledge production was used in an attempt to address the question of African development from regional and subregional perspectives, whilst taking into account the necessity of including women in the discussion and process. During the 1960s, the international discussion around women's status, particularly in the CSW, was based on an interpretation of women's experiences that sometimes did not resonate with women from African countries. The CSW emphasised, among other issues, more integration of women into the workforce and legal equality with men.<sup>45</sup> Regarding integration, at least eighty percent of the African population were living in rural areas engaging in agricultural work.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Jain, *Women*, 100; Margaret Snyder, "Women Determine Development: The Unfinished Revolution.," *Signs* 29, 2 (2003): 621; Margaret Snyder and Mary Tadesse, *African Women and Development: A History* (London: Zed Books, 1995), 64.

<sup>43</sup> Jain, *Women*, 100.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 74; Virginia R. Allan, Margaret E. Galey, and Mildred E. Persinger, "World Conference of International Women's Year," in Winslow, *Women*, 36; Pietilä, *Development Dossiers*, 43.

<sup>45</sup> United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, *Report on the Eighteenth Session*, E/CN.6/442, (New York: United Nations, 1-20 March 1965), available from: <https://undocs.org/E/CN.6/442>

<sup>46</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/ATRCW/77/WD3, 2.

Aidoo argues that the concept of integration was ‘misleading’ because one could not ask African women for fuller participation when they already worked ‘from dawn to dusk.’<sup>47</sup> Regarding equality, many African women did not consider legal equality very useful without development.<sup>48</sup> These responses showed alternative interpretations and conceptions of W&D that were dependent upon context. This represented a challenge to claims about the universal experience of women globally.

The works of Jain, and Snyder and Tadesse, are strong in highlighting earlier and more geographically diverse sources of ideas on W&D. Snyder and Tadesse argue that the ‘roots’ of the W&D movement were ‘being put down in the early 1960s,’ although they claim historians rarely recognise this.<sup>49</sup> They address the significant contribution to the movement made by the African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW). However, the work suffers from the tendency in contemporary academia to refer to ‘African women’ as a homogeneous group.<sup>50</sup> As Joanna Lewis stated in 1998, ‘the category of African woman [had] become as ubiquitous as the colonial “African male.”’<sup>51</sup> Although Snyder and Tadesse mention individual countries, their conclusions refer to African women as a whole. African women inevitably had diverse experiences and thus diverse ideas on their role and status in society in the 1960s. To generalise on African women would be an example of the Western-centric episteme, the categorisation and channelling of knowledge referred to in Chapter One.

### Historical Role of Women in Kenya and Nigeria

There is a noticeable gap in the literature regarding women in Kenyan history. In fact, the only full-length synthesis related to this topic is Tabitha M. Kanogo’s *African Womanhood in*

---

<sup>47</sup> Aidoo, “Women,” 210.

<sup>48</sup> Jain, *Women*, 85.

<sup>49</sup> Snyder and Tadesse, *African Women*, 3.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women. A Modern History* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).

<sup>51</sup> Joanna Lewis, “Deadlier than the male? Women, knowledge and power,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 68, 2 (1998): 285.

*Colonial Kenya*.<sup>52</sup> This, however, only dates back to 1900 and constitutes an analysis of changes in conceptions of womanhood rather than the particular role and status of women in Kenyan history. Generally, it has been found that women in pre-colonial Kenya had lower levels of social, economic, and political power than their counterparts in West Africa.<sup>53</sup> This is partly explained by the fact that they did not have the same history of involvement with trade, instead working primarily in agriculture. Trade was integral to Lagos' historical development, whereas despite the growth of a trade market in East Africa, Kenya's economy remained subsistence-based.<sup>54</sup> West African women thus had a longer history of engagement in market activities.<sup>55</sup> These differences in the development of their economies impacted the role of women in both countries throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods.

Two primary works on women's role in Nigerian history include Nina Mba's 1982 *Nigerian Women Mobilised* and the more recent Nkparom C. Ejituwu's 2005 *Women in Nigerian History*. The latter of these was written specifically to fill the gap in the literature on women in Nigerian history. These and other works demonstrate how in Nigerian pre-colonial society, there were women in powerful positions, such as chieftaincies and queens.<sup>56</sup> This was particularly the case for Yoruba women; there were women chiefs in important positions in Ondo, which was an early Yoruba society.<sup>57</sup> The same cannot be said for Kenyan women.

In many ways, the colonial period sidelined women in both Nigeria and Kenya.<sup>58</sup> However, Kanogo argues throughout her book that certain aspects of the colonial state in Kenya inadvertently produced opportunities for women, thus challenging the assumption that

---

<sup>52</sup> Tabitha M. Kanogo, *African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1950* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005).

<sup>53</sup> Bessie House-Midamba, "Economic Self-Sufficiency and the Role of the African Market Women: A Comparative Analysis of Kenya and Nigeria," Presented at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, 23-26 November 1991, 48 (1992): 18.

<sup>54</sup> House-Midamba, "Economic," 3-5.

<sup>55</sup> Mba, *Nigerian Women*, ch. VII; House-Midamba, "Economic," 33.

<sup>56</sup> Bolanle Awe, "Nigerian Women and Development in Retrospect," in *Women and Development in Africa. Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Jane L. Parpart (Lanham: University Press of America, 1989), 315.

<sup>57</sup> House-Midamba, "Economic," 13.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 23; Awe, "Nigerian Women," 317.

colonialism had a uniformly negative impact on women.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, colonial policies in Kenya produced an imbalance between urban and rural, the latter being where most women lived and worked. Access to credit was one of the biggest obstacles for women seeking to work in trading.<sup>60</sup>

Colonisation saw the loss of titles for many Southern Nigerian women.<sup>61</sup> Relatively, however, Nigerian women retained or obtained more agency than Kenyan women, due primarily to their role in trading. It is also important to note that colonialism impacted women differently across different regions in Nigeria.<sup>62</sup> It was primarily the Yoruba market women who fared better than the rest. The market women in Lagos were already organising themselves politically during the 1920s, collaborating with the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). An example of the high levels of organisation by these women was their successful campaign against the income tax in 1944, which they managed to have removed in 1945.<sup>63</sup> The Women's Party (WP) was established in 1944, out of a Lagos-based group of elite women who were closely tied to the colonial administration. It had a short-lived alliance with the market women of Lagos, but ultimately a gulf existed between the market women and those of the elite members of the Women's Party, and this alliance broke down in the early 1950s.<sup>64</sup>

Kenya experienced a much more complicated and violent decolonisation process than Nigeria. This was primarily due to the Mau Mau insurgency in the 1950s. Although it must be noted that there is no scholarly agreement over whether Mau Mau directly caused the British withdrawal, it nonetheless rendered perception and memory of the withdrawal process

---

<sup>59</sup> Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, ch. 1.

<sup>60</sup> House-Midamba, "Economic", 31.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>62</sup> Bolanle Awe, "Writing Women into History: The Nigerian Experience," in *Writing Women's History*, eds. Karen M. Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson, and Jane Rendall (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), 215.

<sup>63</sup> Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 199-204; House-Midamba, "Economic," 28.

<sup>64</sup> Mba, *Nigerian Women*, ch. VII.

as violent.<sup>65</sup> Bessie House-Midamba observes that the Kikuyu in Kenya were very resistant to colonial rule, whereas the Yourba in Nigeria were more closely tied to the colonial administration.<sup>66</sup> This is relevant to the role of women in the two societies upon entering their independence periods. In Kenya, women had played a substantial (and overlooked) role in anti-colonial struggles throughout the final half-century of colonial rule.<sup>67</sup> Despite this, there was scarcely any space in independent Kenya for women to partake in politics. The women's wings of political parties were primarily seen as vote-mobilising mechanisms. Despite KANU's inclusion in their manifesto of their intention to work with women in an independent Kenya, there were no women MPs elected until 1969.<sup>68</sup> Wipper argues that the ruling elite of Kenya through the 1960s used particular tactics to appease the women's movement whilst blocking them from any substantial political progress.<sup>69</sup>

In post-colonial Nigeria, there were more political opportunities for women. The NCNC party in particular had substantially more representation and involvement for women. Numerous women were elected to the NCNC National Executive Committee.<sup>70</sup> During the first republic from 1959-1965, there were two women senators in the federal legislatures.<sup>71</sup> Women legislators in the Eastern House of Assembly in the 1960s were outspoken regarding regional politics, such as the Census dispute in 1963.<sup>72</sup> Women used these spaces to draw attention to women's issues, despite never occupying the highest, decision-making offices.<sup>73</sup> Comparatively, they had much more of an opportunity to contest positions than Kenyan

---

<sup>65</sup>Hilda Nissimi, "Mau Mau and the Decolonisation of Kenya," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 8, 3 (2006): 1-35.

<sup>66</sup> House-Midamba, "Economic," 26.

<sup>67</sup> Mi Yung Yoon and Christol Okeke, "Kenya: Women's Suffrage and Political Participation as Voters," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights*, eds Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Netina Tan (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 244-5.

<sup>68</sup> Audrey Wipper, "The Politics of Sex: Some Strategies Employed by the Kenyan Power Elite to Handle a Normative-Existential Discrepancy," *African Studies Review* 14, 3 (1971): 464-5.

<sup>69</sup> Wipper, "The Politics," 475-7.

<sup>70</sup> Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 236.

<sup>71</sup> Awe, "Nigerian Women," 320

<sup>72</sup> Chibuikwe Uche, "Oil, British Interests and the Nigerian Civil War," *Journal of African History* 49, 1 (2008): 117.

<sup>73</sup> Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 275.

women; disputes occurred frequently between men and women over party nominations.

Another aspect of the post-colonial Nigerian context was the interregional tension that flared during the 1960s between the north, west, and east. Antagonism and distrust characterised politics between the regions.<sup>74</sup> This is important to be aware of in the attempt to understand women's political alignments during the 1960s.

Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MyW) was a women's organisation in Kenya that began in the villages.<sup>75</sup> The pre-independence leaders of MyW embodied Western values about women's role and the family.<sup>76</sup> Toward the end of the 1960s, however, Wipper argues that they became 'co-opted' into the Kenyan ruling elite. Soon after Kenyan independence in 1963, MyW began to replace its British or foreign staff with Kenyan Africans.<sup>77</sup> Also during this time, the women's movement split into 'militants' and 'patrons', the latter of which tended to espouse the ideal of a woman as mother and wife but was critical of 'Western' influences like divorce through civil, rather than customary, law.<sup>78</sup> MyW came to represent the 'patrons' side and their prior influence in the villages waned as a result.<sup>79</sup> This is an important aspect to consider when analysing what was said by Kenyan participants at the various seminars throughout the 1960s.

### The Gap in the Literature

This literature review has demonstrated the overlaps between scholarship on the international women's movement and international development, within which there is a large focus on the

---

<sup>74</sup> Ogechi E. Anyanwu, "Connecting Theory with Reality. Understanding the causes of the Nigeria-Biafra war", in *Writing the Nigeria-Biafra War*, edited by Toyin Falola and Ogechukwu Ezekwem (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2016), 43.

<sup>75</sup> Audrey Wipper, "The Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization: The Co-Optation of Leadership," *African Studies Review* 18, 3 (1975): 99.

<sup>76</sup> Maendeleo ya Wanawake is Swahili for 'Women's Progress', Wipper, "The Politics," 467.

<sup>77</sup> Wipper, "The Maendeleo," 102.

<sup>78</sup> Wipper, "The Politics," 474.

<sup>79</sup> Wipper, "The Maendeleo," 107; Mette Mønsted, "Women's groups in rural Kenya and their role in development," Centre for Development Research Paper A. 78.2, 1978, 3; Dominique Mazire, 'Une organisation de femmes au Kenya : Maendeleo ya Wanawake,' *Politique Africaine*, March 1994, 143.

UN. It has shown that the literature primarily addresses the Global South contributions to these movements within the context of the aforementioned UN bodies and the Women's Decade. It has drawn attention to a small section of the literature, which acknowledges the role that Africa played in knowledge production on W&D. It has also presented the scholarship on women's roles in Kenyan and Nigerian societies. This has demonstrated that a gap exists regarding a focus on pre-1970 ideas from Kenyan and Nigerian women on the W&D concept, and the connection between these ideas with the wider African context, and again the wider debate at the UN during the 1970s. Furthermore, addressing intersectionality by focusing on women from the Global South renders it more important, as this has been the most neglected focus to date.

A more narrow focus on the experiences of individual countries will add to the literature by providing a deeper insight into the dynamics of how women's ideas were articulated and how knowledge was produced. A comparison of two countries from two different regions in Africa provides this insight by outlining how differing contexts and histories affected ideas on women's roles in the two countries. Moreover, when claims were made to speak on behalf of all African women, despite the existence of differences, it asks what agenda this may have been intended to serve, and whether it can be placed within the context of the Pan-African movement. Finally, examining their contributions demonstrates whether their ideas shaped mainstream ideas on W&D during the 1970s.

### *Chapter Three: Results*

This chapter will present the findings from the research undertaken. It is divided into three sections. The first section answers the question of who was contributing to these seminars and documents, also paying attention to which actors were not heard. The second section answers the question of what their ideas were on W&D, with reference to the domestic role of women, their role in the economy, and legal equality with men. The third section will outline examples of interaction with mainstream UN bodies and ideas.

This chapter will continuously refer to results from all-Africa seminars as points of comparison. Whilst differences were found between the Kenyan and Nigerian cases, many claims were made to speak on behalf of African women in the all-Africa seminars. In general, there were more references to either Africa or East Africa in Kenyan documents, than references to Africa or West Africa in Nigerian documents. Participants from Uganda and Tanganyika spoke at Kenyan seminars in ways that suggest they identified as East Africans as well as citizens of their own nations.<sup>80</sup> There also appears to have been more seminars on Kenya or East Africa, than Nigeria or West Africa.

#### Which Actors were Contributing to the W&D Concept?

The contributing elite women were at least partially British-influenced, an observation deduced by their names and education. The difference lay in the connection between these women (the leaders of their women's movements) and the majority of ordinary women in their respective countries. It was found that, at least early in the decade, the Kenyan women had a stronger link to rural Kenya than their counterparts in Nigeria. Other contributors to the seminars and documents included ECA secretariat members, representatives of women's

---

<sup>80</sup> National Kenya Women's Seminar, *Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar: The role of African Women: Past, Present and Future* (Limuru: East Africa Printers, 5-11 May 1962), 19,39. Available from: [https://search.alexanderstreet.com/preview/work/bibliographic\\_entity%7Cbibliographic\\_details%7C1733824](https://search.alexanderstreet.com/preview/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C1733824)

organisations, government and NGO representatives, and development ‘experts’ like doctors and economists. These came from both African countries and further afield.<sup>81</sup>

### *Elite and British Influenced*

The majority of women contributors from the Kenyan, Nigerian, and all-African seminars and reports were from higher socio-economic backgrounds; in other words, the elite. This is deduced by their occupations, their families, and a perceived British influence.<sup>82</sup> Many of the Kenyan and Nigerian women had British first names, and had been educated in Britain. However, it was evident that more Nigerian than Kenyan women had studied in Britain. Many of both the Nigerian and Kenyan women were related and/ or married to members of their countries’ political elite.<sup>83</sup> Regarding their occupations, most common in both Nigeria and Kenya were teachers and philanthropists. Other common professions were politicians, nurses, and lawyers in Nigeria, and civil servants and social workers in Kenya. These occupations would have constituted the middle and top echelons of society because the majority of Kenyan and Nigerian women worked in agriculture or market trading. More Nigerian women participated in politics than Kenyan; the *Biographies* document listed several Nigerian women politicians, but none from Kenya. Furthermore, documents often

---

<sup>81</sup> For example, I.K.K Balaba of the ECA Secretariat; Bibi Titi Mohamed, head of TANU Women’s Section in Tanganyika.

<sup>82</sup> Information on the majority of the women contributors to the documents from: UNECA, *Biographies of African women. New edition prepared by the Secretariat*, my translation, E/CN.14/URB/2/Add.1 (20 August 1963). Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/7680>

<sup>83</sup> For example, Pamela Mboya was married to Tom Mboya, who was an important Kenyan politician; Margaret Kenyatta was Jomo Kenyatta’s daughter; Lady Oyinkan Moronike Abayomi was the daughter of Sir Kitoyo Ajasa (the first Nigerian man to be knighted by the British Empire)(Cheryl Johnson-Odim, “Actions Louder than Words: The Historical Task of Defining Feminist Consciousness in Colonial West Africa,” in *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, eds. Ruth Roach Pierson, Nupur Chaudhuri, and Beth McAuley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 87); Mrs. T. Ayo Manuwa was Abayomi’s cousin and married to Judge Ademola (all information from *Biographies des Femmes Africaines* unless otherwise stated).

referenced Nigerian women politicians, whereas it was stated that Kenyan women did not participate in party politics.<sup>84</sup>

*Wider Base of Leadership: Rural/ Urban Divide*

All-Africa documents sometimes cited the growth of urban elites as a positive development; it was suggested that these were necessary for participation in international conferences.<sup>85</sup> In Kenya, the elite was cited as being the most important force exerted on behalf of all Kenyan women.<sup>86</sup> However, this was not limited to urban areas. In Kenya, MyW was one of the most prominent women's organisations during the 1960s and this started as a village-based organisation. It began with the aim of teaching women about 'homemaking.'<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, in Kenya the early conferences were attended by women representatives from most districts. The purpose of their attendance was to subsequently bring the ideas back to the villages of the districts, as well as bringing information from the districts to the conferences.<sup>88</sup> Thus, the sources from earlier in the decade seem to show that the women leaders were in touch with the women of rural Kenya. There is a change in tone in later documents on Kenya. This change constitutes two elements: one is a defence of customary law, which will be discussed below; the other is a relatively complimentary attitude toward the Kenyan government.

In Nigeria, the women contributing to and participating in the seminars and meetings appear to be less connected to the rural areas. A substantial proportion of these women were either from or based in urban Lagos. This is demonstrated by the list of participants of some

---

<sup>84</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 16.

<sup>85</sup> UNECA, *Report of the Workshop on Urban Problems: the Role of Women in Urban Development*, E/CN.14.241 (27 November 1963), 13. Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/123456789/17385>

<sup>86</sup> UNECA, *The Position of Women in Kenya (prepared by Julius Carlebach)*, E/CN.14/URB/9 (16 July 1963), 13. Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/8071>

<sup>87</sup> UNECA, *Maendeleo Activities in Kenya (Prepared by Mrs. Priscilla I. Abwao, Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation, Nairobi, Kenya)*, E/CN.14/URB/8 (26 June 1963), 1. Available from:

<https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/7654>

<sup>88</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 5.

of the seminars.<sup>89</sup> It is also demonstrated by the examples of Nigerian women in the Biographies document.<sup>90</sup> Many of these women were also members of the National Council of Nigerian Women's Societies (NCWS) and the WP.

### *Those Who Were Not Heard*

Given the above discussion on who was contributing and participating, it can be deduced that the majority of African women in the two countries were not directly contributing. As a rectification of this, it was suggested that women who were illiterate or could not speak English or French, but who were important in agriculture or commerce, should be included in international conferences and seminars (although there was no evidence found to suggest this occurred).<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, several statements were made by the women participants about how they, the educated and privileged, had the responsibility to teach and help the rest of the women in their countries.<sup>92</sup> Although this reflects at least an intention to include all women, it nevertheless is not the same as hearing the opinions of those women.

### What were the Contributors' Ideas on W&D?

#### *Role of Women: Domestic Emphasis*

The role of wife and mother was frequently emphasised as the most important role for women. This was a prevalent point in discussions on Kenya or East Africa.<sup>93</sup> The family unit was emphasised as the backbone of national development.<sup>94</sup> Participants stressed that good citizenship began in the home, and women's role as mothers in maintaining these homes was

---

<sup>89</sup> UNECA, *1960 Seminar on Participation of Women in Public Life*, ST/TAO/HR/9 (12-23 December 1960), 30. Accessed in printed copy; UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 37-42.

<sup>90</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/2/Add.1.

<sup>91</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 14.

<sup>92</sup> UNECA, ST/TAO/HR/9, 23; Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 19.

<sup>93</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 27,40; UNECA, *The Status and Role of Women in East Africa*, E/CN.14/SWSA/6 (June 1967), 9. Accessed in printed copy.

<sup>94</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 19.

emphasised.<sup>95</sup> The MyW organisation's branches focused on changes and improvements at the level of the home. Often increasing women's participation in public life or improving their status were framed as a way for women to play their role as mother and wife even better.<sup>96</sup> The research produced few examples of occasions when this role was stressed for, or by, Nigerian women.

Participants sometimes stated the importance of opening up opportunities to women, like encouraging them to work in all sectors.<sup>97</sup> The underlying premise, however, was that their role as wife and mother came first and that their work should never come before their children.<sup>98</sup> It was often argued that under no circumstances should children be neglected, which in Kenya included leaving children with 'ayahs' (childminders), who were untrained. A better system was required for looking after children, and often the suggested solution was the establishment of day nurseries and creches.<sup>99</sup> Nigerian women's societies were given as an example for this, in setting up day nurseries for working women.<sup>100</sup> African women who attended international conferences were commended for putting their children before their career, 'contrary to the reproach that could be levelled at the women of other continents.'<sup>101</sup>

Drawing from this belief in the primacy of women's domestic role, there was an overall encouragement of emphasising 'girls'' courses in education, primarily domestic science and home economics. This emphasis was found in discussions relating to Kenya and more broadly East Africa.<sup>102</sup> They stated that these courses were essential for all women, not just those who sought a career in home economics.<sup>103</sup> However, they also raised the issue of

---

<sup>95</sup> UNECA, ST/TAO/HR/9, 23.

<sup>96</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 25; UNECA, *The Role of Women in National Development (By I.K.K. Balaba)*, E/CN.14/SW/26 (3 October 1969), 5. Available from: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/13308>

<sup>97</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 11.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 15; UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 13.

<sup>99</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 14.

<sup>100</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/26, 3.

<sup>101</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 13.

<sup>102</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 14; UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/8, 1.

<sup>103</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/SWSA/6, 8.

girls being prevented from studying what interested them.<sup>104</sup> Some were of the opinion that too much emphasis on girls' subjects amounted to discrimination and would limit their choices due to a lack of professional or technical training.<sup>105</sup> Thus the opinion seems to have been that whilst home economics courses were vital, girls should be enabled to study other subjects too.

The importance of the family unit, and therefore women's role in this, was also reflected in discussions on the problems of urbanisation. This was discussed with reference to all of Africa. These problems included the impact of urbanisation on the family unit and the issues for women who had moved into urban areas. Regarding the former, participants explained that because housing and wages were inadequate for entire families to move into urban areas, men moved on their own, thus causing issues of disunity and sometimes break-ups of families.<sup>106</sup> The latter issue included impediments to women working in urban areas. These were primarily a lack of training and education, attitudinal issues, and men's fear of competition. Additionally, some argued in gendered terms that the problem was related to temperament, describing women as 'arrogant' and exhibiting 'slovenliness and lack of discipline.'<sup>107</sup>

### *Role in the Economy*

During the time period in question, women did not play a substantial role in the industrial development of Kenya.<sup>108</sup> The overall numbers of women working in urban areas were negligible. By 1969, only eight percent of Kenyans lived in urban areas.<sup>109</sup> Regarding commerce, in Nairobi there were more women traders than men. However, because the city

---

<sup>104</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 9.

<sup>105</sup> UNECA, ST/TAO/HR/9, 11.

<sup>106</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 15; Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 20, 8; UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/8, 2.

<sup>107</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 5, 9; UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/26, 6.

<sup>108</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/8, 3.

<sup>109</sup> UNECA, *Country Report - Kenya*, E/CN.14.SW/INF.26 (8 April 1969), 1. Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/13038>

only released a certain number of licenses per year, and tended to give them to men, the women traders were mostly working illegally.<sup>110</sup> Women therefore did not hold an official place in the marketing activities in Nairobi.

In contrast, women in West Africa did hold a recognised place in these activities.<sup>111</sup> The majority of Nigerian women were self-employed and worked both in rural and urban areas.<sup>112</sup> A substantial proportion of Nigerian women worked in the urban sector; eighty percent of Yoruba women, and fifty percent of women in Eastern Nigeria, were traders.<sup>113</sup> In fact, Nigeria was often used as an example in the all-Africa seminars when presenting possible solutions to many of the aforementioned issues for women in urban sectors. For example, the Nigerian market women's associations helped to improve profits and organisation for market women in trading.<sup>114</sup>

For Kenya, Community Development, self-help, and the spirit of *Harambee* were emphasised as being central to development.<sup>115</sup> Tangible and concrete local solutions were recommended, such as co-operative farming and selling locally, thus saving on transport costs.<sup>116</sup> Eighty percent of the women in Kenya worked in agriculture, and thus women's role in national development fell within this sector.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, it was stated that given the importance of agriculture in the Kenyan economy and the prominent place of women in agriculture, women therefore held a very 'special' place in the economy.<sup>118</sup>

Many contributors stressed the importance of education in new methods and the mechanisation of agriculture, as well as the necessity for women to 'change their attitudes

---

<sup>110</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/9, 5.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> UNECA, *The Role of Women in New Nigeria*, E/CN.14/SW/INF.16 (1 April 1969), 2. Available from: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/13030>

<sup>113</sup> House-Midamba, "Economic," 31.

<sup>114</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 8.

<sup>115</sup> A swahili term meaning to 'work together.' It was revived in Kenya around this time and was President Kenyatta's slogan. In this context it referred to self-help projects for economic and social development, often comprised of more women than men, Wipper, "The Maendeleo," 118.

<sup>116</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 14.

<sup>117</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.SW/INF.26, 6.

<sup>118</sup> Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar, 28-30.

and practices.’<sup>119</sup> Mechanisation was one of the most frequently discussed policy recommendations throughout the sources, as something that would decrease women’s workload, encourage men to do farmwork, and reduce polygamy.<sup>120</sup> There were statements made frequently regarding the ‘unused potential’ of agriculture, and emphasising the ‘benefits of modern science and technology.’<sup>121</sup>

In Nigeria, agriculture as a percentage proportion of GDP was falling throughout the 1960s. The economy’s structure was slowly moving away from agriculture, as part of attempts to diversify the economy.<sup>122</sup> The references made to Nigeria did not discuss agriculture to the extent of those relating to Kenya. This implies that Nigerian women’s contribution to the economy was found to be more important in urban sectors, predominantly in trading, as outlined above.

As a result of Nigerian women’s role in the market sector, their relative economic power afforded them levels of power in the household. In some cases women were economically independent from their husbands.<sup>123</sup> This was presented as giving them leverage over male dominance.<sup>124</sup> Reports on Nigeria highlighted that historically, this had been the case for many Nigerian women. On the other hand, whilst Kenyan women’s ‘special’ role in the economy through agriculture was acknowledged, this did not translate into the view that this role granted them relative levels of power.

---

<sup>119</sup> UNECA, ST/TAO/HR/9, 8; Report: First Kenya Women’s Seminar, 31; UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/9, 6; UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/INF.26, 2.

<sup>120</sup> UNECA, ST/TAO/HR/9, 8; UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/INF.26, 2; Report: First Kenya Women’s Seminar, 31; UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/9, 6. The argument about polygamy followed the logic that if farmwork was made less laborious, men would be less inclined to take multiple wives.

<sup>121</sup> Report: First Kenya Women’s Seminar, 29; UNECA, *Economic Development and Problems in Nigeria (Presented by the Government of Nigeria)*, E/CN.14/CAP.2/INF 2516 (5 December 1967), 16. Available from: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/11905>

<sup>122</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/CAP.2/INF 25, 3.

<sup>123</sup> UNECA, *Community Development in Africa. Report of a United Nations Study Tour in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika and United Arab Republic*, E/CN.14/80 (15 October to 3 December 1960), 8. Available from: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/123456789/16653> ; UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/INF.16, 2.

<sup>124</sup> UNECA, *Women in the Traditional African societies (prepared by the secretariat)*, E/CN.14/URB/13 (4 July 1963), 4-5. Available from: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/7801?locale-attribute=en>

Diversity between the North and South of Nigeria was accentuated with regard to the subject of agency. Southern women's economic independence, and the participation of Southern women chiefs in politics, were highlighted when referring back to precolonial society.<sup>125</sup> When referring to contemporary Nigeria, contrasts were drawn between the South where women held elected positions, and the North where they still did not have the vote in 1964.<sup>126</sup> And yet, elsewhere it was stated that married women enjoyed prestige in the North, and mothers and grandmothers (rather than patriarchs) had the right to decide whether or not a girl would go to school.<sup>127</sup> Zaria women in the North were cited as an example of economic independence affording household power.<sup>128</sup>

### *Legal Equality*

The research produced mixed results on the question of legal equality. It was addressed mostly with reference to customary law and traditions. In all-Africa references, there was a clear awareness that the position and equality of women varied across the continent and within countries.<sup>129</sup> Whilst in some cases aspects of custom and tradition were presented as having negative impacts on women's status and their ability to contribute to development, in other cases, customary practices were defended. For example, sometimes the bride price was presented as having protective and prestige functions.<sup>130</sup> On the other hand, the bride price was sometimes condemned, arguing that it compromised women's dignity and contributed to their position as perpetual minors.<sup>131</sup> There was little if any discussion of customary practices or tradition in specific references to Nigeria, except for when it was used as an example to

---

<sup>125</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/INF.16, 2, 4.

<sup>126</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 25.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>128</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/13, 5.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 6; UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 3.

<sup>131</sup> UNECA, ST/TAO/HR/9, 22; UNECA, E/CN.14/URB/13, 7; UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/26, 3.

show how economic power could provide leverage over male dominance, as mentioned above.

Regarding East Africa, it was stated that that despite what foreign observers saw as hardship, ‘women seldom regard themselves as exploited by men.’<sup>132</sup> As previously mentioned, one of the aspects of the change in tone of later documents on Kenya was a defence of the status of women under customary law. Whilst acknowledging that it needed reform, the aspect that they defended was the *purpose* of this customary law: ‘the law needs reform but there is not anything intrinsically evil about it... Looked at in its traditional setting, the customary laws worked perfectly and afforded good protection to women. The reason why reform is needed is... due to modern conditions...’<sup>133</sup>

#### Interaction with Mainstream UN Ideas

In later documents there were brief references to the UN. At the beginning of the 1964 workshop on urban problems, the representative of the UN bureau of social affairs stated that the workshop should concern itself with the positive role of women in development rather than just the rights of women or their ‘pathological’ situation in urban areas.<sup>134</sup> There were also examples where information flowed from ECA contributions to UN bodies. The 1969 CSW statement for the seminar that year stated: ‘*Any recommendations adopted by this regional meeting therefore which may throw further light on the particular needs of African women and on the priorities as you see them would be most helpful to us in drawing up this five-year action programme.*’<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/SWSA/6, 1.

<sup>133</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14/SW/INF.26, 11.

<sup>134</sup> UNECA, E/CN.14.241, 1.

<sup>135</sup> UNECA, *Statement by the Chief of the Section on the Status of Women, Division of Human Rights, United Nations*, E/CN.14/SW/INF.9 (14 March 1969), 3. Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/12833>

## *Chapter Four: Discussion*

This chapter discusses the results of the research that were presented in Chapter Three. This discussion is divided into four sections. The first three aim to address three broad questions: Firstly, what is the value or meaning of diversity in ideas and experience regarding W&D between the two countries? It seeks to analyse what impacts these differences had on women's agency, and vice versa. The second question asks why there were many instances of women speaking as, and on behalf of, 'African women,' given the numerous differences and disagreements. This is put into the context of Pan-Africanism and what this meant for African women. The third question asks whether these ideas on W&D, whether in agreement or diverging, shaped the global debate on W&D at the UN. The final section will outline some of the problems relating to the sources that may impact the validity of the conclusions drawn in this thesis.

### The Value of Diversity

#### *Historical Context*

It was stated in Chapter Two that a closer focus on two countries would provide a better insight into how ideas on W&D were produced by outlining how different contexts and histories affected ideas on women and their roles in these countries during the 1960s. Diversity produced different forms and levels of agency to produce ideas on W&D. As shown by the results, women's roles in the economy influenced opinions and ideas on women's role in development. The production of diverse ideas on W&D through these documents contributed to the development of a recognition of the importance of localised knowledge. This was important in refuting claims of a universal experience of all women, and particularly of all African women. Whether or not this understanding was integrated into

mainstream ideas on W&D will be discussed below. Notwithstanding the outcome, by drawing out the differences this thesis attempts to avoid the error of homogenising African women in history.

The diversity between Kenya and Nigeria as presented in Chapter Three was primarily found in the relationship between the women's leadership and ordinary women, ideas on the role of women, the areas in which women worked, and women's political participation. These can be placed within the context of differing historical experiences regarding the role of women. The contrast between the role of Nigerian women in trading and that of Kenyan women in agriculture, for example, reflects the contrasting economic histories, and roles of women in them, as outlined in Chapter Two. The same may be said regarding the greater levels of political participation of Nigerian women.

Diversity existed within the countries too, and this was made abundantly clear for Nigeria. Historical experience affected the regions of modern Nigeria differently. Chapter Three showed how this was mainly divided between North and South. Southern Nigerian commentators often referred to the plight of their Northern counterparts, yet elsewhere examples were given of Northern Nigerian women exercising and wielding agency in different forms. These differences show how prestige and status may have been perceived in different ways between North and South. In discussing the interregional tensions in Nigeria during the 1960s, it was suggested in Chapter Two that this may have affected the extent to which women would align regionally rather than along the lines of gender, and these findings seem to imply the former.

#### *Diversity and Agency: Leadership*

The Lagos-based nature of the leadership, represented by the Nigerian contributors, probably rendered it less influential (on the majority of Nigerian women) than the village-based MyW

organisation in Kenya (on the majority of Kenyan women). However, the fact that there were more Nigerian than Kenyan women involved in politics may have provided an alternative outlet for influence. Statements on the lack of Kenyan women's participation in politics infer absolute non-participation and lack of interest. In fact, the reality was more nuanced, as many women attempted to enter politics but were consistently prevented by the Kenyan ruling elite.<sup>136</sup>

However, MyW's influence waned throughout the 1960s. As Chapter Two demonstrated, the MyW leadership became distanced from its village bases throughout the decade, as it became more absorbed into the ruling Kenyan elite.<sup>137</sup> When this happened, local groups took over the role of community development from MyW.<sup>138</sup> The change in tone of documents relating to Kenya toward the end of the 1960s aligns with the argument that the MyW leadership were co-opted into the ruling elite. This is mainly deduced from their defence of customary law, and their praise of the Kenyan government.<sup>139</sup> They also brushed over the fact that there were still no Kenyan women MPs in 1969. However, another explanation may afford more agency to these women. Rather than explaining their actions as pandering to the wishes of the ruling elite, they may have been presenting their own view of an alternative to what was often said *about* customary law, especially from Global North women. In this, they may have been demonstrating a refusal to be told what oppresses them and what gives them status.

---

<sup>136</sup> Wipper, "The Politics," 476.

<sup>137</sup> Wipper, "The Maendeleo," 104.

<sup>138</sup> Mønsted, "Women's," 3.

<sup>139</sup> Scholars have shown that 'customary law' was more of a colonial construction, which conflated 'customary' with African tradition, and was not truly representative of pre-colonial African societies. This debate cannot be elaborated here due to space constraints; see Mahmood Mamdani, "Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, 4 (2001): 651-664; Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (London: James Currey Publishers, 1999); Peter Ekeh, "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, 1 (1975): 91-112.

*Diversity and Agency: Role in the Economy*

Chapter Three demonstrated how women's economic roles could afford them levels of agency. For example, Nigerian women wielded agency through economic independence due to their role in trading. In Kenya, women had a central role in agriculture and community development, through the spirit of *Harambee*. This was considered by the Kenyan ruling party to be the key to future development. Indeed, Mønsted argues that the history of *Harambee* in Kenya 'is also the history of how women's initiative and labour made possible the success of these projects.'<sup>140</sup> And yet, there is less evidence to suggest that this translated into increased agency for them.

Related to the role of women in agriculture is how frequently the argument was made, that the mechanisation of agriculture would benefit women. The argument suggested that mechanisation would increase women's agency by decreasing their workload and hours, if women would only 'change their attitudes.' However, ILO studies in the 1960s warned that 'modernisation' may in fact increase women's workload or even put them out of work.<sup>141</sup> Beneria and Sen later argued that the case made for modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture was flawed. In fact, they argued this would increase inequalities.<sup>142</sup> This was often the result of the introduction of improved tools and techniques to men for particular tasks that were traditionally performed by women. Men took up the task once it was mechanised, and this sidelined women.<sup>143</sup> This led to what Escobar has termed 'modernised patriarchy.'<sup>144</sup> This shows that the promotion of mechanisation was a policy that was missing vital information on women's work and relations with men, demonstrating a severe misunderstanding of crucial elements of these structures. Along with other examples, this

---

<sup>140</sup> Mønsted, "Women's," 5.

<sup>141</sup> Lubin and Winslow, *Social Justice*, 140.

<sup>142</sup> Beneria and Sen, "Accumulation," 290.

<sup>143</sup> Awe, "Nigerian Women," 320.

<sup>144</sup> Escobar, *Encountering*, 173.

focus on science and modernisation demonstrates the hangover of the technical-focused development paradigm of the 1950s.

### The Value of Agreement

#### *Pan-Africanism*

Chapter Two also stated that this closer focus would provide insight into the Pan-African movement, examining the juxtaposition of diversity and disagreement against claims to speak as African Women, and the purpose that this might have been intended to serve. Chapter Three has shown that there was a considerable amount of diversity between Kenya and Nigeria, and the previous section of this chapter has outlined how this produced different levels and forms of agency, and different ideas on women's roles. Yet, the views presented in all-Africa seminars often made claims about African women more generally. Claims to speak on behalf of African women were also made frequently in the documents on Kenya. Similarly, despite the diversity in Nigeria, documents pertaining to the country still made frequent reference to Nigerian women. Considering the differing experiences and ideas on W&D, what purpose did speaking of 'African women' serve?

One possible explanation for why these women often spoke as 'African women' is related to the Pan-African movement, which experienced a resurgence during this time period.<sup>145</sup> The Pan-African political movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s in Africa espoused, among other points, the ideas of complete independence for all of Africa, a rejection of colonialism, a revival of African culture and values, and the promotion of an 'African nationalism' that would transcend tribal or regional boundaries.<sup>146</sup> Among its

---

<sup>145</sup> Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism. A History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 408-437; Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism. A short political guide*. Revised ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1965), 38-64; G.N. Uzoigwe, "Pan-Africanism in World Politics: The Geopolitics of the Pan-African Movement, 1900-2000," in *Pan-Africanism, and the Politics of African Citizenship and Identity*, eds Toyin Falola and Kwame Essien (New York: Routledge, 2014), 215.

<sup>146</sup> Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 38.

proponents were Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Julius Nyerere, and Léopold Sédar Senghor. Pan-Africanism was also a rejection of the Eurocentric view that Africa had no history before European arrival.<sup>147</sup>

Scholars identify a split that occurred in the movement at this time, between radical and conservative states, or unitarians and federalists.<sup>148</sup> Ghana, Kenya, and Tanzania were among those of the ‘radical’ camp, which was enthusiastic about cultural and economic cooperation. Indeed, reflecting East African enthusiasm for the Pan-African ideal, the Pan-African Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) was formed as an offshoot organisation.<sup>149</sup> Nigeria, situated in the conservative group, was less enthusiastic, expressing reluctance to concede parts of its sovereignty.<sup>150</sup> Thus the idea of a political union divided the African states. Despite these disagreements, common ground was established over the aim of the overall movement and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was created out of a conference in Addis Ababa in 1963.<sup>151</sup> The aims of the organisation aligned with some of the aforementioned ideas of Pan-Africanism relating to unity, cooperation, and anti-colonialism.<sup>152</sup>

This split in the Pan-African movement is relevant to the comparison between Kenya and Nigeria. Chapter Three has shown that in the context of all-Africa seminars, there were many claims to speak as ‘African’ women. The disdain expressed toward ‘women of other continents’ regarding how they looked after their children, for example, implied an attempt to present themselves as African women. They stressed their difference to women of other continents, and expressed pride in their own values. Women’s movements were already

---

<sup>147</sup> Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 28-30; Aminah Wallace, “Pan-Africanism and Slave Rebellions. The Interconnections,” in Falola and Essien, *Pan-Africanism*, 59.

<sup>148</sup> Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 410-11; Segun Ogungbemi, “The Spirit of Pan-Africanism and Nationalist Consciousness: The Way Forward in the 21st Century,” in Falola and Essien, *Pan-Africanism*, 207-9; Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 47.

<sup>149</sup> Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 400.

<sup>150</sup> Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 46-7.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>152</sup> Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 425.

among attendees at the All African People's Conference in Accra in 1958.<sup>153</sup> A Pan-African organisation for women, the African Women's Union (AWU, later PAWO) emerged across the continent in 1962. Kenya was at the founding of the AWU in 1962, whereas Nigeria was 'conspicuous' in its absence.<sup>154</sup> The enthusiasm of Kenya contrasted against the absenteeism of Nigeria reflects both countries' respective positions vis-à-vis the Pan-African movement more generally. Considering that East African enthusiasm led to the founding of PAFMECA, it follows that the larger number of documents relating to East Africa, and references to East African unity, confirm that there was more support from women in Kenya for both an East African and a Pan-African ideal, than there was in Nigeria for any Pan-African ideal.

#### *The ATRCW*

Another purpose served by speaking with unity, related to the Pan-African ideal of cooperation and coordination, was the creation of the African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW). This was established in 1975 as a research and data collection body for African women, and during its first five years it had significant impacts.<sup>155</sup> Its activities were far-reaching: it provided policy recommendations for women in trade deals, and a section on W&D was included in the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) in 1980.<sup>156</sup> Adding to Snyder and Tadesse's argument that the 1960s laid the groundwork for the development of the W&D concept and the creation of the ATRCW, the findings also show the significance of unified action in achieving these, despite numerous disagreements.

Ultimately, the LPA was never realised. Soon after it was adopted in 1980, the World Bank published its own agenda for the development of the 'Third World.' Superseding the Lagos Plan, this would later become known as the Washington Consensus, focusing on

---

<sup>153</sup> Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 397.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 424.

<sup>155</sup> Aidoo, "Women," 204; Snyder and Tadesse, *African Women*, 55-73; Jain, *Women*, 99.

<sup>156</sup> Jain, *Women*, 99-100.

Structural Adjustment Programmes and growth-led economic development.<sup>157</sup> Despite this, the development of the ATRCW demonstrates that these women recognised the importance of producing local knowledge during the 1960s. It also shows the ability of these women to rise above their disagreements for the purpose of presenting as a united force.

### Shaping the Debate?

Finally, Chapter Two stated that this research would provide insight into whether or not these ideas shaped the wider debate, with particular reference to the Women's Decade and the agenda of bodies like CSW, UNIFEM, and INSTRAW. Some findings suggested that their ideas were also impacted by mainstream ideas at the UN. For example, the later documents mention the UN conventions and resolutions, suggesting that UN ideas impacted what they said, or shaped the discussion. However, significant evidence was also found for the argument that their ideas shaped the wider debate. This suggests that although the literature is accurate in stating the importance of the Women's Decade and these bodies for shaping ideas on W&D, it nevertheless overlooks the processes that occurred in the other direction, seeing ideas travel *from* the Global South *to* the UN. The primary themes through which their ideas shaped the wider debate were an emphasis on research and data and the understanding of women as agents of development. There were numerous other occasions where a direct line can be drawn from their idea to its appearance at a later point at the UN.

The first piece of evidence to suggest that their ideas and shaped the mainstream ideas relates to research and data collection. As Chapter Two has shown, one of the primary appeals made during the conferences of the Women's Decade was for more research and data collection on women. In particular, data disaggregated by sex was called for, to render women's work visible. The results have shown that the ECA was doing this during the 1960s

---

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 101; Snyder, *Transforming*, 23; Vijay Prashad, *The poorer nations: a possible history of the global South* (London: Verso, 2012), 3-4.

in Africa. They demonstrate that these women understood the importance of this research and data collection, and were carrying out work to this end. Furthermore, this understanding was embodied in the creation of the ATRCW, which was established four years before INSTRAW, the body created in the UN system with the specific task of generating knowledge and research on women globally.

Another major aspect of the Women's Decade, and more generally the 1970s development paradigm, was the shift in understanding women in development from being recipients to agents. As Chapter Two demonstrated, much of the literature that addresses this shift credits it to the Women's Decade and bodies like the CSW, UNIFEM, and INSTRAW. The information presented in Chapter Three shows how the contributions by these women to the W&D idea included an acute awareness of this agent rather than recipient role. This is strikingly evident regarding Kenyan women's dominant role in agriculture, which was the primary sector of Kenya's economy, and Nigerian women's role in trading, which historically was a significant sector of the Nigerian economy.

The awareness amongst women of their role as agents rather than recipients was also reflected in advocating for measures that they knew were essential in order to obtain the space to fulfil these roles, such as the frequent emphasis on the need for adequate child-care facilities. They also stressed this agent role when emphasising the importance of the woman's role in the family. Although this has problematic connotations in that it promotes a gender based domesticated role for women, it nevertheless recognises women as agents in development.

Another piece of evidence to support the claim that their ideas shaped the mainstream debate, was the CSW's request for information on the '*particular needs of African women and on the priorities as you see them,*' in order for them to draw up a five-year programme. This shows that information that constituted eventual CSW policies on Global South women

was at least at some point coming from the women themselves (although a thorough analysis of the CSW documents would be needed to ascertain whether the final versions expressed adequately the information as expressed by Global South women). As noted in Chapter Two, the CSW was often credited with being a trailblazer in shifting the attention of the international women's movement onto women's roles in development in the Global South. These results contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the source of this CSW policy.

There were several other occasions where a line can be drawn from the ideas presented in Chapter Three, to their realisation as mainstream ideas at the UN. Before International Women's Year and the First Women's Conference in Mexico in 1975, there were two important conferences in 1974, one on population and one on food. An unofficial preparatory meeting was attended by women representatives from 116 countries. The result was a resolution on women and food, that emphasised land, education, technology, and funding as important in enabling women in better food production.<sup>158</sup> These aspects were stressed numerous times in the analysed documents.

The process for DEDAW was started at the UN by a GA resolution in 1963.<sup>159</sup> In earlier all-Africa seminars, they were already discussing the concept of whether customs were harmful. This is important both because it challenges the view that it was Northern women who 'saved' African women from harmful customs. On the other hand, when placed beside the finding that views on the impact of these customs on women's status were mixed, the conclusion is nuanced.

---

<sup>158</sup> Pietilä, *Development Dossiers*, 32-3.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

### Problems with the Sources

The primary issue related to the availability of sources was that fewer Nigeria-specific documents were found, thus creating a potentially large issue related to the validity of the conclusions drawn from the results. Regarding content, the purpose of analysing these documents was to ascertain Kenyan and Nigerian women's views on W&D. Therefore, the answer to the question of who was (and was not) contributing, is relevant to whether or not the results adequately reflect the views of most women in those countries. Section I of this chapter discussed how there may have been a relative distance from ordinary women due to the majority of contributors being from the elite. This was through two aspects: the urban/rural divide, and the influence of British ideals. This already poses a problem for the validity of their opinions as representative (or not) of ordinary women in these societies. Another issue relating to this is the variety of contributors. These issues will be discussed presently.

#### *Urban/ Rural*

Here, a point of distinction arises between Kenya and Nigeria regarding these women and their representation of ordinary African women. It was shown that in Kenya, MyW was a village based organisation and that the leaders were not far removed from the villages.

Regarding Nigeria, the results show that the contributors were less connected and representative of Nigerian women living outside of Lagos. For example, many were members of the Nigerian Women's Party which remained primarily a Lagos based party.<sup>160</sup> The point made in the literature, that the market women's association in Nigeria was closely tied to the colonial administration from early on, is a direct point of contrast with Kenya (whose women had played an enormous role in anti-colonial resistance, notably in Mau Mau).<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 222.

<sup>161</sup> Yoon and Okeke, "Kenya," 244.

However, the results also showed that the later documents on Kenya were more defensive of customary law and more praising of the government. Placing this information within the context of Wipper's argument, that the MyW leadership became 'co-opted' into the ruling Kenyan elite (which included a heavy emphasis on the Africanisation of staff and a rejection of 'Western' culture), it would seem that this change in tone was a reflection of this co-optation. Even if, as suggested above, the change in tone was more of a reflection of the women exercising their agency and rejecting Northern prescriptions, it is nonetheless still possible that the organisation became distanced from its village and rural bases. Thus, it would seem that the women leadership in both countries ended up closely affiliated with the ruling elite of their respective countries. This, as previously stated, poses a problem for the validity of information as reflecting the majority of women's opinions.

### *British ideals*

The second problematic element of the elite contributions is the fact that they were at least partially influenced by British ideals. It is thus likely that they espoused ideals regarding women's roles that may have been neither appropriate to African women's situations, nor have resonated with them. As reflected in Chapter Three, the importance of the family and home, and women's role in maintaining this, were underscored. It follows from this that they would emphasise domestic science related courses for girls in schools, as part of cultivating this domestic role for women. If these views came from a small British influenced elite, it presents a problem in the attempt to draw conclusions on the majority of Kenyan and Nigerian women's views. However, it is noteworthy that this emphasis came much more from Kenya than Nigeria. This distinction is interesting because they were both quite influenced by British values. However, MyW was essentially set up to teach women about homemaking. To acknowledge this elitism is to recognise, as Schneider and Prashad have

argued, the existence of both vitality and inequalities in all societies, thus rendering the labelling of these countries as the Global South in some ways futile.

#### *Varied contributors*

There was sometimes a wide variety of contributors to seminars and reports, aside from Kenyan and Nigerian women. These contributions were retained in the results as the purpose of analysing the documents was to obtain, as much as possible, a complete picture of women's views and roles relating to their status and to development. However, this must be noted as a caution against drawing conclusions relating only to Kenyan and Nigerian women's opinions. An example of this issue is the frequently made argument for mechanisation of agriculture for the benefit of women, and as discussed above, the numerous studies that demonstrate or argue convincingly that mechanisation would have undermined women. The frequency with which mechanisation was promoted may mislead the researcher to an understanding that it was both something that women wanted and that would benefit them, but contextualising the finding shows that neither was necessarily the case. Related to this issue is that some documents did not state who wrote or presented it. When this was the case for a country report, it is likely that it was produced by the state, and this may explain some cases of documents that were limited in criticism and praised their country's progress regarding women.

In sum, this discussion has analysed the findings presented in Chapter Three. In doing so, it has drawn out the value and meaning of both differences and similarities in experiences and ideas between Kenya and Nigeria. It has shown that the two countries' differing historical trajectories affected the role of women and in turn, views on W&D during the 1960s. It has also demonstrated the value in speaking as 'African women.' It has discussed what the results

can tell us about the extent to which these ideas shaped wider debates on W&D, finding that the source of many of these wider debates can indeed be found in the ideas presented in this thesis.

### *Chapter Five: Conclusion*

The dearth of attention paid to contributions from African women to the W&D concept, and the diversity that existed within them, is part of the larger trend referred to in Chapter One. Although there are burgeoning scholarships on the international women's movement and on Global South histories, the most neglected aspect has been the intersection between the two; contributions of Global South women *to* the international women's movement. As shown by Chapter Two, changes in the international development paradigm during the 1960s and 1970s had profound impacts on the international women's movement. The literature mostly concludes that the W&D concept, one of the most important aspects of the link between the development agenda and the women's movement, was cultivated and grew during the Women's Decade and in bodies like CSW, UNIFEM, and INSTRAW. The most important ideas of W&D were the understanding of women as agents rather than recipients in development, and the recognition of the importance of knowledge production in making women's work visible. The Women's Decade and UN bodies have been credited with spreading and mainstreaming these ideas. Moreover, the literature on African women and W&D has tended to homogenise the experience of women across the continent, obscuring diversity. This short conclusion will summarise the contribution of this thesis toward rectifying these two issues in the literature, beginning with the latter point on diversity.

The comparison of Kenyan and Nigerian contributions to the W&D concept has shown how different historical trajectories affected the role and status of women in each country. This led to the production of varied ideas and opinions, both about women, and from women themselves. By outlining diversity in opinion and experience, the findings challenge conclusions drawn about 'African women,' instead showing how diverse ideas on W&D were produced, particularly regarding status. It also shows how this diversity conceded

varying levels of agency to these women. Conversely, by outlining agreement, whether based on actual shared experience or an ability to rise above disagreement, it explores what purpose this may have served. Contextualising this within the Pan-African movement shows how Pan-Africanism was as important to women as it was to men, despite most accounts of the movement barely acknowledging the role of women. The Pan-African context again highlights the differences between Nigeria and Kenya, and the results confirm what the literature has said regarding Nigeria's relative lack of enthusiasm for a far-reaching definition of Pan Africanism as compared to Kenya's high levels of enthusiasm. Another important outcome of an ability to speak with unity was the establishment of the ATRCW. This body contributed extensively to the W&D concept in local knowledge production on women in Africa and it also served as an example for bodies to come, such as INSTRAW.

This thesis has also shown that African women were discussing many of the ideas on W&D, which were mainstreamed by the UN. They were doing this during the 1960s through the ECA seminars, and also through their own organisations. By showing where they 'shaped' the debate, it has tried to rectify the conclusion that may be drawn from most of the literature: that ideas on W&D were created in the North and projected onto the women in the South. This focus has shed light on the importance of knowledge production in this regard, particularly the recognition in the W&D concept of the importance of localised knowledge and solutions. However, the results have also shown some examples of mainstream ideas 'shaping' these women's views and contributions. Thus the conclusion to be drawn is that whilst the literature is justified when emphasising the impact of UN ideas on these women, it overlooks the numerous examples in which the opposite was the case. Ultimately, despite what has been demonstrated as their contribution to the wider debate on W&D, their ideas were not ultimately absorbed into final development policies because a Northern

development paradigm came to dominate the global agenda. Perhaps it is for this reason that these contributions have been overlooked.

Finally, the problems associated with taking these sources as representative of African women's views have been outlined. Taking these problems into consideration, there is a possibility that the validity of the conclusions is compromised. Further research that would provide more insight into the questions of this thesis would include an analysis of CSW documents of the 1960s, to ascertain if there was a conversation between these women, especially regarding topics like 'harmful customs', equality, and integration into the workforce. Due to time and space constraints this was not included but it would provide insight into, for example, whether African defence of custom was in any way a response to Northern criticism or if it was more of an assertion of their own cultural independence. Furthermore, it would attempt to undertake research in the countries in question, using oral testimony if possible. This is because many of those whose opinions this thesis sought to uncover were not literate during the time period being researched.

*Bibliography*

## Primary Sources

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa:

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *The New International Economic Order: What Role for Women?* E/CN.14/ATRCW/77/WD3 (31 August 1977). Accessed in printed copy.

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *The Role of Women in National Development*. By I.K.K. Balaba, E/CN.14/SW/26 (3 October 1969). Available from:

<http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/13308>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Country Report: Kenya*, E/CN.14.SW/INF.26 (8 April 1969). Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/13038>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *The Role of Women in New Nigeria*, E/CN.14/SW/INF.16, (1 April 1969). Available from:

<http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/13030>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Statement by the Chief of the Section on the Status of Women, Division of Human Rights, United Nations*, E/CN.14/SW/INF.9 (14 March 1969). Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/12833>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Economic Development and Problems in Nigeria (Presented by the Government of Nigeria)*, E/CN.14/CAP.2/INF 25 (5 December 1967).

Available from: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/11905>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *The Status and Role of Women in East Africa*, E/CN.14/SWSA/6 (June 1967), 9. Accessed in printed copy.

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Report of the Workshop on Urban Problems: the Role of Women in Urban Development*, E/CN.14.241 (27 November 1963). Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/123456789/17385>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Biographies of African Women. New edition prepared by the Secretariat*, my translation, E/CN.14/URB/2/Add.1 (20 August 1963) (Translated by the author of this thesis). Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/7680>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *The Position of Women in Kenya (prepared by Julius Carlebach)*, E/CN.14/URB/9 (16 July 1963). Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/8071>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Women in the Traditional African Societies (prepared by the secretariat)*, E/CN.14/URB/13 (4 July 1963). Available from: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/7801?locale-attribute=en>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Maendeleo Activities in Kenya (Prepared by Mrs. Priscilla I. Abwao, Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation, Nairobi, Kenya)*, E/CN.14/URB/8 (26 June 1963). Available from: <https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/7654>

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *1960 Seminar on Participation of Women in Public Life*, ST/TAO/HR/9 (12 to 23 December 1960). Accessed in printed copy.

United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, *Community Development in Africa Report of a United Nations Study Tour in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika and United Arab Republic*, E/CN.14/80 (15 October to 3 December 1960). Available from:  
<http://repository.uneca.org/handle/123456789/16653>

Other United Nations:

General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV), *International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade*, A/RES/2626(XXV) (24 October 1970). Available from: [https://undocs.org/A/RES/2626\(XXV\)](https://undocs.org/A/RES/2626(XXV))

United Nations, Commission on the Status of Women, *Report on the Eighteenth Session*, E/CN.6/442, (New York: United Nations, 1-20 March 1965). Available from:  
<https://undocs.org/E/CN.6/442>

Other Primary:

*Report: First Kenya Women's Seminar - The role of African women: past, present and future* (Limuru: East Africa Printers, 5 to 11 May 1962). Available from:

[https://search.alexanderstreet.com/preview/work/bibliographic\\_entity%7Cbibliographic\\_details%7C1733824](https://search.alexanderstreet.com/preview/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C1733824)

## Secondary Sources

Adi, Hakim. *Pan-Africanism. A History*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.

Aidoo, Agnes Akosua. "Women and Development in Africa." In *Economic Crisis in Africa. African Perspectives on Development Problems and Potentials*, edited by Adebayo Adedeji and Timothy M. Shaw, 201-219. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1985.

Allan, Virginia R., Galey, Margaret E, and Persinger, Mildred E. "World Conference of International Women's Year." In *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, edited by Anne Winslow, 29-45. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Anyanwu, Ogechi E. "Connecting Theory with Reality. Understanding the causes of the Nigeria-Biafra war." In *Writing the Nigeria-Biafra War*, edited by Toyin Falola and Ogechukwu Ezekwem, 40-62. Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2016.

Awe, Bolanle. "Writing Women into History: The Nigerian Experience." In *Writing Women's History*, edited by Karen M. Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson, and Jane Rendall, 211-220. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991.

Awe, Bolanle. "Nigerian Women and Development in Retrospect." In *Women and Development in Africa. Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Jane L. Parpart, 313-335. Lanham: University Press of America, 1989.

- Beneria, Lourdes and Sen, Gita. "Accumulation, Reproduction, and 'Women's Role in Economic Development': Boserup Revisited." *Signs* 7, 2 (1981): 279-298.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. "Introduction." In *The United Nations Blue Books Series, Vol. VI, The United Nations and The Advancement of Women 1945-1996*, 3-72. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996.
- Cassidy, Jennifer A. "Conclusion." In *Gender and Diplomacy*, edited by Jennifer A. Cassidy, 210-219. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. *African Women. A Modern History*. Colorado: Westview Press, 1997.
- Cullather, Nick. "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie." *The American Historical Review* 112, 2 (2007): 337-364.
- DuBois, Ellen and Derby, Lauren. "The strange case of Minerva Bernardino: Pan American and United Nations women's right activist." *Women's Studies International Forum* 32 (2009): 43-50.
- Dunn, Kevin C. "Historical Representations." In *Qualitative Methods in International Relations. A pluralist Guide*, edited by Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash, 78-93. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

- Ekeh, Peter. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, 1 (1975): 91-112.
- Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development. The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Fraser, Arvonne. "Making History Word by Word." *Journal of Women's History*, 24, 4 (2012): 193-200.
- Fraser, Arvonne. "Becoming Human: The Origins and Development of Women's Human Rights." In *Women's Rights. A Human Rights Quarterly Reader*, edited by Bert B. Lockwood, 26-44. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Galey, Margaret E. 'Women Find a Place.' In *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, edited by Anne Winslow, 11-29. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Ghodsee, Kristen. "Revisiting the United Nations Decade for Women: Brief Reflections on Feminism, Capitalism and Cold War Politics in the Early Years of the International Women's Movement." *Women's Studies International Forum* 33, 1 (2010): 3-12.
- Gunn, Simon and Faire, Lucy "Introduction: Why Bother With Method?" In *Research Methods for History*, edited by Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, 20-46. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

- House-Midamba, Bessie. "Economic Self-Sufficiency and the Role of the African Market Women: A Comparative Analysis of Kenya and Nigeria." Presented at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, 23-26 November 1991, 48 (1992).
- Isaac, Joel. "The Human Sciences in Cold War America." *The Historical Journal* 50, 3 (2007): 725-746.
- Jain, Devaki. "Women of the South. Engaging with the UN as a diplomatic manoeuvre." In *Gender and Diplomacy*, edited by Jennifer A. Cassidy, 65-81. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Jain, Devaki. *Women, Development, and the UN. A Sixty-Year Quest for Equality and Justice*. United Nations Intellectual History Project Series. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Jaquette, Jane S. "Losing the Battle/ Winning the War: International Politics, Women's Issues, and the 1980 Mid-Decade Conference." In *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, edited by Anne Winslow, 45-61. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Johnson-Odim, Cheryl. "Actions Louder than Words: The Historical Task of Defining Feminist Consciousness in Colonial West Africa." In *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, edited by Ruth Roach Pierson, Nupur Chaudhuri, and Beth McAuley, 77-94. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Kanogo, Tabitha M. *African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1950*. Oxford: James Currey, 2005.

Legum, Colin. *Pan-Africanism. A short political guide*. Revised ed. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1965.

Lewis, Joanna. "Deadlier than the male? Women, knowledge and power." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 68, 2 (1998): 284-293.

Lubin, Carol R. and Winslow, Anne. *Social Justice for Women: the International Labor Organization and Women*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1990.

Mamdani, Mahmood. "Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, 4 (2001): 651-664.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. London: James Currey, 1999.

Mazire, Dominique. "Une organisation de femmes au Kenya : Maendeleo ya Wanawake." *Politique Africaine*, March 1994 (Translated by the author of this thesis).

Mba, Nina. *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900-1965* (Research series 48). Berkeley, CA: University of California, Institute of International Studies (IIS), 1982.

Meyer, Mary K. "Negotiating International Norms: The Inter-American Commission of Women and the Convention on Violence Against Women." In *Gender Politics in Global Governance*,

edited by Elisabeth Prugl and Mary K. Meyer, 58-72. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Mlambo-Ngcuka, Phumzile. "Becoming UN women. A Journey in Realizing Rights and Gaining Global Recognition." In *Gender and Diplomacy*, edited by Jennifer A. Cassidy, 170-187. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.

Mønsted, Mette. "Women's Groups in Rural Kenya and their Role in Development." Centre for Development Research Paper A. 78.2, 1978.

Nissimi, Hilda. "Mau Mau and the Decolonisation of Kenya." *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 8, 3 (2006): 1-35.

Ogungbemi, Segun. "The Spirit of Pan-Africanism and Nationalist Consciousness: The Way Forward in the 21st Century." In *Pan-Africanism, and the Politics of African Citizenship and Identity*, edited by Toyin Falola and Kwame Essien, 202-215. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Parpart, Jane L. "Women's Rights and the Lagos Plan of Action." *Human Rights Quarterly* 8, 2 (1986): 180-196.

Pernet, Corrine A. "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950." *Pacific Historical Review* 69, 4 (2000): 663-688.

Pietilä, Hilka. *Development Dossiers: Engendering the Global Agenda. The story of Women and the United Nations*. Geneva: UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service, 2002.

Pietilä, Hilka and Vickers, Jeanne. *Making Women Matter. The Role of the United Nations*, third ed. London: Zed Books, 1996.

Prashad, Vijay. *The poorer nations: a possible history of the global South*. London: Verso, 2012.

Prashad, Vijay. *The darker nations: a people's history of the Third World*. London: New Press, 2008.

Prugl, Elisabeth and Meyer, Mary K. "Introduction." In *Gender Politics in Global Governance*, edited by Elisabeth Prugl and Mary K. Meyer, 3-19. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Robinson, Nova. "Arab Internationalism and Gender: Perspectives from the Third Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1949." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 48 (2016): 578-583.

Schneider, Nina. "Between Promise and Skepticism: The Global South and Our Role as Engaged Intellectuals." *The Global South* 11, 2 (2017): 18-38.

Snyder, Margaret. "Women Determine Development: The Unfinished Revolution." *Signs* 29, 2 (2003): 619-631.

Snyder, Margaret. "The Politics of Women and Development." In *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, edited by Anne Winslow, 95-117. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Snyder, Margaret. *Transforming Development. Women, Poverty, and Politics*. London: IT Publications, 1995.

Snyder, Margaret and Tadesse, Mary. *African Women and Development: A History*. London: Zed Books, 1995.

Tickner, J. Ann. *Gender in International Relations. Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Tinker, Irene and Jaquette, Jane S. "UN Decade for Women: Its Impact and Legacy." *World Development* 15, 3 (1987): 419-427.

Uche, Chibuiké. "Oil, British Interests and the Nigerian Civil War." *Journal of African History* 49, 1 (2008): 111-135.

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, *United Nations Assistance for the Advancement of Women*, New York: United Nations Publications, 1967.

Uzoigwe, G. N. "Pan-Africanism in World Politics: The Geopolitics of the Pan-African Movement, 1900–2000." In *Pan-Africanism, and the Politics of African Citizenship and Identity*, edited by Toyin Falola and Kwame Essien, 215-247. New York: Routledge, 2014.

- Wallace, Aminah. "Pan-Africanism and Slave Rebellions. The Interconnections." In *Pan-Africanism, and the Politics of African Citizenship and Identity*, edited by Toyin Falola and Kwame Essien, 59-81. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Wipper, Audrey. "The Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization: The Co-Optation of Leadership." *African Studies Review* 18, 3 (1975): 99-120.
- Wipper, Audrey. "The Politics of Sex: Some Strategies Employed by the Kenyan Power Elite to Handle a Normative-Existential Discrepancy." *African Studies Review* 14, 3 (1971): 463-482.
- Yoon, Mi Yung and Okeke, Christol. "Kenya: Women's Suffrage and Political Participation as Voters." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights*, edited by Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Netina Tan, 243-257. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.